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# INDEX.

	PAGE.		PAGE.
Advice to Madras Labourers, Mr. C. F. Andrew's ...	206	British Loans to the Allies and the Dominions, ...	181
Aerial Flight across the Atlantic ... ..	584	British Spirit, Is this? ... ..	410
Afghanistan on the War Path ... ..	485	Budget Speech, Mr. Montagu's ... ..	549
Afghan War, The ... ..	501, 517, 534, 698	Burma Bharthri Sabha, Mandalay, The ..	719
Agarkar Day, The ... ..	584	Burma Rice and the Indian Famine ... ..	265
Agricultural Industry, The ... ..	340		
Alexander Cardew, For Sir ... ..	616	Calcutta University Commission Reports. ...	713, 745
Ali Imam, Sir ... ..	600	Caliphate, The Question of the ... ..	485
All-India Moslem League, Dr. M. A. Ansari's Address		Call to the British Empire, The ... ..	601
at the ... ..	241	Calm after the Storm, The ... ..	439
Ameer of Afghanistan, The ... ..	340, 357,	Canada-India Trade ... ..	647
American Scholarships for Indian Women		Cannot Christianity be nationalized in India? ...	615
Students ... ..	326, 331, 368, 399, 664	Caste and Christianity... ..	66
America's Glorious Example, ... ..	277	Caste, Bolshevism and ... ..	746
Amrita Bazar Patrika's high Falutin ... ..	727	Caste Sensation in Baroda, A ... ..	751
Anglo-Indian Opposition to Constitutional Reform, ...	266	Casteless Hinduism ... ..	368, 573
Anti-Brahmin movements, Sir S. P. Sinha on the, ...	66	Change of Ministers at Indore... ..	566
Anti-Untouchability Movement, The ... ..	368	Chelmsford Montagu Scheme in the Indian Legislative	
Appointment of Assistant Traffic Superintendents, State		Council, The ... ..	33
Railways, ... ..	607	Chelmsford Montagu Scheme, Mr. Najundayya on the	1
Armistice Celebration at the Poona Seva Sadan ...	195	Chiefs' Conference, The Viceroy's Address at the ...	289
Arms Act, The ... ..	395	Child Education in India ... ..	195, 208
Arson and Murder at Amritsar, .. ..	423	Child in Human Progress, The ... ..	146
As we go to the Press ... ..	685	Christian Indian Missionary, A Great... ..	444
Asaf Ali Trial, The ... ..	257	Christian Missions and Government Grants ...	241
		Christian, Proposed Definition of a ... ..	314
Backward Classes, Representation of the ... ..	354	Christian Sadhn, A ... ..	230
Bank of Baroda, Ltd. ... ..	256	Christianity, Towards ... ..	608
Bank of India, Ltd. ... ..	242, 621	C-I-D People, It's those D-D. ... ..	470
Banking, Swadeshi ... ..	181	Civil Law and Order ... ..	574
Baroda, Education in ... ..	634	Clerks, An Appeal on behalf of ... ..	41
Basu's Bill and Mr. Patel's Bill, Mr. ... ..	205	Closer Friendship Between Indians and Englishmen ...	583
Benefaction, A Great, ... ..	21	Colleges for Bombay, More ... ..	181
Bengal Moderates' Conference, The ... ..	22, 88	College in Salsette, Proposed New ... ..	280
Bengali Pioneers, Seven ... ..	698	Communal Electorates, The Viceroy on ... ..	17
Benares Hindu University, The First Convocation of the,	277	Communal Prejudices, Sahibzada Aftab Ahmed-	
Bereavements of a Distinguished Social Worker ...	195	khan on ... ..	206, 208
Bequests, An Indian Lady's ... ..	566	Communal Representation ... ..	24, 172
Bhagawat Gita, Mr. Ganghi on the, ... ..	509	Communal Representation and the Second Chamber,	
Bhavnagar, The Late Maharaja of, ... ..	664	The Panjabee on ... ..	2
Bhavnagar's Praiseworthy Step ... ..	382	Communal Representation, The Deccan Ryot on the ...	169
Birthday Honours, The ... ..	550	Compensation, Railways and ... ..	639
Biter Bit, The ... ..	278	Congress Addresses, The ... ..	3
Black Lists Withdrawn ... ..	494	Congress Delegation to England, The ... ..	639
Bolshevism and Caste ... ..	746	Congress, the Next National ... ..	82
Bombay Chronicle, The ... ..	2, 469	Congress, The Special Session of the ... ..	19
Bombay Chronicle Censorship Withdrawn ... ..	584	Constitutional Distrust of the Executive ... ..	325
Bombay Electorates ... ..	194	Constitutional Reform, Anglo-Indian opposition to ...	266
Bombay Municipal Corporation, The New ... ..	326	Constitutional Reform, Bombay and ... ..	134
Bombay Presidency Women's Council... ..	684	Constitutional Reform, Burma and ... ..	229, 242
Bombay Strikes, The ... ..	265	Constitutional Reform, Indian Christians and ...	169
Bombay Wages Census ... ..	667	Constitutional Reforms, The Indian Civil Service and .	266
Books, Macmillan's School, ... ..	37	Constitutional Reform in French India ... ..	229
Brahmanophobia, ... ..	2	Contemperories, How it strikes two ... ..	508
Brahmin Widow Re-marriage in the Nizam's		Conversion, A Notable... ..	72
Dominions, A ... ..	402	Controlling the Export and Price of Rice ... ..	329
Breaches of the Laws of War ... ..	343	Convocation Address, Sir George Lloyd's ... ..	729
British Aid to Belgium, A Generous ... ..	638	Correction, A ... ..	671
British Indian Governments, Indianization of... ..	701	Cotton Cloth, Government Control of ... ..	1



	PAGE.		PAGE.
Cotton Cloth Prices Bill, Control of ... ..	33	Excess Profits Tax and the alternative ... ..	231
Cotton Stocks, Census of ... ..	65	Exchange Currency, The Indian Merchants' Chamber	
Councils and Franchise ... ..	533	on ... ..	648
Crematoriums, Hindu Undertakers and ... ..	136	Exchange Problem in India, The ... ..	731, 748
Crump, The Hon'ble Mr. ... ..	600	Exchange, The rate of ... ..	521, 538, 555, 571, 587, 604
Currency and Social Reform ... ..	682, 702	Exchange trouble, The root of ... ..	696
Currency Fallacies ... ..	716, 733, 750	Excise and Education ... ..	53
Currency Situation, The ... ..	712	Excise administration, Punjab ... ..	277
Currency, Tampering with the ... ..	631		
Curzon's Salary, Lord... ..	685		
		Famine, Indian Christians and the ... ..	458
Dadabhai Naoroji's Portrait, Mr. ... ..	282	Famine Relief Proposal, A ... ..	233
D. C. Mission, Bombay, The ... ..	302	Famine Relief, The Bombay Prarthana Samaj and ... ..	254
Death ... ..	125	Fancy and Fact ... ..	18
Deccan Education Society, Suggestion to the ... ..	340	Feast of Youth, The ... ..	457
Decreasing Vitality of the Indian People ... ..	599	Female Education in Calcutta ... ..	289
Definition of a Christian, Proposed ... ..	314	Female Education in Mysore ... ..	416
Delhi Congress, The Liberals and the ... ..	170	Ferment in Social Life, The ... ..	470
Delhi Tragedy, The ... ..	411	Food Situation, Sir M. Visvesvaraya on the ... ..	170
Democracy and Oligarchy ... ..	145	Franchise, Councils and ... ..	534
Depressed Classes Mission, Bangalore Branch... ..	195, 232	Franchise for Indian Women ... ..	541
Depressed Classes Mission, Mangalore, The ... ..	185, 218	Franchise Problems ... ..	291
Depressed Classes, Mysore Government and ... ..	372, 459	Franchise Problem in Bombay, The ... ..	182
Depressed Classes, Mysore Government's Firm Stand		Fundamental Difference between the two Committees	50
for ... ..	340	Future of Fiji, the ... ..	574
Depressed Classes Society, Belgaum, The ... ..	330		
Depressed Classes, The Special Congress and the ... ..	25	Gandhi, Mr. ... ..	81
Deputation to England ... ..	326	Gandhi and Varnashrama, Mr. ... ..	372
Desolate Picture, A ... ..	341	Gandhi Turned back from Delhi, Mr. ... ..	423
Deva, the late Dr. H. S. ... ..	109	Ganjam District Social Conference, Barua ... ..	524
Devadhar, Mr. G. K. ... ..	8	Ganjam Social Conference ... ..	556
Devadhar's Visit to England, Mr. G. K. ... ..	426	Ganjam Theistic Conference, First, ... ..	621
Dewan of Pithapuram, The late ... ..	229	Geddes, The Bombay University and Professor Patrick	663
Disease and Marriage ... ..	695, 719	Germany's Peace Offer ... ..	97
Distinguished Indian Sanskrit Scholar, A ... ..	278	Germany, The Constitution of new ... ..	622
Domestic Service ... ..	728	Gold for India— ... ..	680
Drink Traffic, Christian Missions and the ... ..	490	Golden Temple at Amritsar, the ... ..	600
Drink Traffic in Great Britain, The ... ..	323	Gopala Rao, The late Mr. ... ..	145
Dyan Prakash Mandal, Poona, The ... ..	607	Government and Sanitation ... ..	134
		Government by Experts ... ..	524
Economics, Indian Agarian ... ..	69	Government of India and the Madras Government ... ..	367
Economy in Politic Expenditure ... ..	712	Governor of Bombay, New ... ..	218
Educated Indians and Sanitation ... ..	385	Governors of Madras and Bombay ... ..	81
Education Fund for College Students, Sir Vithaldas		Great Governor, A ... ..	207
Thackersey ... ..	21	Greeting, A ... ..	57
Education in Baroda ... ..	634	Grievances of third class Railway Passengers ... ..	56
Education of Backward Classes in Travancore... ..	340	Gurukula, Kangri, The ... ..	109
Education of Mohamedans ... ..	243		
Education Movement in India and Britain, Dr. Sadler		Habibullah Sahib Bahadur, Khan Bahadur ... ..	680
on the ... ..	487	Hall of All Religions at Benares, A ... ..	222
Educational Project, Another ... ..	502	Hard Tasks, The ... ..	270
Education, the extention of Primary ... ..	34	Hassan Imam Clayton Case, The ... ..	266
Electricity in Bandra ... ..	683	Health in Bombay, Public ... ..	65
Emancipation of Indian Womanhood, the ... ..	654	Hesitancy ... ..	290
Emigrant Difficulties in Mandapam ... ..	54	Higher Civilization of India,—Its Spiritual Character, The	430
England to India ... ..	387	Hindi, Arguments for ... ..	454
Epidemic, The ... ..	209	Hindi Conference, The Nineth All-India ... ..	454
Epidemics, and Examinations the ... ..	302	Hindi, English and ... ..	454
Epidemic of Increased Salaries... ..	714	Hindi in Southern India ... ..	591
Espionage, The Canker of ... ..	424	Hindi Reader for Southern India, A ... ..	518
Espionage, Government by ... ..	66	Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, the Nineth... ..	410
Essay, Prize for an ... ..	728, 744	Hindi Script, the ... ..	606
Etiology of the Punjab Disorders, the ... ..	743	Hinduism, Back to ... ..	687
Etiquete, An Obsolete ... ..	396	Hindu Charities in Bombay ... ..	290
Excess Profits Duty and the alternative loan... ..	242	Hindu Eugenics ... ..	36, 52, 254

	PAGE.		PAGE.
Hindu Intermarriage Bill, Mr. Patel's	21 35, 67, 72, 89, 245	Indian Reforms, The joint Committee on	... 679
...	254, 267, 281, 304, 589, 668	Indian Reform, Raja Ram Mohun Roy on	... 289
Hindu Intermarriage Bill, Madras and Mr. Patel's	205	Indian Reforms and Women Suffrage	... 679, 711
Hindu Intermarriage Bill, Neo-Orthodox Opposition to	...	Indian Reforms, Lord Willingdon on...	... 382
the ...	280	Indian Reforms, The Maharaja of Bikaner on...	... 382
Hindu Intermarriages, Some Ancient	... 218	Indians' Rights in the Transval	... 633
Hindu Marriage, ...	83	Indian Science Congress, The...	... 65
Hindu Marriage and Act III of 1872	256, 268	Indian Situation, The Viceroy on the...	... 17
Hindu Missionary Society, The	229	Indian Situation, An English Engineer's Views on	...
Hindu University The first Convocation of the Benares.	277	the ...	632
Hindu-Mohamedan Good-Will, Another Notable instance of	534	Indian Social Reformer Libel Suit, The	... 340
Hindu Undertakers and Crematoriums	186	Indian Students and Australian Universities	... 217
Hindu University, The first Convocation of the Benares.	277	Indian Temperance Policy, Wanted an	... 478
Hindu Widow Marriage, A	478, 591, 718	Indian Under Secretary of State for India, The first	265
History of the Mahrathas, A new	68	India, William Archer on	... 586
Holiday in Mohamedan Schools, Weekly	145	Indian Women and the War...	... 372
Home Rule and Social Reform,	266, 278	Indian Women and the Franchise	... 193
Horniman's Deportation, Mr.	471, 488	Indian Women's education and Vernacular Instruction...	367
Horniman's Deportation, Mr. Montagu on Mr.	549	Indian Women in Fiji, Australian Women on the	...
Horniman's Explanation, Mr.	632	position of ...	621
Hospitals under Moslem Rule	232	Indian Women, Miss Helen Keller's Message to	... 620
		Indian Women's University, The	... 584
		Indian Women Students, American encouragement to	...
Ignorance and Bigotry	301	... 326, 331, 368, 399, 664	
Imprisoned without trial	424	Indian Women's Suffrage	... 664
Increased Salaries, the Epidemic of	714	Indian Womenhood, The Emancipation of	... 654
Indegenous Medical System, A plea for the	...	Indianization of British Indian Governments	701, 749
encouragement of ...	258	Indra Lal Roy, R.A.F., The late Lieut	... 109
Indentured Indian Labour, The end of	50	Influenza Epidemic, The	... 81
Indian Agarian Economics	69	Influenza in Bombay, The	... 121
India and Australia	193	Influenza Orphans, Government Creches for	... 170
India and the future	86	Innovation, A Welcome	... 157
India and Gold	696	Intercaste Marriage, An Arya Samaj	... 339
Indians and the Colonies	160, 197	Intercaste Marriage at Calcutta	... 382
India and the War	33, 697	Intercaste Marriage at Multan, An	... 459
Indians at the Civil Service	232	Intercaste Marriage Bill, Mr. Gandhi on The	...
Indian Bndget, The	355	... 329, 345, 355	
Indian Cadets for Sandhurst	157	Intercaste Marriage Bill, Mr. Patel's	... 193
Indian Christian Marriage Act, The	344	Intercaste Marriage Bill, Sir Chimnial Setalvad on	...
Indian Civil Service and Constitutional Reforms	266	the ...	409
Indian Constitutional Reforms	4, 37, 53, 111, 124	Intercaste Marriage Bill, The Social Service League	...
Indian Constitutional Reforms, Europeans and	353, 356, 460	on the ...	400
Indian Crop forecast for 1918-19	345	Inter Marriage, An notable	... 475
Indian Deputations to England	696	Inter-Caste Marriage Bill in Parliament, The...	720
Indian Educational Commission to America, An	653	Inter-Marriages between Indian Christians and Non-	...
Indian Famine, Burma Rice and The	265	Christians	437
Indian Finance Department	290	Inter Marriages, The Law of	... 566
Indians in South Africa	615, 664	International outlook	... 171
Indian Industrial Conference, The	670	Internment Committee's findings, The	... 34
Indians in the American Army	502	Is India Civilized	... 183
Indian Journalists in England	243	Isolation Condemned, Policy of	... 615
Indian Marriages	639	Ishwar Chander Vidyasagar's daughter, Pandit	... 502
Indian Medical Service, Europeans for the	663	Ismail College at Andheri, The	... 744
Indian National Congress, The Forthcoming	145		
Indian Office Reform	301	Jagadgurus, Real and Titular	... 254
Indian Office Reorganisation	647, 665	Jains, Education among	... 65
Indian Peace Delegate, Return of the	647	Janna Rahasya, The	... 72
India's Poverty, Sir S. P. Sinha on	170	Janmashtami Reflections	... 730
Indian Princes', War and	135	Japanese Parallel, A	... 525
Indian Principal for the Foreman College, Lahore, An...	206	Jesus Christ, An Orthodox Hindu View of	... 290
Indian Professor in an English University, An	290	'Justice', A Word for...	... 387
Indian Publications	685	Juvenile smoking, A Bill to prevent	... 409
Indian Reforms	680		
Indian Reforms and Women Franchise	652	Kalinath Roy's case, Mr.	565, 590
		Kanara Leader, The	... 664
		Kanara, Some Needs of...	619, 636



	PAGE.		PAGE.
Kanaras, The two ... ..	728	Mysore Letter, ... ..	56
Kanaras Literature ... ..	5	Mysore Social Notes ... ..	358
Kanya Maha Vidyalaya, Jullundur ... ..	354	Nad-Vatul Ulema Conference, The All-India ... ..	210, 373
Karachi's Ignorance of Bombay ... ..	502	Nagar Brahmin Widow-Marriage, A ... ..	502
Keith, Professor A. B. ... ..	685	Nair, the Late Dr. Taravath Madhavan ... ..	666, 727
Knighthood, Sir Rabindranath Tagore's ... ..	550	Naorange's timely Protest, Miss ... ..	679
Krishna, In Memory of ... ..	109	National Congress, The Next ... ..	82
Krishna Natarajan, Death of Mr. ... ..	113	National Education in India, The Problem of... ..	159
Labour and Industries in India ... ..	219	Nationalization of Women ... ..	437
Ladies' Conference, The first Mysore ... ..	173, 184, 233	Native Races and their Rulers ... ..	292
Lahore Convictions, Lord Haldane on the ... ..	680	Neglected District, A ... ..	477
Lalaye, the Late Mr. C. B. ... ..	605	New Danger to India, A ... ..	600
Lankester's Report on Tuberculosis, Dr. ... ..	744	New India Assurance Company, Limited ... ..	607
League of Nations, The ... ..	327	New India Journalism ... ..	518
Lectures on the Important Movements in India ... ..	290	New Policy, Wanted A ... ..	146
Legislative Councils and the Vernaculars ... ..	549	Ne Sutor Ultra Crepidam ... ..	517
Liberal Brahmins, The League of ... ..	217	New World, the ... ..	110
Liberal Conference, The All-India ... ..	49, 133	Night Colleges ... ..	669
Lientenant Governor of Punjab, The New ... ..	170	Nitrogen, a Compound ... ..	703
Limaye, The Late Professor H. G. ... ..	339	Non-Brahmin Thinker, Wise Words of a ... ..	17
Liquor shops in Coconada, The closure of ... ..	25	Norwegian Model, The ... ..	438
Literary Kinds, Development of ... ..	23	Old Enemy in the New Garb, The ... ..	566
Literature, Kanaras ... ..	5	One-Rupee Note Booklets ... ..	639
Local Self Government in Bombay ... ..	584	Oosmania University, The ... ..	671
Lord Sydenham's Solatium ... ..	122	Open Air Schools ... ..	290
Lord Willingdon, A Madras Appreciation of ... ..	206	Oriental Conference, First ... ..	718
Lord Willingdon's Tours ... ..	600	Origin of an Amendment, The... ..	354
Lottery Advertisements ... ..	424	Orthodox Hindu View of Jesus Christ, An ... ..	290
Madras Hindu Social Reform Association, The ... ..	220	Out-Rowlatting the Rowlatt Committee ... ..	313
Madras Labourers, Mr. C. F. Andrew's Advice to ... ..	206	Over-Education or Mis-Education ? ... ..	278
Madras Politics... ..	428, 445	Pali in the Bombay University ... ..	293
Madras Social Service League, The ... ..	727	Panchama Conference at Melkot ... ..	428
Maharashtra Maheshwari Provincial Social Conference, The ... ..	7	Panchama Education in Mysore ... ..	181
Mahars, Separate Quarters for ... ..	217	Panchama, The... ..	278
Maharaja of Bikaner's Speech at the Sinha-Dinner ... ..	397	Panchamas, Village Panchayats and ... ..	703
Mahomed Ali and Shankat Ali, Messrs. ... ..	565	Patel's Bill, Mr. Daphtary on ... ..	617
Mahratta Political Conference, Nasik, The Second ... ..	245	Patel's Hindu Marriage (Validity) Bill, the Hon'ble Mr. ... ..	20, 35, 67, 72, 89, 245, 267, 281, 304, 589, 668
Majority, On the side of the ... ..	401	Peace Conference, Indian Representatives at the ... ..	170
Maratha Conference, Special ... ..	72	Peace Conference, Race Equality and the ... ..	569
Marriage Mart, The Poona ... ..	359	Peace Treaty, The Draft ... ..	503
Marriage Reform among Khojas ... ..	575	Personal ... ..	147
Marriage Ritual, A New Vedic ... ..	638	Petrol, The Dangers of... ..	680
Medical Service, The Re-Organization of the ... ..	338	Point for Consideration, A ... ..	340
Medical Students, For ... ..	655	Policy, Wanted a New ... ..	146
Message from the Prime Minister to the Princes and People of India, A ... ..	157	Political Bankruptcy, The European Association's ... ..	326
Metropolitan, The late ... ..	241	Political Parties in India ... ..	255
Meyer, Sir William, ... ..	81	Political Situation, ... ..	469
Meyer's Disappointment, Sir William ... ..	382	Potato Cultivation in Western India ... ..	257
Ministers at Indore, Change of ... ..	566	Pratap, The Editor of the ... ..	680
Missionary Verses Message ... ..	40	Pre-Buddhist Remains in India ... ..	278
Moderates are Needed for, What the?... ..	470	Precept and Practice ... ..	20, 55
Moderates' Conference, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar's Speech at the Calcutta ... ..	18	Present Situation, An Indian Christian view of the ... ..	522
Moderates' Conference, The Bengal ... ..	22, 88	Present Situation, A Pedlar's Views on the ... ..	473
Moplas of Malahar ... ..	206	Present Situation, Mr. G. A. Natesan on the ... ..	623
Much Needed Protest, A ... ..	599	Present Situation, Mr. Padshah on the ... ..	507
Municipal Corporation, The New Bombay ... ..	326	Present Situation, Reflections on the ... ..	455
Municipal Corporation, Women and the Bombay ... ..	145	Present Situation, The Government of India on the ... ..	459
Muslim Ladies' Conference ... ..	290	Present Situation, The Rev. Mr. Popley on the ... ..	492
My Creed ... ..	387	Present Situation, Thoughts on the ... ..	473
Mysore Ladies' Conference, the First ... ..	173, 184, 233	President Willson's Reply ... ..	97
		Press Act, The... ..	50, 534, 647

	PAGE.		PAGE.
Primary Education, Extension of ... ..	34	Rowlatt Act as a School Text-Book, The ... ..	486
Primary Education in Bombay ... ..	65	Rowlatt Act, Mr. Gandhi on the passing of the ... ..	395
Prize for an Essay ... ..	728, 744	Rowlatt Act, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar on the ... ..	493
Problems of Reform in the Government of India ... ..	486	Rowlatt Act to be taught in Schools ... ..	491
Professor Patric Geddes, Bombay University and ... ..	663	Rowlatt Bills, an Englishman on the ... ..	381
Prohibited Document, A ... ..	502	Rowlatt Bills and the Passive Resistance, the ... ..	369
Proposed New College in Salsette ... ..	280	Rowlatt Bille, Sir Hormusji Wadia on the ... ..	325
Psychic Research, A problem for ... ..	607, 639	Rowlatt Bills, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar on the ... ..	313
Publications of the Bureau of Education ... ..	82	Rowlatt Bills, Sir Nilratan Sircar on the ... ..	325
Public Expenditure, Economy in ... ..	712	Rowlatt Bills, The... ..	316, 342, 353, 416
Public health of Bombay city ... ..	65	Rowlatt Committee, Ont-Rowlating the ... ..	313
Public Services, Open Competition for ... ..	534	Rowlatt Committee's recommendations, The ... ..	82
Punjab Disturbances, The Sikhs and the ... ..	486	Rowlatt Emergency Bill, ... ..	385
Punjab Disorders, The Etiology of the ... ..	743	Rowlatt Report and Legislation ... ..	98
Punjab Excise Administration ... ..	277	Royal College of Science, The Bombay University and the ... ..	412
Punjab Unrest, a Cause of the ... ..	584	Roosevelt's Patriotism, Colonel ... ..	744
Purdah Experts, ... ..	550	Russian Revolution and the Bolsheviki, The ... ..	647
Queen Marry's College for Women, Madras, The ... ..	193	Salder on the Educational Movement in India and	
Questions, Answered, Two ... ..	18	Britian, Dr. ... ..	487
Rabindranath Tagore in Bangalore, Sir ... ..	317	Sadler, Sir Michael ... ..	680
Rabindranath Tagore's Knighthood, Sir ... ..	550	Samkhya System, The... ..	328, 540
Race Equality and the Peace Conference ... ..	566	Sanitation, Educated Indians and ... ..	385
Race Superiority, Vain Contention about ... ..	39	Sanitary Exhibition, A ... ..	266
Railway Waggons, the Supply of ... ..	751	Sanitation, Government and ... ..	134
Railways and Compensation ... ..	639	Sankaran Nair in Bombay, Sir ... ..	679
Ramkrishna Home of Service, Benares, the ... ..	599	Sankaran Nair's Resignation, Sir ... ..	517
Ramkrishna Mission and Anarchists, The ... ..	649	Sankaran Nair's Successor, Sir ... ..	632, 663
Ramkrishna Mission, Benares, The ... ..	302	Sasipada Banerjee Mr. ... ..	359
Random Generalisations ... ..	157	Saturday Review on India, The ... ..	121
Rate of Exchange, The ... ..	521, 538, 555, 571, 587, 604	Satyagraha, as a Rule of Public and Private Life ... ..	591
Ray's writings and Speeches, Sir P. C. ... ..	253	Satyagraha, Swami Shradanada and ... ..	534
Real Issues, The ... ..	17	Satyagraha, The Reform Scheme, the Rowlatt Act and... ..	425
Recent Disturbances, The ... ..	685	Scholarships for Hindu Lady Students. ... ..	647
Reflections on the present Situation ... ..	455	Scholarships for Lady-Students ... ..	145
Reform Bill in parliament, The ... ..	533	Schol-Books, Macmillan's ... ..	37
Reform Bill, The ... ..	583	Sea-men's Training Institute in Bombay, Proposed ... ..	607
Reform Bill, Prospects of the ... ..	632	Sea-Voyage in Ancient India ... ..	97
Reform Committee's Reports, The ... ..	504, 519, 567	Secondary Education, The Rev. Dr. Mackichan, and ... ..	681
Reform Committee's Recommendations ... ..	82	Secondary Education, The Dnyanodoya on ... ..	719
Reform Committees, The Two... ..	82	Secondary Training College, Bombay, The ... ..	445
Reform Despatches, The ... ..	533	Sectarian Universities, ... ..	599
Reform in the Government of India, Problems of ... ..	486	Sedition, A Short Way with ... ..	414
Reform Scheme, Press opinions on the ... ..	8	Sedition in Sind ... ..	490
Reform Scheme, Prospects of the ... ..	569, 632	Self-Government, Sir George Lloyd on Local... ..	616
Reform Scheme, Sir Alexander Cardew on the ... ..	537, 553	Selling of Girls in Kathiawad ... ..	647, 664
Reform Scheme, The Government of India on ... ..	535, 551	Sensible Step, A ... ..	121
Reform Scheme, the Rowlatt Act, and the Satyagraha,		Seven Bengali Pioneers ... ..	698
The ... ..	425	Ship-bullding at Porbandar ... ..	218
Religious Intolerance in unexpected places ... ..	314	Shocking Sentences ... ..	631
Remedy for Spanish Influenza, A ... ..	133	Sinha Dinner, the Maharaja of Bikaner's Speech at the ... ..	397
Representation of the Backward Classes ... ..	354	Situation in the Punjab ... ..	501, 517, 534
Responsive and Responsible Governmet ... ..	743	Sivaji and Afzal Khan ... ..	354
Responsible Government and European Interests in		Small Holdings in India ... ..	133
India ... ..	315	Social Conference-Burua, Ganjam District, ... ..	524, 556
Responsive Government or Responsible Government ... ..	696	Social Conference, the Maharashtra Maheswari Provin-	
Revolutionary Crime, The Bombay Chronicle on ... ..	49	cial ... ..	7
Revolutionary Crime, Treatment of ... ..	66	Social Intercourse between Europeans and Indians ... ..	453, 470, 474
Revolutionary Movement, Bengal ... ..	51	Social Legislation in India ... ..	6, 20, 84, 99
Rice, Controlling the Export and Price of ... ..	329	Social Life, the Ferment in ... ..	470
Rights of the Illegitimate Child, The ... ..	438	Social Problems from Upanishads, Sidelights on ... ..	87
Roosevelt's Patriotism, Colonel ... ..	744	Social Purity in the Nizam's Dominions ... ..	246
Rowlatt Act, A Mis-conception about the ... ..	438	Social Reconstruction, Professor Lakhshmi Narasu on... ..	518
		Social Reform Anniversary, A ... ..	664



	PAGE.		PAGE.
Social Reform Association, The Madras Hindu, ...	220	Unrest in the Punjab, The ...	525
Social Reform, Currency and ...	682, 702	Untrained Teachers in Bombay Municipal Primary Schools ...	476
Social Reform, Home-rule and ...	266, 278	Useful Charity, A ...	331
Social Reform, The Madras Mail on ...	253	Utterly Irresponsible or Deliberately Malicious ...	49
Social Reform Marriage, Another ...	339		
Social Reform Politics ...	695	Varnashrama, Mr. Gandhi and... ..	372
Social Reform, Karma and ...	650, 685, 719	Vaswani, Professor ...	400
Social Reform, the Keynote of Sir George Lloyd's Government ...	370	Veeresalingam Pantulu, The late Rao Bahadur K. 535, 556, 618, 637, 655, 686, 727.	
Social Service Conference, The ...	253	Vernacular of Behar, The ...	438
Social Service Conference, Delhi, The first All-India ...	218	Vernaculars, Legislative Councils and the ...	549
Social Service, The Spirit of ...	99	Vice-Chancellors, Wanted ...	501
Social Work in Mysore, ...	71, 221	Viceroy's Address at the Chiefs' Conference, the ...	289
Social Workers, Appeal for help to ...	670	Viceroy at Baroda, The ...	396
Some Points for Government ...	325	Viceroy, The next ...	472
Some Practical Difficulties ...	453	Village Panchayats and Panchams ...	703
Southbrough Committee and the Women Franchise, the ...	679	Visveswaraya, Sir M. ...	205
Spanish Influenza, A Remedy for ...	133		
Special Interests and the Legislature ...	367	Wail from Young India, A ..	476
Special Marriage Act, The ...	302	Walter, The late Rev. H. A. ...	353
Sree Sarada Samajam, ...	40	Wanted—An Indian Temperance Policy ...	478
Sri Ramakrishna Seva Samiti, Syehet ...	687	War, The ...	145
State Regulation of Vice in India ...	254	War and Indian Prices ...	135
Strange Demand, A ...	437	War and the beginning of a new world, The end of the, ...	158
Students' Literary and Scientific Society, Bombay, The ...	703	War, Cost of The ...	685
Studies In Early Indian Thought ...	602	War, India and the ...	33, 697.
Stumbling Block to Progress, A ...	409	War, Indian Women and the ...	372
Sugar Commission to India, A... ..	600	War, President Wilson on the... ..	81
Supplementing or Supplanting? ...	313	Water-Power ...	734
Swadeshi Banking ...	181	<i>Wedding Hymn, A</i> ...	88
Swami Vivekananda as a Journalist ...	256	What are we coming to? ...	232
Sydenham's Solitium, Lord ...	122	White Man's Burden Theory, The ...	301
		Widows' Home, The Bombay Hindu ...	354, 358
Tact or Truth ...	711	Widow Marriage, A Hindu ...	478, 591, 718
Tata Industrial Bank, Ltd, The ...	266	Widow Remarriages according to Hindu Marriage Ritual ...	409
Tata, the late Sir Ratan ...	34	Widow Re-marriage Act Anniversary, The ...	684
Telugu Conference ...	71	Widow-Marriage, A Nagar Brahman ...	502
<i>Thank God for Our Bodies, Dear</i> ...	101	Widow Remarriage in Upper Burma, A ...	416
Thoughts on the Present Situation ...	473	Widow Remarriage in the Nizam's Dominions, A Brahmin ...	402
Tilak-Chirol Case, The... ..	341	William Archer on India ...	586
Tilak, The late Mr. N. V. ...	518	Willingdon, A Madras Appreciation of Lord ...	206
<i>To My Infant Son</i> ...	149	Willingdon College, Sangli, the ...	600, 605
<i>To my wife</i> ...	73	Willingdon Memorial Movement, The... ..	169
Towards Christianity ...	608	Willingdon, Mr. Baptista on Lord ...	728
Town Planning in Indore ...	368	Willingdon's Tours, Lord ...	600
Town Planning towards city Development ...	570	Wise Observation, A ...	458
Trade Control in War Time ...	506	Woman's Cause, The ...	121
Trading Clause Deleted, The ...	616	Women Franchise, Indian Reforms and ...	652
Training of Teachers, the ...	566	Women Franchise, The Southbrough Committee and the ...	679
Travancore Letter, Our ...	371, 415	Women, Nationalization of ...	437
Tuberculosis, Dr. Lankester's Report on ...	744	Women of India and their part in the Future, ...	330
Turn of the Tide, The ...	81	Women of India, Reforms and ...	679, 711
Two Bills, The... ..	279, 303	Women Suffrage, Indian Reforms and ...	679, 711
Two questions answered ...	81	Workmen's Institute ...	461
University for Lucknow, A ...	145	World, The New ...	110
		Writing reform in China and India ...	686

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# THE INDIAN \* SOCIAL \* REFORMER.

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not  
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

## CONTENTS.

—:o:—

Government Control of Cotton Cloth.	Indian Constitutional Reforms.
Mr. Nanjundayya on the Chelmsford Montagu Scheme.	Kanarese Literature.
The Bombay Chronicle.	Social Legislation in India.
The Punjabee on Communal Representation and the Second Chamber.	The Maharastra Maheshwari Provincial Social Conference.
Brahmanophobia.	Press Opinions on the Reform Scheme.
The Congress Addresses.	Mr. G. K. Devdhar.

## NOTES.

—:o:—

**Government Control of Cotton Cloth:** The Government of India appointed last March an informal committee to consider what steps could be taken in the matter of regulating and controlling the price of cotton cloth, which had risen so high as to cause considerable distress among the poorer classes, and led to riots in certain parts of the country. A Press communique has now been issued dated the 24th August recording the resolutions of the committee and explaining what action Government propose to take to achieve the end in view. Between March and August the prices of all kinds of cloth have grown unchecked, so much so that what was acute distress of the poorer classes has developed so far as to cause distress to the middle classes and ere long, if prompt steps are not taken, the higher classes may also be affected, and all humanity may have to go back to the days of Adam and Eve in the matter of clothing at any rate. The Government of India moves more slowly than even the proverbial snail, and even at that pace often halts and rests and looks back. The main portion of the Press communique now issued argues that the price of certain kinds of standard dhoties, saris etc., should be fixed by Government. But the whole reel of red tape has not yet been unrolled before being rolled up again. "In order to give effect to the scheme for standardising cloth of Indian manufacture" says the communique, "they (the Government of India) are introducing a Bill at the forthcoming session of the Imperial Legislative Council taking power to appoint a Controller of cotton cloth who will act in association with an Advisory Committee of persons with technical knowledge of the trade.....Before, however, effect can be given to this scheme there are a number of preliminary details with regard to which further discussion is necessary." The Government of India have decided to appoint Mr. F. Noyce I. C. S. as controller of cotton cloth. Again, "conditions have, however, changed since the Committee came to its conclusions and the Government of India think that it is desirable to give further consideration to the question dealt with in Resolution III of the Committee's Report." The particular

Resolution referred to here relates to the suggestion made by the Committee that the increase of price of cloth might be prevented either by limiting from time to time the price of raw cotton or by restricting the amount of cotton that may be exported. Now, all this procedure of investigation is absolutely necessary we admit, but what every sane man, under existing conditions, would ask is: could not all these investigations and preliminaries be put through and relief offered, quicker to the public? Is there no method by which Government could avoid these delays? Circumstances will always be changing, new conditions will arise from day to day, and if Government have to wait till there is no more change of conditions to come to a final decision, no action can ever be expected. Cannot Government treat this as an urgency measure?

**Mr. Nanjundayya on the Chelmsford Montagu Scheme.** The *Servant of India* prints amongst its editorial paragraphs in the last issue a communication from a correspondent who criticises Mr. Nanjundayya's suggestions relating to the certification and Grand Committee procedure in the Provincial part of that scheme, as not being an improvement from the popular point of view. The report recommends that the Governor of a Province should be empowered by the issue of a certificate to withdraw at its very initiation a bill dealing with a reserved subject from the purview of the Legislative Council and to refer it to a Grand Committee of the Council. In other words, without giving the Council an opportunity of expressing its views on the measure, the Governor by a fiat can send it to a Grand Committee which will have an official majority, though a bare one. Mr. Nanjundayya suggested that instead, every measure should as a matter of course be first brought before the Council, and "if the views of Government on such subjects (that is, subjects for which the special procedure is intended) cannot be carried out in the ordinary manner, then the certification procedure may be initiated as described in the report scheme." That is to say, the Governor should not assume that indispensable official measures will *ipso facto* be thrown out by the Council. He should give the Council the opportunity of dealing with it, and only if it fails to deal with it in a responsible way, should he make use of his certification powers. We confess that, in our opinion, this is a more reasonable, not to say respectful, way of dealing with the Legislative Assembly than that suggested in the report. The writer in our contemporary imagines that Mr. Nanjundayya recommended that if a Government measure of the class contemplated fails to get through the Council, "it should automatically be submitted to a Grand Committee for the final decision", and goes on to show that this is objectionable in various ways. The only contingency in which the use of the term "automatic



cally" would be intelligible, in this context, is if the certification were to precede the introduction of the bill in the Legislative Council. But, as the words we have quoted above from Mr. Nanjundayya's article show, this is not his idea. His idea is that this exceptional procedure should be had resort to only if the normal procedure fails. Of course, the Legislative Council will be told beforehand that Government intend, in case they fail to carry this measure through the Council, to apply the certification powers, but the actual application will not take place until after the measure has been thrown out by the Council, and the Governor will then be in a better, not a worse, position than under the scheme to decide whether he should or should not, in the light of the debates in the Council, carry out his intention of certifying it under his emergency powers. Emergency powers should be used to meet an emergency and not to forestall one which may never arise.

**The Bombay Chronicle:** Apart from the fundamental differences between the Bombay Moderates and Bombay Radicals, the attitude and language of the *Bombay Chronicle* towards respected leaders of the former party, is a source of estrangement. The point has attracted attention even outside Bombay, and the *Tribune* of Lahore has strongly reprobated the *Chronicle's* method. When efforts were being made to bring about a reconciliation, the *Chronicle* wrote an insulting paragraph about Sir Narayan Chandavarkar whom it has praised to the seventh heavens on other occasions when it suited its views. On the night previous to the date originally fixed for the Congress, when the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's unauthorised attempt to bring about a settlement was made, the *Chronicle* headed a Moderate announcement as "traitors' conference." The word was withdrawn and apologised for next day as not having had editorial sanction, but the mischief had been done. It is impossible to conceive a sub-editor using such a heading unless he had some excuse for thinking that it would not be materially at variance with the policy of his paper. If the *Chronicle* were in dread and fear of a reunion between the two sections, it could not comport itself with less self-restraint in its references to and comments upon the Moderates.

**The Punjabee on Communal Representation and the Second Chamber:** The *Punjabee* writes: "The *Reformer* has from the very beginning supported communal representation for minorities and the Council of State and Grand Committees. It is no wonder, therefore, that it should be anxious to have them accepted by the Moderates' Conference. But the arguments employed by it to support them need careful examination. The extremely forcible and convincing arguments used by the authors of the Reforms Report are, we think, quite sufficient to give a quietus to the clamour for the extension of communal representation. The authors of the Reforms Report have not been, of course, consistent. But that is no reason why the *Reformer* should persist in turning our legislative assemblies into an "exhibition of castes" as Mr. Tilak once put it very succinctly. Surely that does not form a part of a social reformer's programme! The *Social Reformer* argues that "it is not communal electorate but the communal spirit which is at the root of the evil." But can you, we ask, separate the two? They are we are afraid, inseparably connected with each other. Each interacts upon the other. The *Reformer* might lay the flattering unction to its soul by thinking that "the strength of the communal spirit will not be

appreciably enhanced by communal electorates," but history says otherwise. And it is by the teachings of history that we must be guided."

Our contemporary is wrong in saying that we have supported the proposal of Grand Committees. These and the certification process which is to call them forth, we have strongly objected to, and we are still of the same opinion. As regards the Council of State, we support the idea of a second chamber, but not the special functions proposed for this Council in the scheme. As for the communal representation of minorities, we are strongly in favour of it so far as practicable, in the case of well-defined communal minorities. This is not because we do not realise the force of the arguments against them, but because we fail to see why, if these arguments are to be set aside in the case of the Mahomedans and the Sikhs, they should be forced upon the Indian Christians, the Parsis, the Lingayats, and the depressed and backward classes, provided always that they desire to have separate communal electorates. Is it because the Mahomedans and Sikhs can make themselves heard, while the others may be ignored without inconvenience? We do not attach any importance to Mr. Tilak's expression of opinion on a matter of this kind. He has never done the least little to allay the communal spirit and it may interest the *Punjabee* to know that some leaders of the backward classes in this Presidency state that, it is just because they are afraid of the reactionary influence of the Tilak party, they are anxious to protect themselves by means of communal electorates. As for the teachings of history, what is the teaching of the very recent history of Mahomedan communal electorates? With reference to the second chamber, we are more than ever convinced that a single chamber legislature for India and the larger provinces will virtually mean the disfranchisement of the most responsible, experienced and influential section of the community.

**Brahmanophobia.** One of the principal centres of infection of this new disease which has broken out in Southern India is *Justice*, a daily English journal published in Madras. The only argument which our contemporary uses or evidently understands is that of caste. By way of criticism of some observations which recently appeared in these columns, *Justice* shrewdly remarks that, it believes, this journal is edited by a Tanjore Brahmin. We regret that we are unable to return the compliment. We may, however, remind our contemporary that our endeavours to wean not only the Brahman but also the non-Brahman from his bigotries, date more than a score of years before *Justice* saw the light of day. Any day it is a far more worthy and patriotic thing to try to exorcise the evil of caste feeling from Brahman and non-Brahman alike than to make it one's business to set these communities by their ears. The attempts of *Justice* and its partisans to bring the Brahman into hatred and contempt is, as Sir S. P. Sinha, a non-Brahman himself, remarked in a recent speech in London, provoking a reaction which is likely if prolonged to do serious harm to the cause of reform. No Brahman or any other priest or *purohit* has crossed the threshold of this writer for over quarter of a century, and if *Justice*, instead of vilipending the Brahman, devoted itself to the task of persuading its constituents to admit no mediators between themselves and their God, it will be doing a real service to Brahmans as well as to non Brahmans.



# INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, SEPTEMBER 1, 1918.

## THE CONGRESS ADDRESSES.

The Special Session of the Indian National Congress opened on Thursday last with an address delivered by the Chairman of the Reception Committee, the Hon. Mr. V. J. Patel. "Willing to wound but afraid to strike," Mr. Patel's endeavours to show that his views on the Chelmsford-Montagu scheme were identical with those of the Liberal leaders fail to carry conviction to the impartial reader. He started by avowing that he had no desire to utter one word of bitterness about those who have stood aloof from the Special Session, but actually he said many words which were, indeed, not bitter, but what is worse than bitter, contemptuous of their action. He averred that they had incontinently run away from the Congress and sought safety in the undefined region known as Nowhere. But this is not the only nor the most palpable inconsistency in an address abounding in inconsistencies. In one place, he asked "Where, then, is the line of cleavage between those who have left the Congress and those who are still loyal to it?" A very few sentences later, he declared: "We have come to the parting of the ways, but I do not see either in the near or the distant future any prospect of the two paths commingling, and running out straight and wide to the goal we are striving to reach." But the crowning inconsistency undoubtedly was that, while declaring repeatedly that the seceders were few in number, he devoted eight out of eighteen pages of his speech to showing that they were unreasonable and impulsive in anticipating that the Congress under the guidance of the Radicals would throw out the scheme. But truth will be out, and Mr. Patel's own words may be quoted in confirmation of the Liberal fears. "*Should the unexpected happen* and the Congress refuse to reject the scheme summarily," he asked, "what will be the position of those who have of deliberate purpose elected to sit on the fence?" The italics are ours. Should this unexpected result happen, the Liberal leaders may legitimately take credit to themselves that it was their firmness which compelled those who had talked bravely of rejecting the scheme to adopt a less truculent attitude towards it.

If Mr. Patel's address was that of a red-hot Radical thinly disguised as a Moderate, the Presidential address of Syed Hassan Imam was that of a sober statesman disfigured occasionally, we are sorry to say, by the violent phraseology of the demagogue. Indian opinion is unanimous that the part of the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme dealing with the Government of India should be recast. Syed Hassan Imam's suggestion that the Indian element in the Executive Council of the Viceroy should be definitely fixed at one-half represents a practically unanimous desire of Indians. It is also common ground between all shades of Indian opinion that the reformed Indian

Legislature should have an effective control over the Indian Budget except in respect of a few specified departments. Syed Hassan Imam's criticisms of the proposal of a second chamber of the Indian Legislature also will meet with the approval of a large section of Liberals though we think ourselves that a properly constituted second chamber is an absolute necessity. It is all very well to deprecate distrust, whether of the officials or of the people, but the whole justification of a constitutional government is that the subject should be protected from the vagaries of the individual administrator on the one hand, and of popular passions on the other. We agree with the Syed that the bureaucrat is out of date and place as the means of maintaining peace and order but, coming from the province where we had the brutal and disgraceful Arrah riots not many months ago, how can he say that a popular assembly without a second chamber can fully meet the needs of the country? The Syed harps upon the phrase "distrust of the people." Do not special electorates for Mahomedans imply distrust of the Hindus? We challenge Syed Hassan Imam to produce a scheme which can be brought into force at once, and which will not imply distrust of the people in some measure? Does not the Congress-Moslem League scheme itself imply distrust of the people? After all, the question for practical politicians to consider is not what the motives in the mind of the framers of the scheme are but how it will work in practice and what results it will have on the good government of the country. As regards his criticism of the admission of ruling Chiefs to the Council of State, he seems to overlook the fact that they are to be under no obligation to come into the scheme unless they choose to do so of their own free will. It is for them to decide whether their own territories require all their care or whether they can spare some of their time and talents to the larger questions which concern the whole Empire.

It is when we turn to the parts of the distinguished Syed's address relating to the Provincial section of the scheme that we realise the deep sense of responsibility which he has brought to bear on his task. His acceptance of this part of the scheme goes much beyond that of many even among Moderates. And it is expressed with an openness and fervour which are such a bright feature of the Presidential pronouncement. He welcomes the proposal to substitute direct election for the present indirect methods as a "real step towards reform." While asking for somewhat more extended powers in provincial administration, he acknowledges that a considerable advance upon the existing system is proposed and that if the proposals are given effect to "the journey to self-government in provincial matters will be sure, though long." While some even among Moderate supporters of the scheme are suggesting additions to the list of transferred subjects—the Hon. Mr. V. J. Patel wants no reserved subjects in the more advanced provinces—the President of the Congress



declares that the subjects proposed to be transferred are as numerous as of the reserved class, and declares his belief that "the transferred subjects will afford to us sufficient opportunities of administrative training in the first few years to enable us to qualify ourselves for the transference of all the subjects to popular control." In contradistinction to some Liberals, Syed Hassan Imam sees no serious objection to the proposal to appoint additional members of the Executive Council without portfolios. He unreservedly welcomes the provisions in the report about the proportion of the appointments in the Indian Civil Service, another point on which several Moderates have expressed dissatisfaction. He expresses his cordial acknowledgments for the opening of Commissions in the Army to Indians. His paragraph relating to the attitude of Indian politicians to non-official Englishmen and to communities other than their own generally, is worth its weight in gold. No doubt when he criticises, Syed Hassan Imam does not mince his words. But neither does he bate his breath for fear of popular suspicion when he feels that the recommendations of the report deserve approval and support. We congratulate the Special Congress on its choice of President, and if the rest of the proceedings are inspired by the same qualities, as we hope they will be, as these which we have noted in the Presidential address, it will be entirely due to the judgment and firmness of Syed Hassan Imam.

### INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS.

BY MR. H. V. NANJUNDAYYA, C. I. E., M. A., M. L.  
(Continued from the last issue.)

#### TRANSFERRED SUBJECTS.

The element of responsibility in these Councils is introduced by the device of "Transferred" subjects. In respect of legislating about them, the power of removing any measures from the full cognisance of the Legislative Council is altogether barred. The guiding principle in the determination of subjects to be transferred is laid down to be to include in the transferred list, those departments which afford most opportunity for local knowledge and social service, those in which Indians have shown themselves to be keenly interested, those in which mistakes which may occur though serious, would not be irremediable, and those which stand most in need of development. These subjects are not to be the same necessarily in all provinces, but are left to be determined later according to the stage of advancement in each province. An illustrative list is appended to the report, in which the chief departments are Education (excluding University), Sanitary and Medical, Excise, Forests, Local Self-Government, Agriculture and Co-operative Credit and part of Public Works. The list is a sufficiently liberal one for a beginning; and can be enlarged gradually so as to embrace all the subjects handed over to Provincial management of which a larger list is also appended.

The arrangement proposed to carry on the dual government is ingenious. To contrive as

far as possible, that the Government composed of members and ministers shall discharge its functions as one Government, it is proposed that, as a general rule, they should deliberate as a whole, but that it should be within the discretion of the Governor to confer separately with either branch of his Government. It is, however, stated that the actual decision would be taken by the Governor and the Members on reserved subjects, and by the Governor and the Ministers on transferred subjects. If this is the case, it is difficult to make out how the objection against dualism is removed. If, on the other hand, the united executive body (consisting of Members and Ministers) is concerned in the actual decisions arrived at, there seems to be little difference between this arrangement, and the alternative scheme of having an Executive Council of four members, of whom two are selected out of the elected representatives,—a scheme which is rejected as unsuitable in para 217 of the Report.

The responsibility given to the Ministers is also of a very qualified kind. It is not contemplated that from the outset, the Governor should occupy the position of a purely constitutional Governor who is bound to accept the decisions of his Ministers. The Governor will have the power of over-ruling his Ministers, only limited by the instrument of instructions to be issued by the Secretary of State. Seeing also that the Minister is not to be elected by the Council, but to be selected by the Governor himself and to hold office during the lifetime of the Legislative Council, the difference between his position and power and that of a member of the Executive Council is, after all, very small.

It is no doubt difficult to suggest a more satisfactory scheme, assuming all the conditions to be as they are laid down in the report. But as the transferred subjects are ex-hypothesi such as may be safely (or at any rate without serious risk) entrusted to popular control, would it be too much to lay down not merely that he should be willing to meet their wishes to the farthest possible extent, in cases where he realises that they have the support of popular opinion, but that he should not interfere with the Minister's decision in such matters?

The decision that the Minister should not be removable during the initial tentative period by the adverse vote of the assembly, seems to be sound. He will be answerable to some extent to his constituents at the end of the first term. But would it be difficult to get the selection made by the Governor endorsed by the same constituents by requiring that he should vacate his seat on appointment as Minister and seek re-election at the constituency by which he was originally elected?

#### PROVINCIAL FINANCE.

It is when we come to consider the question of financial management that we see the greatest reason to doubt if the system of partial devolution as sketched is at all a practicable scheme. The eminent authors of the report seem to realise this difficulty, but not quite fully. The contribution to the Government of India, and the allotment required



for reserved subjects is made the first charge on the provincial revenues. It is admitted that the transferred services are generally those which stand in need of greater development. The two former items even when increased demands are made, can always be fully provided for from existing revenues, and any resort to additional taxation will invariably have to be justified on the grounds of the need to provide for transferred services. Is it fair to subject the Ministers and their special departments to this odium, even though the additional burden is really due to the demands of other departments? There is no real solution of this difficulty proposed, except that it will not be insuperable if reasonable men conduct themselves in a reasonable manner and that the periodic sanction (of a Parliamentary Commission) will tend to produce a spirit of compromise and co-operation.

The idea of a settlement to prevent this kind of friction is discounted in the report. Nevertheless, it seems to be difficult to suggest any other method of doing so. If at the first budget to be placed before a reformed Council, either the previous year's figures or the average ones of the previous three or five years be assumed as the standard, and all increased proposed be subjected, to the vote of the assembly, there will be no reasonable ground for complaint. All the departments (both Reserved and Transferred) will equally share the responsibility of increasing taxation, and the advantage of participating in the increased revenue. A similar procedure can easily be adopted in subsequent years.

(To be continued.)

#### KANARESE LITERATURE.\*

Mr. E. P. Rice, brother of Mr. Lewis Rice whose name is a household word in the whole of the Karnataka has written a book on the Kanarese Literature which is well worth close study. The book forms one of a well-planned series on the Heritage of India dealing with Sanskrit, Pali and Vernacular Literatures, biographies of eminent Indians, philosophy, fine art and music of India. As the editors remark, no section of the population of India can afford to neglect her ancient heritage. "But while the heritage of India has been largely explored by scholars and the results of their toil laid for us in their books, they cannot be said to be really available for the ordinary man. The volumes are in most cases expensive and are often technical and difficult. Hence this series of cheap books has been planned by a group of Christian men, in order that every educated Indian, whether rich or poor, may be able to find his way into the Treasures of India's past."

It is a common impression that Kanarese does not possess a rich literature of its own. Outsiders are not to blame because, as Mr. Rice says, fifty years ago, very few even of the Kanarese people themselves had any idea of the priceless wealth of their literature. "Kanarese has a literature of vast extent, reaching

back till its beginnings are lost in the mists of time in the early centuries of the Christian era." It is a Dravidian language wholly unrelated to Sanskrit and it possesses a few works like Andayya's *Kabbigar Kava* wherein not a single Sanskrit word is found. It is more akin to Tamil though its script resembles that of Telugu. All these languages with Malayalam belong to the Dravidian Stock. Dravidians themselves are a foreign race though they came much earlier than the Aryans. Brahmi, a non-literary language of Beluchistan, is akin to the Dravidian languages, and Mr. E. P. Rice says affinities are said to exist between them and the Finnish of North Europe and Ostiak of Siberia. In a Greek papyrus of the second century found in Egypt are found two verses which have been identified by scholars with Kanarese. Kanarese inscriptions have been found dating from the 5th century. The earliest extant Kanarese work is Nriptnnga's *Kavi Raj Murga*, a work on poetics and rhetoric. As Mr. Rice says, the character of the book which is a treatise on the methods of poets itself implies that poetical literature was already of long standing and widely known and appreciated. It proves conclusively that Kanarese was in a highly developed state even in the early centuries of the Christian era.

Kanarese literature easily divides itself into a Jaina, Lingayat and Brahman period. Its literature is mainly religious and mostly poetical, probably two characteristics which it shares almost with all vernacular literatures. Until the middle of the twelfth century it is exclusively Jain. Lingayat literature commences from about 1160 and the Brahman output begins a century later. Jains and Lingayats appealed to the masses through the vernaculars and Brahmans saw the utility of these methods last. These periods also show the dominance of these three important religions of the Karnatak, in the respective literary ages. These different sections of Kanarese literature, remarks Mr. Rice, differ not only in religious background but also in literary form. Jain works are chiefly in Champu, mingled prose and verse. Much of the Lingayat Literature is in prose and its poetry is in *Shatpadi*. Brahmanical compositions are also in *Shatpadi* but there are many lyrical compositions to popular airs. The modern period has yet to be created but what little of it there is, is in prose. Mr. Rice has given also the cardinal doctrines of Jains and Lingayats which make it easy to have a good knowledge of their literature. Bhadrabahu led a great Digambara migration from Northern India and settled in Sravana Belgola, in Mysore. They adopted the language of the country and wrote works in Kanarese which stand to this day unsurpassed. The masterpieces of Kanarese Literature are mostly Jain though Shadakshari's *Raj Sekhara Vilas* and Lakshmisa's *Jaimani Bharat* are much more popularly known. Another characteristic of the Kanarese language is its highly polished and grammatical construction which is chiefly due to the labours of Kanarese grammarians of whom Bhattakalonka and Kesiraja and Nagavarma are most authoritative. Mr. Rice quotes Dr. Burnell who says of Kesiraja's

\*By Rev. E. P. Rice. Association Press, Calcutta.



*Sabda-manidarpana* (1260) :—"The great and real merit of *Sabda-manidarpana* is that it bases its rules on independent research and the usage of writers of repute. But these grammars though very valuable have at the same time given a certain rigidity to the language. The spoken language also now differs considerably from the written which has to conform to the rules laid down in the 10th and 12th centuries. Even the French Academy has relaxed its rules and the Kanarese Academy recently started to unify dialects, fix scientific terminology and form a common literary style, may devote its attention to relax and improve the rules of grammar in consonance with modern conditions. It is interesting to note that as many as six dictionaries were composed between the 14th and 16th centuries." Mr. Rice's excellent manual of Kanarese literature is marred by an attack on Radha-Krishna. There is very little of eroticism in the worship of these deities in the Karnatak, and we hope that the coming series of the Heritage of India will be spared from such propagandist doctrines which are quite offensive to Indians. Another point on which we differ from Mr. Rice is the suggestion thrown out that the Bhakti School owed its existence to Christians and Mahomedans. This is of a piece with Mr. Weber's suggestion that Ramayana was copied from Homer.

Why is then a literature so well-developed and cultured as the Kanarese comparatively so poor in its modern output? Though the Kanarese population numbers more than a crore, it is divided between four or five administrations. Fifteen lakhs under Madras are more or less forced to learn Telugu or Tamil except in South Canara. The same is the case with the Kanarese population in the Southern Maratha States and Kolhapur. Seventy thousand in Sholapur are forced to learn Marathi. The chief centres of the Kanarese language, Mangalore, Mysore and Dharwar have developed each a style of their own and practically few books published in Kanarese command a sale all over the Karnatak. Happily there is a revival in the Karnatak and an ardent desire to unify the style is to be observed. The Kanarese press also, for reasons above noticed, is in a poor condition. Mysore is about to start a well-equipped Kanarese daily shortly. The Mysore University also will be a powerful influence in developing the language and literature. Probably the hiatus between old and modern Kannada has much to do with the poverty of modern Kannada literature. The old masters have become mere names to the bulk of the Kanarese people. Annotated editions critical and explanatory are badly needed to bridge the gulf between old and modern Kannada. Comparatively modern languages growing up without any rigid grammatical restrictions like Marathi and Gujarati have already developed considerable modern literature. It is for the Kanarese people not to be content with their ancient and hoarded *Ashrafs* but to bring those already disused coins again into currency and also mint new mohurs.

V. V. R.

## SOCIAL LEGISLATION IN INDIA.

### III.

"It may indeed be questioned whether the life spent in the Indian Civil Service is calculated, except in rare cases, to stimulate that part of political talent which consists in the study and guidance of political opinion, or in the framing of the large legislative proposals which are from time to time needed in actively thinking political communities". (Mr. H. A. L. Fisher. *The Empire and the Future*.)

Mr. Fisher's view about the innate incapacity of the Indian Civil Service "in the framing of the large legislative proposals" has never been better or more aptly illustrated than in the self-condemnatory speech of Sir Reginald Craddock, the great strong man of the I. C. S., in the Council meeting in March last. He said "It has been my lot to be associated with measures like the Amendment of the Law of Conspiracy and the Defence of India Act. . . . It is a source of great regret to me that I have not been able to carry through other measures of a beneficent constructive nature. . . . I have attempted to pass through a measure for the better protection of minor girls, but when the subject began to be examined in the details, so many points of acute controversy were produced that it was considered impossible to go on with it during the war. I formed great hopes that with the aid of a Jail Commission the Government of India might be able to take a step forward towards the improvement of its penal system and the better reclamation of its criminals. The war has again intervened. There were other matters of very general interest which I had hoped to push through during my term of office. One of these is a measure to deal with Charitable and Religious Endowments. . . . Another measure with which I had been anxious to deal was the question of usury, on which I hoped we might be able to devise something to protect the poor and the ignorant for the advance of the usurer. . . . All these hopes for securing great and wide-reaching benefits for the people of India, have been frustrated, temporarily by the war." This long extract brings home as nothing else can, the charge against the present system whereby superannuated men are put in positions controlling the destinies of peoples; whereas we want men with fresh eye, fresh enthusiasm, and with the mind "full of Western improvements and analogies" and "unencumbered by too much knowledge of detail". And it may be asked whether such a reference to the postponement of measures "securing great and wide-reaching benefits" and affecting the happiness of millions is worthy of one holding as it were the position of a Prime Minister or whether such culpable dilatoriness will be tolerated in any country of the West. The Home Member is something like a Prime Minister to the Viceroy and can we imagine such an apologetic speech like this being delivered by Mr. Lloyd George or even Mr. Balfour to exculpate himself from a dangerously unfeeling legislative inactivity? In England such a confession would have cost any Cabinet Member his seat and his reputation.



as a statesman. While, in India, there is this extraordinary fact that Sir Reginald Craddock gets a promotion to Lieutenant-Governorship—a well-deserved reward forsooth! Such is the irony of things and we are asked to believe that we are living in the best of all possible worlds. In England Acts, Bills like the Coal Mines Wages Bill, or Trade Union Act were passed within a year of the necessity for them being felt and here is the glorious example of only four or five questions of quite ordinary importance pending solution for ten or fifteen years. One thing must be said now: any postponement of Bills like the Religious Endowments Bill or Protection of Children Bill, will be a sheer scandal. Poor Sir Reginald, I pity him for his having been associated with repressive measures only. At this rate, we must wait till the proverbial Greek Kalends for a settlement of the formidable list of the long-standing grievances mentioned in the Congress Memorandum and in that of the ten Bombay Leaders or for ever approaching the standard of watchfulness and legislation of the West. It must be obvious that all this talk of efficiency is a mere myth and that the facts and happiness of millions can no longer be left to the sweet will and pleasure of an irresponsible bureaucracy. Not only has the bureaucracy failed to respond to world-movements of good and progressive Government before the war, but it still persists in refusing to recognize and freely respond to the world-forces “unchained” by this war. As Mr. Montagu quite fairly and aptly said, “the Government of India is too wooden, too iron, too inelastic, too antediluvian, to be of any use for the modern purposes we have in view”. Yes “for the modern purposes” not for the ancient purposes belonging to the period of Aurangzeb or the Tudors. And in nothing is it more clear than in the lack of readiness to remedy the sufferings of the people. In this connection, it may be added that the successive Secretaries of State for India have been no less to blame. If only the Secretaries of State had spent half as much time in considering the real needs of India as they did in their wonderful duty of the sale of the Council Bills, the Government of India could not have become so wooden and so irresponsible. There is no reason why the Secretaries of State should not have suggested and even insisted that the Indian Government should consider the adoption of Free and Compulsory Primary Education and of the other social ameliorative and social legislative schemes of the West. Lord Morley to whom we are grateful in other respects, probably the last remaining apostle of *laissez faire* and individualism, refused to sanction the expenditure of a few thousands of rupees for the development of industries; while I wonder how he managed to be a Member of Cabinet which passed all those social measures at the initiative of Mr. Lloyd George and also I wonder how he gave £ 30,000 to Mr. Bremner, the inventor of monorails. And to add to the egregiousness of the whole affair,—probably to the amusement of the impartial observers—the Indian Government has most slavishly and quite promptly too, passed such Bills as the International Motor Vehicles Bill, the Copy Right Bill, the Wireless

Telegraphy Bill etc. immediately after they were passed in England.

( To be continued.)

## THE MAHARASTRA MAHESHWARI PROVINCIAL SOCIAL CONFERENCE.

(FROM A CORRESPONDENT.)

Some time back the leading merchants of the Maheshwari Marwadi community of Ahmednagar decided to hold a Conference of their community at Ahmednagar. Shet Chunilal Kabre, Shet Premsukh Kabre, Shet Lakshmi-Narayan Kabre, Shet Hiralal Kabre, Shet Ramkisan Soni, Shet Gulabchand Joshi and other leading merchants took a leading part. The Conference was held here on the 15th, 16th and 17th August under the Presidentship of Shet Shri Kisandas Jaju B. A. B. L. of Vardha who is well known all over for his philanthropic work. Shet Chunilal Kabre delivered an address of Welcome as Chairman of the Reception Committee. The name of the President was duly proposed and seconded and the President delivered his Presidential address.

It was a very earnest and eloquent plea for social reconstruction amongst this most influential and powerful community. The president while he advised to keep politics out of the present scope of the Conference said that it was certainly necessary that as individuals should all take part in politics according to their individual temperaments. He further said that although politics is shut out from this Conference he would like to say that this great community asks for no separate representation. If the community is backward they should not have it. If it becomes or is progressive it does not want it. He then dealt with the necessity of looking at questions of social reform with an open mind. Man is more than an animal because he thinks and so let us see whether certain of our social customs are useful; if not let us as men change them. The law of the survival of the fittest is the law of evolution for the brute. The law of self-sacrifice is the law for the growth of man and so let us see whether our actions in society tend to help its growth and not whether they please us individually. He then dealt with the necessity of curtailing expenses on marriage and obsequies. He said that the Marwari community as a trading community were the stewards of the Nation. We earn our profits from the poor ignorant toilers and we must see to it that we use the wealth we can for the benefit and uplift of our fellowmen. He raised an eloquent plea for the spread of education amongst them including their women and laid stress on the latter. He urged them to organize their trade and arrange for better commercial education, which will help the community to serve their interests of their mother-country in a proper manner.

The resolutions that were passed at the Conference were of a three-fold nature. Some were of a social and religious character. Some were educational in the broad sense of the term and thirdly some related to trade and commerce. The proceedings commenced with a resolution praying for early success in this War of principles to the allied armies and affirmed the loyalty of the community to the Imperial Throne.

The enthusiasm with which the resolution regarding women's education was passed was remarkable. Mr. Shiva-Narayan Rathi of Nagpur an old orthodox gentleman deplored the fact that no ladies attended the Conference. He said that the ladies were taken to bathe in the Ganges and they kept away from this meeting which was a Lokanga. No auspicious ceremony could be complete without the ladies and so he said he wondered how the Conference



could succeed without the co-operation of the ladies of the community.

Resolutions urging economy at marriages and obsequies were passed as also resolutions prohibiting the sale of marriageable girls and so far as the Ahmednagar District is concerned the caste Panch drew up articles and signed them laying down the alterations advocated and passed at the Conference and bringing them into immediate action.

The speeches on the resolutions relating to trade were very noteworthy. The consciousness of having become mere Dalals of foreign traders seemed to have fully dawned upon them and expression was freely given to the hope of joint-stock concerns flourish amongst the community and many hoped that the members would become organizers and pioneers of industry. Several speakers feelingly referred to the position that the term 'Maiwari' has begun to connote and all were urged to live up to their true Dharma and as Vaishyas to become the mainstay of the nation's prosperity.

At the conclusion the President said that he was asked to announce that a boarding for Marwari students would be opened in Ahmednagar and that influential men are collecting the necessary funds. The proceedings terminated amidst enthusiasm.

The proceedings of the Conference commenced with the singing of 'Bande Mataram', the whole audience reverently standing. The Conference was non-political in the technical sense but related to questions which affect the national growth. The proceedings were conducted in the Marwari language and one of the surprises to the local friends were the fine speeches delivered by such a large number of delegates. It is noteworthy that a special vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Haribhan Parkhe one of our College students for the help he rendered.

The Conference gave the most clear indication of National awakening and filled all those who attended it with hope for the future.

### PRESS OPINIONS ON THE REFORM SCHEME.

(The West Coast Spectator, Calicut, July 18.)

The report contains sentiments which we never expected would come from the mouths of the rulers of India, which in themselves show how anxious Lord Chelmsford and Mr. Montagu are to satisfy the people and how wide awake they have been. But, much depends on the new angle of vision being brought into operation by the executive who now most unreasonably considers itself infallible and has cultivated that spirit of intolerance of criticism which is responsible for so much mischief. We are indeed extremely gratified to find the Viceroy and the Secretary of State unreservedly rejecting the proposal for the construction of provincial upper houses. A bicameral system is bad enough in the Government of India and it will be worse in the provinces. Landed interests are sufficiently safeguarded in the Legislative Council, and there is no necessity for a second chamber even for the glorification of spurious rajas or tinsel "royalty."

(The South Indian Mail, Madura, July 18.)

The hour has arrived when there should be very frank understanding between the authorities and those who have thought it necessary in the interests of the Empire to point out the predominant defects in the Report and to suggest with all the force they could command that, unless the proposals adumbrated in the Report are radically altered so as to meet the public criticism as reflected in the various organs through

out India, the Report cannot be acceptable. Between the Nationalist party and 'Moderate critics,' there is a common basis, that is, both are agreed that the report is beset with defects which ought to be removed. It is, therefore, 'useless and highly impolitic for the Bureaucracy to resort to repression with a view to humiliate and crush the Nationalist party. We are led to make these observations by the recent application of the Defense of India Act in the case of the two prominent workers and three leading organs in this country.

(The Indian Messenger, Calcutta, July 21.)

There have been two opinions in the country about the reforms. There is nothing surprising in it. We know all of us are not of the same way of political thinking. There may be room for two opinions, but there is none for the mutual recriminations and suspicions which are poisoning the very source of political life in Bengal. What is, however, more surprising is that both the moderates and the extremists should be in such hot haste in either accepting or rejecting the recommendations. Perhaps each suspected the other would give a lead to the public opinion of the country and wanted to forestall the other. In our opinion such hot haste was most uncalled for. The work before the leaders of divergent schools of political thought is plain enough. The moderate leaders have got to prove to the educated intelligence of the country how the recommendations meet most nearly the minimum demands of the Congress-League, and the extremist leaders to show where the proposed reforms fall short of them and that in a way which makes the whole thing unworkable and unacceptable. Let both parties place their respective cases before the educated public. And they will know what to accept and what to reject undismayed either by moderate fear-mongering or unsuayed by extremist bravado and bombast.

(The Subodh Patrika, Bombay, July 28.)

The scheme has obviously many defects, but its greatest merit is that it is subject to revision every ten years. There is therefore a seed of progress in it. A categorical "unacceptable" is therefore a lamentable attitude to take. After all men are greater than institutions. All continental publicists are agreed that there is no constitution as illogical and cumbersome as the English constitution, but it has been so successful. Similarly it may be with the present scheme of reforms. Who knows after years of trial, it may get purged out of its defects that may be then apparent? An impatient rejection of the whole scheme is both impolitic and unwise.

MR. G. K. DEVDHAR.

FROM A CORRESPONDENT.

On the eve of his departure to England, as a Member of the delegation of Indian Editors to the Western Front, Mr. Devdhar was entertained by his friends, and the workers at the institutions, which owe their existence or prosperity to him more or less both at Poona and Bombay, for the last two days. On Saturday the different branches of the Poona Seva Sadan arranged a farewell function in his honour. Functions were also arranged by the Members of the Co-operative Societies in villages round about Poona founded by Mr. Devdhar and working under his supervision and by the men at the Aryabhushan Press, owned by the Servants of India Society, while his colleagues at the Society at Poona and his other friends there gave an entertainment in his honour or



aturday night. On Sunday, functions in his honour were arranged at the Bombay Seva Sadan (Home Classes and Training Classes), the Nirgude Free School for Girls, of the Managing Committee of which he is the President, and the members of the Co-operative Societies working under the supervision of the Debt Redemption Committee. The Hon. Adit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Babu Siva Prasad Gupta Benares were present at the last of these functions. Mr. Vydhya was also entertained here by his colleagues and friends at the Society's Home. The Deputation of Editors of which he is a member embarked on Monday.

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# INDIAN \* SOCIAL \* REFORMER.

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncondemning as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not  
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

## CONTENTS.

—:O:—

The Viceroy on the Indian Situation.  
The Viceroy on Communal Electorates.  
Wise Words of a Non-Brahman Thinker.  
The Real Issues, Fancy and Fact.  
Two Questions Answered.  
Sir Narayan's speech.  
The Special Session of the Congress.  
Precept and Practice.

Social Legislation in India.  
Mr. Patel's Hindu Marriage Bill.  
A Great Benefaction.  
The Bengal Moderates' Conference.  
The Development of Literary Kinds.  
Communal Representation.  
The Special Congress and the Depressed Classes.  
Closure of Liquor Shops in Coconada.

## NOTES.

—:O:—

**The Viceroy on the Indian Situation.** His Excellency the Viceroy opened the Simla sessions of the Legislative Council with a speech which was characterised by the excellences almost invariably found in his speeches namely lucidity, candour and careful weighing of words. The country, however, does not look to viceregal utterances for an accurate and well-arranged study of facts. That anybody can provide given the necessary materials. What it does look to His Excellency for is a word which will hearten and strengthen it in the great stress of circumstance at the present time. From his exalted position His Excellency commands necessarily a wider outlook than others and the people ask that the august representative of His Majesty in this country should speak the word which will uplift their hearts and understandings at a time when both are apt to run low. Much of what His Excellency referred to in his speech is known to the public. The Viceroy's references to the scheme of constitutional reform were quite correct but very little illuminating. The critics who ignore the basic promise of the Declaration of August 1917 are equally unreasonable with those who find the limitations and qualifications contained in that Declaration, but surely it is not less unreasonable to lay excessive stress on the words, to the detriment it may be, of the spirit of that Declaration. "We had neither to fall short of," said His Excellency, "nor to go beyond our terms of reference." How is it possible in a matter of this kind to judge of measures with such meticulous exactitude? To say that the Secretary of State and himself had anticipated that every transitional scheme is open to a certain class of criticism, does not carry us far. On the whole, the criticisms that His Excellency's comments on the character of the reform scheme are of a very helpful nature.

**The Viceroy on Communal Electorates.** In his address on the opening of the Simla Session of the Indian Legislative Council, His Excellency the Viceroy, in the course of his remarks on constitutional reform, referred to the question of communal electorates, in these terms. "I cannot help thinking," said His Excellency, "that much more has been read into our proposals than they were intended to convey. We wished indeed to make it clear that in

our opinion communal electorates were to be deprecated for the reasons set out in our report but it was in the main to the method of securing communal representation by communal electorates that we took exception and not to communal representation itself. The careful reader of the report will see that we regard this as inevitable in India and that we clearly contemplate the representation of those communities and classes and interests who prove their case before the committee shortly to be appointed to examine the question. I am most anxious that the fullest representation should be secured to the various classes and communities in India, but I am frankly doubtful myself whether the best method for securing that representation is through a system of separate electorates. However, I am content to leave the unravelling of this important question in the hands of the committee who will have the fullest evidence placed before them and will be free to make such recommendations as they think right, unfettered by our report."

**Wise Words of a Non-Brahman Thinker.** As we fully expected, the more thoughtful non-Brahmans are beginning to perceive that the movement of which *Justice* is the journalistic organ in the Southern Presidency, is being run on fundamentally wrong lines. Professor V. Muthukumaraswami Mudaliar, in the course of a very suggestive article on the non-Brahman problem in the columns of our contemporary, observes: "My non-Brahman friends! The die is cast and *volens volens* you must go forward and not think of compromises with custom and prejudice any longer. "The mills of God grind slowly," but grind they must and will. You cannot hug ignorance any longer to your bosom and still hope for true political or other progress. Religious and social reform should always form the basis of political, economical and international reforms, you should know where the shoe pinches in reality and then readjust your conceptions of things from top to bottom. If you do that, your problem is solved, and if you don't the non-Brahman movement has, I am afraid, not an iota of chance to succeed."

**The Real Issues.** He states the real issues of the problem which, we think, concerns Brahmins as much as non-Brahmins, in the following sagacious passage: "The question of questions for the moment is this, can the non-Brahman after all that is said and done in a lukewarm or earnest manner, break away altogether from his elder brother the Brahman? Can Dravidian civilization cut itself adrift from all contact with Aryan culture at once and stand on its own legs as it were? Can you non-Brahmins really do without the Vedas, Shastras, Smritis, Puranas, Itihasas etc., that have made you what you are? Can you grow Varnasrama and sail in full faith in the you on the waters of life for the future? And Deity or for the sake of supposition merely, it were suppose, possible, if not highly probable where would the non-Brahmins be then? In other words, what the non-Brahmin of Hindu social polity which owes its will become?"



existence to the ubiquitous Brahman? And again, if the "Neo-Non-Brahman" will have nothing more to do with Brahmanism, what would or should or could be his religion for the future? Would it still be Hinduism, the offspring of Brahman ceremonialism? Would hydra-headed caste die out altogether and leave its parent Hinduism behind to bring forth novel and up-to-date progeny to suit the conditions of the times? Or would Hinduism die hard with Varnasrama itself and make room for Buddhism to rejuvenate the dying nation? You must look these things in the face and cast about for proper means to attain your end."

**Fancy and Fact.** The *Bombay Chronicle* thinks that we have taken up the advocacy of a bi-cameral legislature and of the extension of communal electorates to such other minorities—the Mahomedans and Sikhs being assured of them—as may desire them, with the tactical object of enlisting the support of the "nobles," and the non-Brahman communities to the forthcoming Liberal Conference. We only wish to remind our readers that long before the Liberal Conference was thought of, months, indeed, before the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme was published, or even drafted, we recommended a bi-cameral legislature, with special representation for minorities in the second chamber, the first being elected on a purely territorial basis, on the ground that the legislature should reflect in broad outline the structural peculiarities of the population of a country. The following was our first reference to the subject, and it appeared in the issue of September 30, 1917:—"There should be a relatively large Representative Assembly or popular Chamber and there should be a somewhat smaller Senate or Legislative Council. This double chamber system has been found to work well in most countries, but it has a peculiar suitability for India. The Indian social and industrial system rests on a double foundation. It has a communal as well as a territorial basis. The caste or sect underlies the one, and the village community the other. Our Legislature must partake of this double character if it is to be truly representative. At the same time, we should not lose sight of the fact that the aim of all modern governments is to eliminate gradually the communal in favour of the territorial or civic basis. As social reformers, we would countenance nothing which recognises caste. As constitutional reformers we recognise that, unless there is a large correspondence between the structure of society and the structure of the legislature, things are bound to go wrong in the administration. We would, therefore, have two electorates, the territorial and the communal; but we would so adjust the relations between the two that a tendency may steadily operate to bring about the merging of the communal in the territorial. One thing we would insist upon at the outset: the voter must make his choice whether he chooses to exercise his franchise as a member of a caste or sect, or as an inhabitant of a territorial area. He can on no account be allowed to run with the communal hare and run with the territorial hound. Every caste which comprises more than a certain minimum number of persons should be allowed separate representation, if it chooses to claim it. Smaller communities may be allowed to form an electorate by joining other small ones, or they may be included in the territorial electorates."

**Two Questions Answered.** That paragraph written full eight months before the Chelmsford-Montagu scheme was published, and almost a year before a separate Moderate Conference was thought of, contains by anticipation answers to two questions raised by our critics. One of these is that suggested in the

paragraph from the *Punjabee* which we quoted last week. Citing Mr. Tilak's comment that any extension of communal electorates will turn our legislative assemblies into an "exhibition of castes," the *Punjabee* exclaimed: "Surely that does not form a part of a social reformer's programme!" But, surely, we are not going to get rid of caste by an artificial arrangement of the electorates. Caste will go as the result not of constitutional manipulation but as the result of the growth of a deeper sense of human brotherhood, and such growth will be retarded, not advanced, by forcing communities in which it is at present ill-developed, not to say non-existent, into a political system which entirely ignores their deepest sub-conscious (and, in most cases, also conscious) dispositions. This is also the answer to the criticism of our English friend, whose letter we print today, who is unable to understand our advocacy of communal electorates for such castes, Brahman or non-Brahman, who are in a sufficiently large minority and who desire to have them, but not for "non-Brahmans." As we have said before non-Brahman means merely not a Brahman. The term will include not only non-Brahman Hindus, but also Mahomedans, Parsees, Indian Christians, Jews and so on. Mahomedans, it is evident, are not inclined to be represented by Dr. Nair. Neither, so far as we know, are Parsees, Jews or Indian Christians. Our friend implies all the non-Brahmin Hindus are. Apart from the fact that there is a party of non-Brahmans who have openly repudiated this assumption, there is absolutely no proof that the Mudaliar is willing to represent by the Pillai or the Tiyya by the Nair. A few educated men of these castes may, as a matter of temporary political tactics, profess to be indistinguishable from one another, but what we have to look to is whether the several castes in the past have evinced a greater tendency to fuse with one another than the Brahman to fuse with them. For this reason, while we are of opinion that the Nairs, the Tiyyas, the Vellalas, and any of the larger determinate castes, are entitled, if they ask for them, to communal electorates, we absolutely cannot recognise any such category as "non-Brahman." And while on this point we may add a word of warning to our English friends, especially the Christian Missionaries. They represent in this country the conscience of the Christian, we will not say "civilised", world, because we are not sure that the "civilised" world as such has a conscience. It is their duty to their Master to throw their great influence on the side of truth and right without any regard to social, political or sectarian prejudices.

Sir Narayan Chandavarkar's Speech at the Calcutta Moderates' Conference. Any of our readers who read the summary of Sir Narayan's speech at the Calcutta Moderates' Conference, which appeared in the papers, with our criticism, would have seen that almost all the arguments which were missing so that it was an open question as to the actual value of the conference. Sir Narayan returned to Bombay last week and our surmise was confirmed by what he told us of the gist of his speech which occupied, we understand, more than half an hour. At our request he kindly supplied us with a full and authentic version of his remarks which, it goes without saying, were strongly against joining the Special Congress and in favour of holding a Separate all-India Liberal Conference. We print the speech in full. We do not do this by way of defence against the attacks made on Sir Narayan on the strength of a very incomplete and misleading summary, but in order that the public may be in a position to appraise the actual value of the conference attached to such reckless criticisms.



## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1918.

## THE SPECIAL SESSION OF THE CONGRESS.

According to the tests usually applied to gauge the success or failure of such gatherings, the Special Session of the Indian National Congress must be pronounced to have been a success, even a huge success. The experience of the Liberals who attended it belied the fears entertained regarding the reception which would be accorded to them. This was no doubt largely due to the action of the general body of Liberals in abstaining from participating in the proceedings. But whatever the reason, the fact is that the Liberals who did attend were given a fair and even respectful hearing. As for the resolutions passed by the Special Congress, there was an unexpected amount of sobriety about them. Here, again, it is needless to enquire into the reasons for which and the means by which this character was imparted to the resolutions of the Special Congress. The first resolution tendered the loyal homage of the Congress to His Majesty the King-Emperor. The second reaffirmed the resolutions on self-government passed at the last two Congresses declaring that nothing less than self-government within the Empire can satisfy the Indian people and strengthen the connection between England and India. The resolution does not state whether it is intended that such self-government could be immediately accorded or is but the goal of Congress policy. Probably it is the latter, because the subsequent resolutions enunciate the immediate demands of the Congress with reference to the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme. The first part of the third resolution is a mere matter of opinion. In it the Congress declared that the people of India were fit for self-government and repudiated the assumption to the contrary alleged to be contained in the report on constitutional reforms.

The second part of the third resolution went to the heart of the Chelmsford-Montagu scheme. It declared the entire disagreement of the Congress with the formula of the scheme that the provinces are the domain in which the earlier steps should be taken towards the progressive realisation of responsible Government and that the authority of the Government of India in essential matters must remain indisputable, pending experience of the effect of the changes proposed to be introduced in the provinces, and the Congress expressed the opinion that simultaneous advance was indispensable both in the Provinces and the Government of India. Moderate or Liberal opinion also favours simultaneous advance in the Government and the Provinces, but it does not challenge the formula regarding the maintenance unimpaired of the authority of the Government of India which, indeed, it proposes to strengthen by the reforms which it would suggest in the constitution of the Government of India. Of the 13 modifications suggested by the Congress in the part of the Chelmsford-Montagu scheme relating to the Government of India, the Liberals, we think,

will be least prepared to stake the acceptance of their views on the demand of the Congress for a statutory guarantee that full responsible Government should be established in the whole of British India within a period not exceeding fifteen years. They will also probably be not prepared to insist that after the first term of the reformed assembly, the position of the Viceroy and the Legislative Assembly in regard to transferred subjects should be the same as that obtaining in the self-governing dominions. The Congress resolution, we see, does not decidedly advocate the rejection of the Council of the State, but this and some other of its recommendations leave it entirely out of account. There is a strong feeling among all parties in the country that the Government of India should have the largest measure of fiscal autonomy, even though it may not immediately be complete fiscal autonomy. For example, if India cannot have at once the right to deal with her customs with the same absolute freedom as the self-governing colonies, there is no reason why she should not be accorded without delay liberty to deal with them either within certain limits or without any limits in regard to all but certain specified categories.

The resolutions of the Congress embodying what is called a declaration of rights seems to us to be not very happily worded, besides being inconsistent with the declaration that the country will not be satisfied with anything less than self-government. The resolution states that the Government of India shall have undivided administrative authority on matters directly concerning peace, tranquillity and defence of the country subject to the following: "That the statute to be passed by Parliament should include the Declaration of the Rights of the people of India as British citizens: (a) that all Indian subjects of His Majesty and all the subjects naturalised or resident in India are equal before the law, and there shall be no penal nor administrative law in force in the dominion whether substantive or procedural of a discriminative nature; (b) that no Indian subject of His Majesty shall be liable to suffer in liberty, life, property, or of association, free speech or in respect of writing, except under sentence by an ordinary Court of Justice, and as a result of lawful and open trial, that every Indian subject shall be entitled to bear arms, subject to the purchase of a licence as in Great Britain and that the right shall not be taken away save by a sentence of an Ordinary Court of Justice; that the Press shall be free, and that no licence nor security shall be demanded on the registration of a press or newspaper; that corporal punishment shall not be inflicted on any Indian subject of His Majesty, save under conditions applying equally to all other British subjects." It is not clear to us why Parliament should embody this in its statute. Is it conceivable that the Legislature of India under a system of self-government would do any of these things, and that it should be prevented from so doing by an Act of Parliament? We are bound to admit that during recent years there has been an increasing tendency in India for Government legislation to ignore these elementary rights of British subjects. But it is unfair



to suggest, as the resolution does, that Indian subjects of His Majesty are liable to suffer in liberty, life, and property except under sentence of a Court of Justice as a matter of ordinary occurrence. The Defence of India Act, of course, is a war measure and a similar measure is in force in Great Britain. Apart from this, there has undoubtedly been a tendency to rely on measures of repression. It is, however, relevant to remember that Indian non-official members supported Government in passing some of the most drastic of those measures, and that the existence of criminal conspiracies in some parts of the country to subvert law and order, to a certain extent makes the Congress demand for a declaration of Rights premature.

The resolutions of the Moslem League, held about the same time, merely paraphrase, in many cases they literally reproduce, those of the Congress, with a special mention of the claims of the Mahomedan community. Neither the Congress nor the League has bestowed a thought on the claims of other communities. A correspondent calls attention to the fact that an appeal specially made by the Depressed Classes to the Congress, was passed over without notice. This, we need hardly say, is not a statesmanlike procedure. The future constitution of India cannot be regarded and settled as an inter-communal matter between Hindus and Mahomedans. While the Mahomedan minority must be fully provided for, other minorities should not be left to find for themselves. This is a glaring omission which, we hope, the All-India Liberal Conference will rectify. We think that the need for such a Conference has been no whit lessened by the unexpected degree of moderation evinced by the Special Congress. The Conference is needed to endorse on behalf of the Liberals whatever was just and practicable in the Congress resolutions, and to correct whatever was extreme and impracticable for the time being.

**Precept and Practice:** Speaking at Indore on the occasion of the opening of the Shivaji Rao Holkar High School last month, His Excellency the Viceroy said: "You may build your fine buildings, you may spend lakhs on bricks and mortar, you may pour your children into your schools by the thousand, but unless your teaching staff is up to the mark, your expenditure and your labour will have been in vain. In the first place, we should concentrate our attention on the training of our teachers. The mere possession of a degree does not constitute a teacher. The science of teaching requires to be imparted, as does every other science." These are wise words. It is difficult however, to reconcile them with the recent appointment of temporary Principal of the Teachers' College in Bombay. While on this subject, we cannot omit to say a word of appreciation of the action of the Government of Madras under very similar circumstances. They have appointed the Indian Vice-Principal of the Teachers' College, a gentleman of wide experience and recognised eminence in his profession, Rao Sahib T. V. Sivakumara Sastry, as acting Principal of the Teachers' College during the absence of the permanent Principal on duty. If an Indian can be appointed in Madras for the place, why should it be necessary to import an English clergyman without any obvious qualification for it in Bombay?

## SOCIAL LEGISLATION IN INDIA.

*(Concluded from the last issue.)*

Let us then take a brief review of the legislative activity in India. For ten years beginning from 1905-06, about 125 Acts have been passed in the Imperial Council. Our task in the selection of the important Acts has been made lighter by the Decennial Report of 1911-12. That "dismal and repellent publication" of Moral and Material Progress Report mentions the following as the important Acts from 1907 to 1911; The Prevention of Seditious Meetings Act, the Code of Civil Procedure, the Explosive Substances Act, Newspapers (Incitements to Offences) Act, the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, the Indian Registration Act, the Indian Emigration Act 1908, the Whipping Act 1909, the Indian Press Act, the Indian Paper Currency Act, the Indian Emigration (Amendment) Act 1910, the Indian Patents and Designs Act, the Indian Factories Act 1911. Thus the report gives credit to Government for thirteen important Acts till 1911, of which five Acts are what would be called Repressive, three are consolidation and only the remaining five can be taken as really important. From 1912 onwards, the number of important Acts are only eleven or twelve including repressive and consolidating Acts. Of course, it will be said that the activities of the Local Legislative Councils have been ignored. These seven or eight Local Councils have during the last ten years passed about 235 Acts; but most of them are mere amendments of minor Bills. The Decennial Report mentions only two Bills of importance passed by the Local Councils till 1912. After 1911 we find only five or six important Acts. The whole affair leaves such a sorrowful impression in our minds, especially when we note the hundred important Bills passed in England. There is nothing in all our Legislature that approaches the Old Age Pensions Act, National Insurance Act, Labour Exchange Act, Public Health Act, the Children Act rightly called the Children Charter, the Probation of Offenders Act, Trade Disputes Act, Mines Minimum Wages Act and so many other Acts. The Madras Government and all the leading Anglo-Indian Associations vehemently protest against the Executive being placed under the Legislature. Of all Governments, the model Madras Government which is now very much in the forefront, takes three or four years to consider whether putting criminals into stocks shall be put an end to or not and has not yet moved while in the House of Commons, Coal Mines Wages Bill or a Trade Union Act was thought of and passed within a few months. Apparently, they do not want to be disturbed from their comfortable seista.

The real crux of the whole situation is that the bureaucracy is far less efficient than the democracy of England. It moves only when its pet interests are touched. "The legislature is the handmaid of the Executive" as Mr. Gokhale once put it. When the bureaucratic machinery creaks, then the legislature is put in motion. The legislature is only for the oiling and the preventing



of creaking of the bureaucratic machinery." Hence are all the validating and amending Acts. It is said that the interests of the masses are safeguarded by the officials more than the non-official clamourers and agitators. Look at the long list of interpellations and resolutions which have been moved in every Council by the much-abused agitators most of them intended for the welfare of the masses, and let any one see how many were accepted and how many were opposed. The most glaring instance is the position of the ryots and their condition with regard to land taxes. A poor ryot possessing one-half or one-fourth of one acre has his land-tax raised on the plea of unearned increment. Indeed, for a man holding  $\frac{1}{2}$  or  $\frac{1}{4}$  an acre, it is a grim mockery. The demand has been made by the people that the resettlement, in such cases, should come under the purview of the legislature. That is stoutly opposed. Here is the solicitude for the welfare of the poor, dumb masses with petty land holdings. Apart from this, how many Acts have been passed in our Legislative Councils for the amelioration of their condition? The Legislature gives no clue or guidance and the Legislature is, in fact, silent about it.

We have thus compared the Legislative activity of India with that of England. If we begin to compare it with that of the colonies or of the other countries like France, Germany, U. S., A. etc., the result will be staggering indeed. While the legislature in India is thus silent about and quite inactive in the spheres of cultural and humanitarian advancement, no wonder the expenditure in cultural, and humanitarian functions of the State is so little that would require another exposition. And whenever there is any surplus, it is spent on discharging small and not inconvenient debts, or on creating new appointments or for meeting the ever-insistent and unabashed demand for increasing the salaries of an administration "which is over-paid at the top." All our evils are therefore, due to an inadequate conception of governmental functions. The one irresistible conclusion we must naturally come to, is that the rulers at the top, as at present exist, have no head or "talent" for constructive and beneficent legislative measures and hence, they have forfeited the right to control the legislature. The greatest condemnation that we would level at them, is they have not produced one man of international reputation, they have not produced one man of fine enthusiasms and lofty ideas; but they are all of the earth—earthy, victims of a machine. The need for recasting is greater as, after the war, all the countries will embark on wide and far-reaching schemes of reconstruction, legislative and administrative, political and social. Can we afford to lag behind?

T. S. K.

**Mr. Patel's Hindu Marriage Bill.** The following is the full text of the Hindu Marriage Bill which Mr. Patel introduced last week in the Indian Legislative Council. "Whereas it is expedient to provide that marriages between Hindus of different castes are valid, it is hereby enacted as follows:— (1) This Act may be called the Hindu Marriages Validity Act of 1918. (2) It extends to the whole of British India. No marriage among Hindus shall be invalid by reason that the parties thereto do not belong to the same caste, any custom or any interpretation of Hindu Law to the contrary notwithstanding."

## A GREAT BENEFACTION.

### SIR VITHALDAS D. THACKERSEY EDUCATION FUND FOR COLLEGE STUDENTS.

It is a wellknown fact that within recent years the cost of higher education has greatly increased. Many poor students are unable to get admission into colleges and even if they are fortunate enough to get admission, they do not get the wherewithal to pay their fees, buy the books and necessary appliances and maintain themselves. Several castes and communities have started their own schemes on a small scale to benefit poor students of their community. But there has been no fund or endowment from which students of all castes and communities may expect to be benefitted.

We are glad to announce that this great need of the country will be supplied by the fund which Sir Vithaldas Damodar Thackersey has started, and the rules of which we publish below. The fund, we understand, will ultimately amount to five lakhs of rupees and will be created into a trust for the purposes of helping poor college students. It is Sir Vithaldas's intention later on to make additions to the fund. It will be generally recognised that this is one of the most useful measures of philanthropy undertaken in our generation. The Committee of management consists of the Hon'ble Mr. Lalubhai Samaldas C. I. E., Khan Bahadur Fardunji M. Dastur, M. A., Principal A. M. Masani, M. A. B.Sc., and Sir Vithaldas D. Thackersey, Kt.

This fund has been created with a view to meet the needs of students who wish to prosecute their studies at colleges affiliated to the Bombay University, but who are unable to meet the whole or part of the expenses of such study.

It is proposed that such help should take the form of loans, repayable after graduation, in convenient instalments, so that the amount received back may be used further for the benefit of successive batches of students and thus become practically an irreducible fund to be permanently employed in the interests of poor college students. It is hoped that 100 students will always be receiving help from this fund.

2. It will be utilised for giving pecuniary assistance to really deserving students, in order to enable them to pay their College and examination fees, to purchase books, and, in special cases, for maintaining themselves as well. The amount thus advanced will not ordinarily exceed Rs. 400 per annum, in each case.

3. Applications will be invited two months before the commencement of every new University year. Subject to the arrangement outlined in the next paragraph twenty-five new students will be selected every year for the first four years and after that the number of new students to be selected will be regulated according to the number of selected individuals who will have then ceased to be the recipients of the benefits hereby provided, by completing the course of study undertaken by them or otherwise. Thus the total studentships will be as follows:—

In the year	1919	...	...	25
"	"	1920	...	50
"	"	1921	...	75

and from 1922 onwards 100 per year.

4. It is proposed to bring up the number of studentships to 100 from the very beginning by selecting 25 students for 3 years' course, 25 for 2 years' course and 25 for one year course if such applications are received from students, who



may have still to put in the above-mentioned period to complete their courses.

5 Any student desirous of having the benefit of the Fund should in his application supply the information in Form I. The application for help will also have to be accompanied by a certificate from a thoroughly reliable person in Form II.

6. Only such of the applicants as have done well at the last University or College examination will be entitled to have the benefit of the Fund, and selections will be made from amongst them on consideration of merit and the reasonable prospects of successful prosecution of their studies.

7. *Conditions imposed on Selected Applicants* :—The selected applicants shall enter into a written agreement with the Committee or with such persons as the Committee may appoint, agreeing in consideration of the help to be given to them, to the following conditions :—

(a) That the candidate, after graduation, will be bound to repay the loan without any interest, in such instalments and on such conditions as the Committee may think fit, in the interests of the Fund as well as of the student. The instalments will generally not exceed one-fifth of the monthly salary or income of the student after completing his course, and the payment of his instalments will usually be claimed six months after this by which time he is expected to earn a living ; but such instalments should not be less than Rs. 10 per month.

(b) That the candidate shall, during the prosecution of his studies, be under the superintendence and guidance of the Committee or such other persons as the Committee shall from time to time appoint for the purpose.

(c) That the candidate failing to prosecute the studies undertaken by him or failing to take the Degree or to pass the examination or examinations stipulated for by him, or failing, in the opinion of the Committee, to conduct himself satisfactorily, shall not be entitled to further assistance, and shall be bound, on demand, to repay all sums paid to him under the agreement, with simple interest at 4%, either at once or by instalments, as the Committee shall, in its discretion, determine.

(d) That the candidate shall insure his life with such Company and for such amount as shall be decided by the Committee. The premium of insurance shall be paid by the candidate ; the candidate shall assign his life policy and the premium receipts to the Committee as security for the monies advanced or to be advanced by the Committee to the candidate, that in case of the candidate's death before the repayment of the monies due from him, the Committee shall repay themselves the monies due to them, out of the proceeds of the policy, returning the surplus (if any), to the lawful heirs or assigns of the candidate, provided that the candidate, on repayment of the whole of the monies due from him, shall be entitled to the return of the policy.

The candidate will be asked to procure a statement from a thoroughly reliable person in Form III.

8. *Cases of Minor Students* :—In case of the minority of any student, who is an applicant under this scheme, the committee may advance money during his minority to him, on the security of a bond passed by any major person, whom the Committee may approve.

9. *Powers of the Committee*.—The Committee is empowered to make exceptions in special cases and relax any of the above rules according to the circumstances of each case, and may add to, alter or eliminate any of the above rules as may be deemed necessary.

## THE BENGAL MODERATES' CONFERENCE.

### SIR NARAYAN CHANDAVARKAR'S SPEECH.

Gentlemen,

Before putting the Hon. Mr. Ramachandra Rao's amendment to the vote, you will permit me as your Chairman to wind up the debate by a few observations on the points which have been raised and made by the several speakers on the question whether we should as Moderates join the Special Congress or whether we should abstain from it. I have personally a very strong opinion and I may say that my friends in Bombay who are called Moderates are also firm as a rock for abstention. We have made up our minds not to join the special session of the Congress. Only yesterday I received a telegram from Sir Dinshaw Wacha asking me whether our Moderate friends in Bengal were for or against abstention. In Bombay pressure was brought to bear upon them but they would not shrink from the course they have taken in not only abstaining from the Special Session of the Congress, but also in organising a Moderates' Conference. Now Mr. Ramachandra Rao's amendment proposes that we should approach the Reception Committee of the Special Session of the Congress and ask for its postponement and make an earnest endeavour for a compromise in the interests of national unity. Now with reference to that, I shall try to place before you certain facts as unprejudicially as I can although, I confess, I cannot altogether forget my personal predilection that after all that has happened it would be unwise and impolitic on our part to unsay and undo all that we have said and done and join the special session. Mr. Ramachandra Rao asks us to go to the Reception Committee of the Congress and propose postponement of the Special Session in order that we may arrive at a solution in communication with both parties for the purposes of a compromise and unity.

Now, what are the facts ? At my request Mr. Ghose, who is on my left and is serving this meeting as its Secretary in charge of all the papers has read out to you in the course of the debate the telegram received yesterday by my friend on my right, the Hon. Mr. Surendranath Bannerji, from Mrs. Annie Besant at Bombay. I will read that telegram again :—(Here Sir Narayan read out Mrs. Besant's telegram).

Now in this telegram Mrs. Annie Besant says most distinctly and emphatically that any postponement of the special session of the congress is impracticable. If that is so, of what use is it to go to the Reception Committee and ask for a postponement ? But Mr. Ramachandra Rao says Mrs. Annie Besant is not the Reception Committee and that we must make a last effort by approaching the Reception Committee ourselves. Are we seriously to believe that Mrs. Besant sent the wire to Mr. Surendranath Bannerji without sounding the Reception Committee however informally ? If the other side are really anxious for a compromise or unity why does not the Reception Committee approach us with an offer of postponement and a compromise ? Then there is another objection to Mr. Ramachandra Rao's amendment. The Moderates in Bombay have issued their Manifestoes as issued by their leader Sir Dinshaw Wacha and they have resolved not to abstain from the special session of the Congress and to organize a separate Moderates' Conference. You in Bengal have issued your own Manifestoes, taken up your own attitude and agreed with the Bombay Moderates for a separate conference. If we have proceeded so far and told the country what the position is, if you have issued your Manifestoes and made clear your position, what will the country think of the Moderates after all this and after all the vain attempts made by our stalwart leader, the Hon. Mr. Surendranath Bannerji



ce the seventh of August to bring about a mutual understanding and unity? The country will think that the Moderates have no real backbone, they are mere wobblers and do not know their own minds. Why should not the Reception Committee come to you and make their proposals? After all that has happened and after Mrs. Besant's telegram received by Mr. Surendranath Bannerji which I have read to you we the Moderates approach the Reception Committee now to ask for a postponement we the Moderates shall blackening our faces before the country. I say this because the question of Mr. Montagu's Reform scheme and our attitude towards it is a matter of very great importance for the country. We Moderates have not asserted ourselves so long, we have tried to go with the other party but we see now how we have been misrepresented and our leaders vilified. They have clean condemned the scheme. Do you think you will be heard at the Congress with any respect for that? If anybody has any right to calmly view the situation I claim that right. During the last two years we have put forth our best efforts—I have at any rate done so—to have a split. I have personally no reason whatever to complain because they have been—if I may say so—kind to me, for instance at the last annual election of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee they ousted Sir Dinshaw Wacha from the presidentship, almost every Moderate was ousted from membership and in Sir Dinshaw's place they put me as president. Seeing that almost all the old members were turned out I wanted to resign, but then I thought "just let us see how we can go on." There was a desire among many members of the Moderate party last year for a separation and there were two meetings at Poona and one in Bombay to consider that question but I strongly pleaded against separation until some vital principle was concerned. Now that occasion has arisen. They have practically quarrelled with us, vilified our stalwart leaders like the Hon. Mr. Surendranath Banerji and we have made up our minds to separate. The Bombay Moderates are determined. I had a letter from Sir Dinshaw Wacha about a fortnight ago asking to know what Bengal was going to do and I hope Bengal will give its final word today in favour of abstention and a separate Moderates' Conference. Before concluding my remarks you will allow me to deal with a point which my friend Mr. J. Choudhri made in his eloquent appeal that we should go to the special session of the Congress and fight the extremists to the bitter end just as he has fought them in this very hall. Now with all respect, let me say that it is not a question of fighting the extremists or Moderates to the bitter end. There is a constitutional point of practical importance involved in the matter and it is this:—

Shortly after Mr. Montagu's scheme of reforms had been published, the Hon. Mr. Srinivasa Sastry, whom I see present here at this meeting, sent circular letters to some Moderates inviting their opinion as to whether we should join or abstain from the special session of the Congress. I was one of those to whom that circular letter was addressed. In that letter Mr. Sastry asked whether the preferable course in the best interests of the country for the Moderates to follow was not to join the special session, assert themselves, and in case of defeat or insult leave the Congress pandal in a body. In my reply to that letter I pointed out that if we joined the special session and were defeated by a majority, then as constitutionalists it would be unwise on our part to leave the Congress in a body, because the constitutional principle is that the minority is bound by and must respect the resolution of the majority whereas if we held our own conference we should be avoiding this false step. But Mr. J. Choudhri today argued, if we don't

join the special session but hold a separate Conference our Conference will be a conference of a few people and the country will not be at our back. Now to that my answer is twofold: The country is with us, only we have not asserted ourselves but left the other party to assert themselves and so the country seems to be with them. I have been myself to the several parts of the mofussil and know that the heart and mind of the country is with us if only we assert ourselves and make the country realise the force of moderation. People say "Let the Moderates assert themselves and we shall be with them." If instead of that you go to the Congress and find yourselves in a minority the other party will say we should accept the verdict of the majority because that is the verdict of the country. Again before sitting down, I wish to put before you a point of great moment with reference to the formulation of our views on the Montagu-Chelmsford reform. What matters it if we Moderates seem to be in a minority? When you are agitating for reforms it is a sound principle attested by the history of all constitutional reforms that the voice of multitudes should prevail. But when the agitation supported by popular voice comes to the crucial point of constitution-making, the same history tells us that it is the voice of the experienced, the thoughtful, sober few which has prevailed. We learn that from the constitutional history of England, France, America. I see before me here some more well versed than I am in that sphere and I challenge them to dispute my point. So when the British Parliament comes to consider the criticisms on the Montagu-Scheme, they will pay more respect to the proposals of stalwart Indian leaders like the Hon'ble Mr. Surendranath Bannerji and Sir Dinshaw Wacha than to any other criticisms.

**The Development of Literary Kinds.** The number of Indians who devote themselves to the study of literature, apart from examinations and political controversies, is very small. One of this rare class is Professor K. B. Ramanathan of the Pachaiyappa's College, Madras, whose very learned and suggestive paper entitled "The Development of Literary Kinds" is given the leading place in the current number of the *Educational Review* of Madras. The paper is one of a series which, we are sure, will be awaited with interest by students of literature. The usual methods of studying the development of literature are the chronological or historical, and the biographical. Then, again, the literature of each country and in each language is studied apart from those of other countries and languages. Some noted writers have thrown out the idea of literature as an entity independent of the languages it uses, independent of authors functioning it. By the study of literary kinds, Professor Ramanathan explains, is meant a survey of the field of literature in vertical instead of in horizontal divisions. Biographical details will not obscure our view of the essential problems of literary development. Such a study, observes he, will bring into view forms which have an unmistakable identity, and which have had at times a remarkable vogue, but which have suffered partial eclipse from the accident of not having been employed by any writer of the first magnitude. It will reveal an unexpected flourishing of other forms in periods when they have been supposed to have practically disappeared.



## COMMUNAL REPRESENTATION.

The Editor, The *Indian Social Reformer*.

Dear Sir,

Permit me in the first place to express my gratitude to you for the wise and statesmanlike attitude of your paper. I have been a diligent reader of it for many years and my only regret when I have finished it is that it is so short. I am sure that there are many who hope that when Peace has restored normal conditions that the paper will not only go back to its original size as regards the reading matter, but will do much better.

There are I know many of British birth in India who are in very keen sympathy with Indian aspirations and who are anxious to do anything they can to help India forward along the path of progress. It is true that many of these for various reasons have refrained from public expressions of their sympathy and so it has been wrongly assumed by a number of Indian leaders that the great majority of the community of British birth are more or less hostile to Indian aspirations.

One reason for this hesitation has undoubtedly been the tendency of the Nationalist organs of Indian political opinion to adopt an extreme attitude of hostility both to the members of Government and also to the Government itself. There has been no second party with which such men could identify themselves. The situation now appears likely to be changed by the formation of a strong moderate party among Indians themselves, which while giving away none of the ideals or principles of the progressive leaders of Indian opinion, recognises that progress must be based upon internal growth and development and that the Government is in intention and principle animated by a sincere desire to help India forward and to do the best for her and her peoples. Hitherto this party for the sake of showing a united front, which as you have so well pointed out in your leader of August 18th did not truly exist, has allowed itself to be swamped by the more clamant and forceful members of the Extreme Left party.

The difference of method also is an important factor in the situation. This new party believes in the method of reason and persuasion, carried on with no less force and power, as against the method of violent and bitter abuse which has become habitual with the extreme party.

These things make it much easier for English friends of progress in India to openly express their sympathy with and support of the liberal movement in Indian politics. One may say without fear of being accused of flattery that the strength which this more reasonable method of approaching the problem has gained is largely due to the influence of your valuable paper.

I should like to bring before you and many readers a few considerations with reference to the vexed subject of 'communal representation' or C. R. as it may conveniently be called. One is very thankful to you for your clear lead on this matter as against the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. It is admitted on all hands in India that there are certain inequalities which can only be properly redressed by a system of C. R. Whatever may be said from an *a priori* point of view against this method, as far as we can see, it is the only method by which in the present conditions of India representation for certain communities can be made effective. This you have clearly recognised in your article in the issue referred to.

I cannot however understand the logic of your refusal to give C. R. to the non-Brahmana communities, as well as to the other minorities mentioned by you. It seems to me that

the *raison d'être* of C. R. is the fact of defective representation by the ordinary means. That is the reason why it has been conceded to the Mohammedans even in those areas where they are not in a minority. The question is not so much as to whether the community is in a minority or not, but whether it is in a position to obtain an adequate and effective representation. It is not enough to say that nomination will correct this. Nomination can never take the place of real representation in a largely elected body. If the representative is to speak with any authority for the people he is supposed to represent he must be elected by them. If C. R. is to be merely based on the matter of minority in numbers then the Brahmans in India certainly ought to clamour for C. R. as they are in a minority all over India and must when the new electorates are formed, find themselves still more in a minority. The fact remains however that, as Indian society is at present constituted, the Brahmans have the means to secure for their community an effective and adequate representation in all these bodies. The other communities mentioned by you have not got the power of the means to do so. The same is true of the large non-Brahman communities of Madras. Whatever may be the case in Western and Northern India it is a fact that unless C. R. is conceded to this community its representation will be defective. The Brahman community in Madras has shown again and again that it has the power and the means to prevent the proper representation of the non-Brahman communities and it has consistently used that power to this end. I do not blame it for this. Probably the members of this community honestly believe that their representatives are the best men to go to the Council to represent the interests of India and we must bear our testimony to the fact that many of them have done this very worthily. Still this does not detract from the fact that non-Brahman communities have been inadequately represented on all these bodies hitherto and there is no reason to suppose that in the future there will be much difference in this respect. The power wielded by the legislature will be so much greater that it would be too much to expect from human nature that a community which believes itself to be the very salt of Indian life will permit itself to occupy a position where it can be easily outvoted by the members of other communities especially since those communities have shown themselves so hostile to its pretensions. I speak what I know when I say that wide-reaching and powerful influences will be brought to bear which will inevitably force, as easily as was done by the old landholding families in mediaeval England, the large number of non-Brahmans to vote for Brahman candidates.

Again let me say that I do not blame them for this. If they believe that they can best serve the interests of India they are quite right in doing so. It is however the duty of those who stand outside and who are helping to determine the future constitution of India to see that the dice are not loaded in this way in favour of one community, especially when that community has not been noted for the way it has subordinated its own interests to the general good, in spite of a few magnificent exceptions to the contrary. The non-Brahmans want C. R. simply because they believe that in the ordinary way they can never obtain effective or adequate representation in the new councils.

Further the denial of C. R. will undoubtedly intensify caste bitterness, because this cry will be raised at every election and the leaders of the N. B. community will be forced to adopt every expedient to obtain proper representation and one of the easiest will be the caste cry.

To suggest Sir, as you do, that all the different castes might be represented is to force divisions upon people when they



have definitely refused to recognise them and against their wishes. The Mudaliar is willing to allow the Vellalar to represent him and will regard that representation as adequate. It will probably be necessary to give C. R. to the great Panchama community but apart from that no cleavage seems to be necessary among the non-Brahman Hindus.

What we need in the legislature is not the most brilliant men in India but the men who can really represent all the different communities in the land. I venture to say Sir, from my experience, that for many years you will only obtain this result by the expedient of C. R. not only for minorities but also for such communities as the N.B. community. This is the surest road to a real unity in India though it may not seem to be the shortest to many.

I have to ask your forgiveness for such a long letter but the subject is one of such great importance and you yourself have treated it so fairly and reasonably that I trust that you will give it room, and that you will be willing to regard the matter of C. R. for the N.B. communities of Madras as an open question to be settled on its merits.

Yours faithfully,  
H. A. P.

### THE SPECIAL CONGRESS AND THE DEPRESSED CLASSES.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Dear Sir,

Kindly insert the following in your esteemed paper in the interests of the Depressed Classes :—

The following draft was placed by Mr. Shinde, the Secretary of the Depressed Classes Mission, before the leaders of the Special Session of the Indian National Congress, but unfortunately it was not taken into consideration by them :—

The Report on the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme of Reforms fails altogether to recognise the position of the large section of the Indian people designated as the "Depressed Classes" and their peculiar social and political disabilities, and therefore no provision has been made for their advancement towards the political regeneration of India of a whole. In view of the fact that it is contemplated to reserve a few seats in the several Councils (Para 232, Report) to be filled by representatives of minorities in India the Special Congress deems it desirable that such adequate provision be made in the Scheme of Reforms as would secure these reserved seats for representatives, themselves belonging to any of the "Depressed Classes" and that such representatives be returned to the several Councils by co-option by the elected members of the Councils concerned and not by nomination nor by election by any communal separate electorates."

Yours truly,

Bombay, RATNABINGH DEEPSINGH PARMERA.  
3-9-18.

### CLOSURE OF LIQUOR SHOPS IN COCONADA.

The Secretary Godavari District Association writes to us from Coconada: The thanks of the public of this city are due to Mr. P. S. P. Rice I. C. S., Collector of the district, for the issue of the following order on the representation of this Association and of the III Ward Rate Payers, and Voters Association to order the closure of all liquor shops on market days and during certain specified festival days of the Hindus and Mahommadans :—

"Resolved that the question of toddy be deferred for the present, that arrack shops be closed on market days from 12 noon to 6 p. m. and on the following days at 4 p. m. : (1) Sankranti (2nd and 3rd days) (2) Telugu new year's day (3) Deepavali (4) Dasara (5) Vinayaka Chaturthi (9th day) (6) Ramzan (last day) (7) Mohurram (8) Bakri-id."

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

## CONTENTS.

—:0:—

Control of Cotton Cloth Prices Bill.  
The Chelmsford-Montagu Scheme in the Indian Legislative Council.  
India and the War.  
The Internment Committee's Findings.  
The late Sir Ratan Tata.  
Extension of Primary Education.

The Hindu Marriage Bill.  
Hindu Eugenics.—I.  
Macmillan's School Books.  
Indian Constitutional Reforms  
Vain Contention about Race Superiority.  
Missionary versus Message.  
Sree Sarada Samajam.  
An Appeal on behalf of Clerks.

## NOTES.

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**Control of Cotton Cloth Prices Bill:** The Simla session of the Indian Legislative Council which began its sittings on the 4th instant will be one of the most memorable in the history of that body. On the first day of the meeting, the Member for Commerce, Sir George Barnes introduced a Bill to take powers to Government for the cheap supply of cotton cloth to the poorer classes of the community. The great rise in the price of cloth is a hardship pressing on all classes but the poor are the worst sufferers. The cause which have led to the rise is, of course, a short supply. Imports have practically ceased. The price of raw cotton has risen in the country. There has also been some rise in wages. We have read in our school days in text-books on political economy that the price of raw material is a comparatively small item in the price of the manufactured product. This is one among many axioms of political economy which the war has done much to discredit. Even before the war, the price of raw cotton had a direct effect on the price of cloth. It is obvious that the most effective way of reducing the price of cloth is to increase its supply. This in the first place can be effected to some extent by stopping the export of the commodity. This will increase the quantity available in the country for manufacture. Additional machinery will be required to cope with the demand. There must be many thousands of looms lying idle in England at present and we do not see why facilities should not be provided for importing them to this country. The area under cotton should be steadily extended so that next year we may have a larger quantity of the commodity for home use. Meanwhile, palliatives may be useful, and the Government Bill provides these. The Bill proposes to give the Government power to appoint one or more controllers who will have power to require the mills in India to manufacture certain standard varieties of cloth in common use amongst the poorer classes. If we had not so utterly neglected the interests of the handloom industry in this country, we should have been in a far stronger position to meet a situation such as the present one. We do not doubt that the Government measure will be of some use, but we trust that the other measures indicated above will also be considered. The other Bill of first importance introduced in the Council was the Hon. Mr. Patel's Hindu Marriage Bill with which we deal in our leading article.

**The Chelmsford-Montagu Scheme in the Indian Legislative Council.** The Hon. Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee moved the following resolution in the Indian Legislative Council on the 6th instant. "This Council, while thanking the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for the reform proposals, and recognising them as a genuine effort and definite advance towards the progressive realisation of responsible government in India, recommends that a committee consisting of all the non-official members of council, be appointed to consider the reforms report and make recommendations to the Government of India." Practically every non-official Member of the Council spoke on the resolution, the Government spokesman being the Home Secretary, Sir William Vincent who in an able speech supported the motion. The resolution was put to the vote in two parts. The first part recognising the reform proposals as a genuine effort and a definite advance towards the progressive realisation of responsible government in India, was carried by 46 votes against 2. The second part recommending the appointment of a committee of the non-official members of the Council was carried by 48 against 2. We have not seen the division list published and can not say who the dissentients were. The Radicals, it is clear, are unable to make even a respectable show when they are confronted by an audience which understands and is able to take an intelligent and responsible view of the subject of constitutional reforms.

**India and the War:** On the 10th instant the Finance Member of the Government of India, The Hon. Sir William Meyer, moved that the prolonged war justifies India taking a large share than at present in respect of the military forces raised and to be raised in the country. Only non-official members were asked to vote on this resolution. The main points of Sir William's proposals are summed up in the following sentences. Our present liability was for 160,000 men, whereas in April last the Indian troops under arms amounted to 400,000. We are expanding recruitment so as to obtain another half a million men which would materially add to the numbers after meeting wastage. Sir William Meyer proposed taking over the cost of 200,000 more men from April 1st, raising the army for which India pays to 360,000, and a further 100,000 men from next April. He also proposed relieving the Home Government of the charges in connection with the additional emoluments lately sanctioned for Indian troops, pension charges, extra barracks, etc., making a grand total of the charges some 35 million sterling, during this and the next two years, and a further 10 million for pension charges. Sir William Meyer added the estimates were necessarily rough. If the war ended soon the burden on the resources would be diminished but would increase if the time estimate was exceeded to meet the 12 2-3 million required for the current year. No extra taxation would be necessary as large receipts would come in from the gain by the exchange position. Next year additional taxation would be necessary, but its a-



mount and character must necessarily remain for decision in connection with the budget programme. He desired, however, to inform the Council that in the forefront of such taxation would be an excess-profits tax which the recently improved income-tax machinery rendered more feasible than had been formerly. Also that such other taxation as might be necessary would be so adjusted as not to press hardly on the poor.

The resolution with an unimportant addition moved by the Hon. Mr. Srinivasa Sastry was carried, 18 non-official members voting for, and 5 against it. India being part of the Empire and having moreover accepted the task of raising larger forces, there is logically a duty incumbent on us to bear a larger share of the cost, and the plea against it raised by some members, while valid against any extra military expenditure on ordinary occasions, was altogether out of place on a grave crisis when the whole Empire is fighting for its existence, and what is more than that, its honour. Under such circumstances, individuals and families recognise a duty to make large sacrifices which they would not under ordinary circumstances. A great Empire could do no less. We recognise that the present is a time of great strain on all sections of the population, and it is a hard fate which demands these sacrifices at this moment. But the interests at stake are far too grave to permit a spirit of calculation to override our judgment in a question of this kind. We can not help regretting at the same time that during a hundred and fifty years of British rule, the people of India have not been trained to a better appreciation of those great principles for which the Allies are fighting. But for this sad lapse on the part of our rulers the gentlemen who voted against this resolution would have as little chance in India as in England or France of meeting an audience of their countrymen anywhere with any hope that their conduct would meet with appreciation. As it is we are afraid these gentlemen will be acclaimed as heroes while the eighteen men who did their duty unflinchingly will be branded as time-servers.

**The Internment Committee's Findings.** The Associated Press sent a summary last week of the findings of the Internment Committee which consisted of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar and Mr. Justice Beachcroft. Out of over 800 cases examined by them the Committee have advised that, in only six cases, there were not sufficient grounds, in their opinion, for believing that the parties concerned had acted in a manner prejudicial to the public safety or the defence of British India, and that these should be unconditionally released. The Committee state that their investigations have impressed them with the correctness of the conclusion arrived at by the Rowlatt Committee as to the inter-connection of the several revolutionary groups which, together, constituted one revolutionary movement with a common object, namely, the overthrow of His Majesty's Government in India by force. In view of this inter-connection and the methods of terrorism practised by the revolutionaries, the Committee explain that the ordinary methods of trial which are applicable to a normal state of things, had become impossible for their purpose. "Before the Defence of India Act was brought into force," the Committee observe, "the fair trial of a person accused of revolutionary crime had been rendered practically impossible by the murders of approvers, witnesses, police officers, and law-abiding citizens suspected by the revolutionaries of having given information to, or otherwise, assisted the police in the detection of revolutionary crime." They give some striking examples, and add that under these circumstances, it was impossible to secure a fair

trial by the procedure of the Evidence Act and the Criminal Procedure Code which is appropriate only to normal conditions of crime. "The procedure to deal with revolutionary crime has to be practicable in the sense of being appropriate to its special conditions so as to secure as fair a trial as is feasible under the exceptional situation."

The meaning of this seems to us to be that they could not call witnesses and examine them because these men were terrorised by the anarchist organisations and could not be got to give evidence. The procedure of the Evidence Act and the Criminal Procedure Code is a means to an end, that end being the detection, punishment, and elimination of crime. If in an exceptional set of circumstances this procedure does not further, and can not be expected to further, this end, then a different procedure should be adopted which will subserve the supreme end, the safety of the public. We quite realise that such a doctrine is liable to abuse, and has to be applied with very great care and conscientiousness; but the Evidence Act and the Criminal Procedure Code themselves are abused when the conditions of a society are so corrupted as to make them the means of screening, not detecting, crime. No man in his senses will advocate a procedure of wholesale and indiscriminate internments, and the Committee have not done so. The comments of a contemporary on the report would suggest that the interests of society are better safeguarded by letting conspirators go scot-free than by taking the special means suited to defeat their nefarious purposes. We can understand if we are told that there is no revolutionary conspiracy in the country, that the statements to the contrary are mere myths. But admitting that there are such conspiracies—and we for one have been most reluctantly forced to admit their existence—how can any responsible journal decry the only means which so far seems to have had the effect of getting at the root of the evil? What is the better method which it would suggest? Surely, it does not advise a policy of letting evil alone. We protest against the species of journalistic terrorism which, in the absence of argument, endeavours to bring public men who do their duty into discredit by the unmitigated use of insolent invective.

**The late Sir Ratan Tata :** We deeply regret the untimely death of Sir Ratan Tata, which was announced last week. A gentleman of broad outlook and catholic temperament, his large wealth was ungrudgingly devoted to the support of public movements covering a wide field. Indian philanthropy loses in him a discriminating judge, and judicious and liberal friend of many useful institutions.

**Extension of Primary Education.** The Government of India's resolution on the question of the extension of elementary education seems to us to be not particularly well-timed. Stripped of all its verbiage, it simply asks Local Governments to say what they can do towards doubling the number of scholars in elementary schools in the next ten years, with the increased resources which they will get as the result of the separation of their finances from those of the Government of India under the Chelmsford-Montagu scheme, and without the grants they used to get from the Government of India. As the financial arrangements under the scheme are to be settled, and as the scheme itself is yet to be accepted, we doubt if the Local Governments will be in a position to give any useful reply to this well-meaning enquiry.



## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, SEPTEMBER 15, 1918.

## THE HINDU MARRIAGE BILL.

We congratulate the Hon. Mr. V. J. Patel on the bold attempt he has made immediately after his entrance into the Imperial Legislative Council as one of its additional members to effect a much needed reform in the marriage law of the Hindus. At the beginning of the present session of the Council he introduced, by leave of the Government of India, a Bill to legalise marriages between the different castes. He has so far succeeded that the Bill, having been formally introduced into the Council, Government have agreed to refer it to the Local Governments and the public for their opinions. Whether those opinions generally favour the measure or not, and even if the measure is finally thrown out by the Council, Mr. Patel has declared in the Council that, undaunted by failure, he will persist in again and again proposing the measure until, so far as he is permitted to work for it, it becomes law. We commend that spirit in a member of the Legislature.

The text of Mr. Patel's Bill is short and follows closely the language of the preamble and enacting part of the Hindu Widow Marriage Act. That indeed is its serious defect and exposes it to some very serious objections. Already it has been adversely criticised by some who sympathise with the object and main principle of the Bill as a measure crudely conceived without any attempt on the part of its author to provide for certain legal difficulties which are sure to arise, if the Bill as it is worded and in its present crude shape is allowed to become law.

Mr. Basu's Bill, which was introduced into the Council in 1911, sought for reform in the Hindu marriage law and the legalisation of intermarriages in Hindu castes by making marriage a civil contract, not, as it is in Hindu law, a sacrament. That got rid of all legal riddles and difficulties and proposed sound reform. Mr. Patel's Bill does not touch the sacramental character of Hindu marriage. It simply provides that such marriage shall not be void merely because the parties to it are of different castes.

What is likely to be the effect of such a law, so meagre in its provision?

According to the Hindu law, the marriage of a minor is valid. Once the marriage tie is contracted, it is indissoluble except in the case of castes among whom divorce is permitted by custom. Suppose a Hindu father of the Brahman caste marries his minor son, also a Brahman, to a Shudra girl, under Mr. Patel's Bill. The boy will of course lose his Brahman caste. But suppose when he arrives at the age of majority, he feels that his father did him an irreparable injury by depriving him of his Brahman caste when he was a minor and so could not determine for himself his social destiny. Is it right to arm a Hindu father with this power over his minor sons or daughters?

Perhaps it may be said that this objection is valueless because even now a Hindu father can exercise his power over his minor sons and daughters so as to deprive them of their caste. For instance, a Hindu father is allowed by law to become a convert to Christianity or Mahomedanism and take his minor sons and daughters with him into the new faith. There is a radical distinction, however, between the power of a parent to determine what shall be the religion of his minor children and the power to determine whom they should marry. All civilised countries and their jurisprudence recognise the former power whereas as to marriage the consensus of civilised opinion is against the marriage of minors at the instance of their parents. In India marriages of minors are allowed because the British Government has pledged itself to a policy of religious neutrality. But if the same Government is to allow intermarriages between different castes it should not allow them in the case of minors but the Legislature should provide that the parties to such marriages shall be persons who are not minors. Mr. Patel's Bill retains the evil of child-marriage and only seeks for reform as to intermarriages. The former is a much more needed reform than the latter and if there is to be a removal of the bar of Hindu law as to intermarriages it should be subject to the condition that such marriages are not tainted by the evils of child marriage. We are aware that the Hindu Widow Marriage Act allows widow marriages in the case of minors but the case of widow marriage stands on a different footing from that of intermarriages. The prohibition of widow marriages by Hindu law subjected child-widows to a life of misery and cruelty. No question of inhumanity is involved in the prohibition by the same law of intermarriages. Mr. Patel's Bill ought, therefore, to be amended by a provision that the parties to such marriages shall be persons competent to contract according to the Indian Majority Act.

Another serious flaw of the Bill is this. Suppose a Brahman male marries a female belonging to a Shudra caste, in which divorce is allowed by custom. Would it be competent to either of the parties to the marriage to effect a divorce and annul the marriage? The woman may well contend in such a case that the right to divorce allowed her by her caste is not lost by the mere fact of her marriage with a Brahman; because it is her personal right. On the other hand, the husband may contend that by marriage the wife has become merged in him and so has lost her personal right. Such points ought to be only considered and should not be left to the arbitrament of the Courts. A third defect of Mr. Patel's Bill is that it leaves polygamy untouched. Under it a man can marry as many wives as he likes. A Bill which seeks to validate intermarriages and leaves the evils of child marriage and polygamy untouched cannot be regarded as seeking healthy and sound reform. The Bill will have to be amended in important particulars before the Legislature can seriously consider it on its merits.



## HINDU EUGENICS.—I\*

The prize essay on Hindu Eugenics of Mr. N. D. Mehta B. A., recently approved by Mr. S. M. Mitra, Royal Asiatic Society, London, throws a flood of light on this abstruse subject of the well-being of the human race. The author has discussed the subject in a concise form in six chapters and one appendix, and given authorities in support of the views of ancient Hindus on Eugenics.

The essay commences with a quotation from Taittiriya Âranyaka describing that the divine principle of life condescends to enter every tiny organism through his effulgence and quickens every foetus. The subject which deals with the future wellbeing of the human race is overshadowed by false prudery and unless it is handled by right sort of men in a right sort of spirit there is the risk of its being neglected like all subjects connected with sex problems. In the introductory chapter the author says that Eugenics is a part of the wider science of Sociology, and conceptions relating thereto would remain in the region of mystery if the principles of the formation of a particular civilized society are not properly understood. The Indo-Aryans were non-dualists, but while laying emphasis on the *idealistic* aspect of the Absolute, the Sages of the Upanishad period did not ignore the importance of the *realistic* side of the Absolute. The Absolute or Brahman was regarded as a governing principle of the ideal and real entities and was clothed with all the attributes of a personal deity creating, sustaining and destroying the multi-form universe in and through himself through his externalized Shakti or Maya. The conception of the divine was a happy mingling of matter and spirit, the undivided parents of the Universe, and the Multi-form organic universe was the product of Manu (thinking element) and Satarûpa (Multiform being). The same drama is played for ever, and God and Nature-Manu and Shatarûpa play through all fauna and flora, through all genera and species.

Having touched the fundamental conception of ancient Hindus on the origin of life as a revelation or manifestation of a bi-une substance the author develops the thesis by referring to the temporal and spiritual aims of life. The ancients regarded the temporal trinity of righteousness, wealth and pleasure, not as mere parallel lines, but as a harmonious triangular figure each line of which is in close touch with the other. When each is pursued for itself, the equilibrium is broken, and we have the extreme types (1) of religious bigots or fanatics who neglect material means and personal comfort; (2) of industrial maniacs who have no attraction for moral and spiritual ideals and who have no æsthetic taste; and (3) of epicureans who live the life of flesh forgetting that a human being has a spirit on the one hand and intellect on the other to satisfy. A human being *per se* is not

mere spirit, not mere mind-stuff, and not a mere fleshy organism. He is a triple *whole*—a complex phenomenon which is in need of spiritual, intellectual and physical elevation.

This harmonious ideal of life in which the three aims of life are co-ordinated led to the formation of a social fabric of ancient India. The three subdivisions of Hindu Society were based on innate difference in ideals within the complex trinity. They were not water-tight compartments like modern castes but were elastic fabrics which permitted an undivided of the lower class (वर्ण) with a special higher aptitude to occupy a place in the higher class. The case of Vishwamitra is a conspicuous example of the catholic spirit of those times. The aboriginal races of India were admitted into the social fabric as a fourth class. The exogamous tendency of Indo-Aryans permitted a fusion of blood from upper to lower levels, but not vice versa. There was thus a wide field for marital selection. Polygamy was in vogue, but monogamy of Rama-Sita was held up as an ideal. But like impatient idealists of modern times, Monogamy was not forced upon people whose sexual proclivities were not humanized. The author then compares the relative merits and demerits of polygamy and monogamy and concludes that polygamy with purity of conduct and sense of responsibility towards the weaker sex is preferable on ethical grounds to monogamy with license and infidelity.

The institution of marriage of Vedic times is then examined and the genesis of the eight forms of marriage is discussed. The Natural union of the lower forms gradually culminated in the higher forms of marriage *viz*, आर्य, दैव, ब्राह्म, and प्राजापत्य.

The institution of marriage had to achieve three objects :—

- (a) propagation of the species (प्रजाति)
  - (b) Conjugal felicity (रति) and (c) spiritual bliss (आनन्द).
- The grounds of Hindu Eugenics are to be found in Ayurveda, Kama-Shastra and Artha-Shastra and Dharma-shastra respectively with which the three aims of the marriage institution are connected.

In the second chapter the author examines the biological conceptions underlying Hindu Eugenics. The ancient sages of India were not mere Platonic idealists, but were Aristotelian realists. They were careful students of human nature, and considered Platonic lovers as sexually abnormal. They were of opinion that propagation of the species was the fundamental object of marriage, and it was false prudery to ignore it or to give prominence to mere intellectual companionship—which is secondary. The ceremony of समावर्तन i. e. return of a young man from his Guru's house, the Vedic injunctions on necessity of marriage; the sense of duty towards family and race; the origin of the idea why the birth of a child is so momentous in the life of a married couple—all lay emphasis on the importance of biological grounds.

The physically unfit were prohibited from entering into marital relations, and were relegated to the

\*Prize Essay of Mr. N. D. Mehta B.A. (Bhau Daj prize man; Sujna Gokulji Lala prize man; Sonu tane Senior Dakshna fellow, Gujrat College.)



fourth stage of life. If these were intellectually and spiritually superior to householders they were expected to render social service by self-sacrifice and piety; the society was, in return for this service, bound to support and maintain these Sannyasis or Sadhus.

The conception of life is embodied in the term "Atman" which by its very etymology conveys four phenomena:—(1) Self sustenance from organic or inorganic elements around it; (2) Assimilation of food stuff; (3) growth and (4) propagation of a like being. These four phenomena involved in the idea of Atman are developed to a large extent in the human species and there is no bounds to which physiological, psychological, ethical and metaphysical aspects of life may not reach. The organic form of Atman has an ontological basis in the Absolute self; germinal basis in the causal substance of *Prikriti* which puts limitation to the power of volition, sentiment and thought; personal basis in mind and senses; and physical basis in the fecundated ovum. This fourfold nature of Atman implies the continuity of the nonmenal principle called Brahman, or Absolutely Pure Atman, and the persistent appearance of a body of various forms until the cycle of the soul is completed by self-realization.

According to Hindu ideas the law of heredity operates on two parallel planes of parents and individual ego seeking birth. The hereditary tendencies of the individual ego seeking birth are designated as *Anushaya* or "attaching capital" while the germ plasma of the parents which affords an organic residence to the ego is called *yoni* or "basic substance".

The author then proceeds to examine the Vedic doctrine of *Sanskaras*, and shows how pre-natal and post-natal nurture played a prominent part in Eugenics. The religious ceremonies have a secular eugenic significance and point to certain duties and responsibilities on the part of would-be parents. The rules of abstinence, the eight forms of *Brahmacharya*; their limitations; the biological and ethical value of the religious canons &c. are then commented on, and the author concludes that modern society which violates these rules and encourages contact of the opposite sexes without adequate safe-guards in cinemas and public theatres is offending against laws of negative and preventive Eugenics.

Macmillan's School Books: Messrs Macmillan send us the following recent publications: *True Tales of Indian Life*, by Dwijendra Nath Neogi. B. A. Cheap edition, price Re. 1. *Physics and Chemistry for Secondary Schools in India*, Parts 3 and 4 by E. G. Hill, B.A., D.Sc., and A. H. Mackenzie, M. A., B. Sc. Price Re. 1-8-0. *Geography for Senior Classes*, by E. Marsden, B. A. Parts 1 and 2. The price of each part is Re. 1. All these are well adapted to Indian schools. We especially recommend the Story and Geography books which follow the best modern methods of studying the subject.

## INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS.

BY MR. H. V. NANJUNDAYYA, C. I. E., M. A., M. L.  
(Continued from the issue of 1st September 1918)

### STANDING COMMITTEES.

Each department or group of departments whether of the reserved or transferred class will have a standing committee elected by the Legislative Council, whose function will be advisory. The object is to familiarise elected members of the Legislative Council, besides Ministers, with the processes of administration. It is not intended that all questions of every day administration should be laid before them, and Government may refuse to give them information in any matter in which it would be inconsistent with the public interest to supply it. All questions of Policy, all schemes involving considerable expenditure, and annual reports of administration of departments will be submitted to them. The Member or Minister in charge will preside over these Committees, and the heads of the departments concerned will be members. The usefulness of such an assembly will to a large extent depend on the readiness of Government to provide sufficient work for them, and to welcome such advice as they may give in a sympathetic manner. Similar Committees of a more restricted scope are meant to be organised with reference to such departments of the Government of India as the Governor General in Council may decide. Two thirds of the members of such Committees will be elected by the Legislative assembly and the Council of State and one third nominated by Government. The direct usefulness of advisory Committees, which meet and transact business only by sufferance can hardly be of much value, but they may serve to keep the members in closer touch with the business of Government. Except in Legislation and budget settlement, it is only through these Committees that Government will have an opportunity of bringing questions of general administration before the members of the Councils.

### LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT.

The Report does not contain any final proposals on the manner in which Local Self-Government is meant to be developed, partly because that is a comparatively subordinate matter in relation to its main theme, and partly because it has been dealt with by a recent resolution, and is meant to be worked out in detail by the Provincial Governments. The cardinal principle is laid down that "there should be, as far as possible, complete popular control in local bodies, and the largest possible independence for them, of outside control." Certain general principles are laid down, and if they are faithfully carried out by Local Governments in a broad and sympathetic spirit, much improvement will no doubt result. These are the provision of substantial elected majorities, elected Chairmen, and greater powers in respect of local taxation and expenditure.

### ELECTORATES.

The Report decidedly prefers direct election for the Provincial as well as the Indian Legislatures. The details, which are very important in this matter, are



left to be settled by a Committee to be appointed hereafter. The electorate is to be as large as possible but not so large as to lead to a breakdown of the machinery through sheer weight of numbers on account of practical difficulties in working the system properly. For the Indian Legislative Assembly, it may perhaps be difficult to provide direct election, and if the Parliamentary Committee cannot devise a satisfactory scheme for it, it is suggested that election by the elected members of the Provincial Councils would be the least objectionable alternative.

On the question of communal electorates, the distinguished authors of the Report have given an unhesitating verdict. It is gratifying to find that notwithstanding a bias that may naturally be expected to draw them the other way, they have advocated a view that is far more in consonance with the real progress of the country in the direction desired than the course so aggressively pressed by many Indian political leaders. The reasons against countenancing the demands for class representation are very ably set forth, and to those who are not irretrievably committed to the other side, they seem quite conclusive.

This attitude is adversely criticised from both sides, chiefly on account of the exceptions which have been admitted in favour of Mussulmans and Sikhs. Separate electorates for Mussulmans are to be allowed, because it is not possible to go back on the existing arrangement, and much as they regret the necessity, the authors of the report are convinced that 'the present system must be maintained until conditions alter, even at the price of slower progress towards the realisation of a common citizenship'. It is said that this is a mistake, and that the illustrious authors should have had the courage of their conviction and recommended the abolition of this privilege. Yet there is something more to be said for special representation in this case than in others. The solidarity of the Mussulmans is much stronger than that of any other community in India, (than perhaps any other community in the world) in religious life and beliefs. In India, they have also a common language and they are to a great extent free from the separatist tendencies of a caste system. Moreover in a large degree, they live as a community apart in habits and customs from their Hindu neighbours. Thus, there is an amount of justification for separate treatment in their case, which does not exist in favour of others; and added to the facts that the arrangement has been in force for some years, and has been accepted also by the Hindu leaders, the conclusion now arrived at seems to be the only sound one in the circumstances. It is possible (as the Report hopes) though hardly probable, that in course of time, the Mussulmans themselves will see the evil of the separation, and may wish to merge themselves along with their neighbours in the general electoral body.

One qualification is introduced, namely, that there is no reason to have a separate electorate where the Mussulmans actually form the majority of voters in a given electoral area. But it may be

urged against this, that a separate electorate would be fairly due in such tracts to prevent the Hindu voters being placed at a disadvantage similar to that of the Mussulman community elsewhere.

The other community to which a special electorate is promised are the Sikhs of the Panjaub. The reasons given are that "they are a distinct and important people; they supply a gallant and valuable element to the Indian army; but they are everywhere in a minority, and experience has shown that they go virtually unrepresented." The premises, except a part of what is contained in the first clause, seem to be quite correct; but it may be doubted whether the conclusion is sound. It has been stated with apparent authority, that the Sikhs do not form such a distinct community as to require special treatment, and that they are regarding themselves as Hindus in an ever increasing degree in recent years. We are not aware that they ever asked for separate electorates. Why should this doubtful blessing be thrust upon them? It is admittedly an unsatisfactory course, and cannot be a fitting recognition for their gallant services in the Indian army. It seems altogether inexpedient to mark off the Sikh as a divergent sect and interfere with their increasing identification with the bulk of the people in the Panjaub. Such a course would be inconsistent with the praiseworthy sentiments contained in paragraph 229, about invoking the citizen spirit in the people.

Taking their stand on these two concessions, the advocates of a larger recognition of communal representation contend that other people such as the Lingayats and Jains of Bombay and the non-Brahman castes of Madras should also have special electorates. In the first place, there is no sense in accusing the authors of the Report of any inconsistency in admitting exceptions to a general principle on grounds of special expediency, though, quite unnecessarily, it is stated by them that the decision to maintain separate electorates for Mussulmans makes it difficult to resist other claims. In the case of the Lingayats and Jains, the distinguishing factors are neither so many nor so important as in the case of Mussulmans. If separate representation is conceded to them, it cannot justly be denied to the hundred and one other castes or sects in the country. As for the non-Brahman community in Madras, there is absolutely no such "community" in existence, as there is no more community of interest or sentiment between the different sections to whom the term is applied, than between any one of them and the sections denoted by the generic name Brahmana. The only valid course to pursue if separate electorates are to be created is that Government should make a schedule of castes according to the census, and grant the privilege of election separately to all the different castes or at any rate to all who reach a certain numerical standard. Even those who are loudest in demanding that a particular class which is more advanced than others should be segregated altogether from the bulk of the people in the country, must admit that their own castes as a body have not



declared their willingness to countenance such a process, and have been carrying on their inter-relations just as amicably as in the past. In fact, even the staunchest of the advocates of this new crusade are themselves not prepared to cut themselves off as completely as they profess in public. A Brahmana is not more distant from other castes than these castes are different from each other. If Caste representation is taken as the basis of forming electorates, how many separate electorates running throughout the whole province will have to be formed? The case may be altogether dismissed as fantastic and unpractical. It should not be forgotten that even among those who are classed as Brahmanas, there are many different subdivisions differing as widely among themselves, as different non-Brahmana castes. In our opinion, there is no case whatever for erecting special electorates on the basis of Caste at present, though perhaps, if the present unfortunate struggle initiated by a very few men should spread largely, the time may come when the Brahmanas who form but a small fraction of the whole population may claim with much greater reason, special electorates and other measures of protection.

(*To be continued.*)

#### VAIN CONTENTION ABOUT RACE SUPERIORITY.

The Editor, The "*Indian Social Reformer.*"

Sir,

There has been a good deal of this in the *Reformer* and other papers of India in the last few years. Goodness knows there are vices enough and scant enough virtues in all races, to heget humility in the thoughtful. What boots it for India in its "pride of race," to be playing the "supremacy of Hinduism" against "white hypnotism" or European inferiority? For one evil result, I observe a vaunting effort to make it seem that in past ages the Hindu race was supreme over all others, in science, art and literature, to the ignoring of the manifest superiority of other races in many things races, too, also Aryan, as the Greeks and Romans. It will do Indians good to have their self-admiration and vain-glorying corrected by a little comparison, which is the friendly purpose of this article. The illustrious Dayanand Swami and his followers are largely responsible for this vain boasting. The writer can and does appreciate all that is great and worthy in the past or present of India, and only seeks to let vainglory see that it has not all the glory. Take the best periods of Greece and Rome, say the age of Pericles of Greece and the Antonines of Rome. India's Aryans cannot afford to foster a vain conceit of ancient glory above anything ever seen in history. A good corrective of this is to recognize what ancient European Aryans e. g. the Greeks and Romans were in their golden age. An intelligent study must convince any fair mind that nowhere in the world was there anything equaling their development in civil government, art, and literature. Take the age of Pericles when Athens was in her supreme glory, say the 4th century B. C., an age when India too was in her glory. The remains of antiquity reveal the comparative condition of Asia and Europe. I cannot do better than quote an English writer (Alison) whose race at the time of which he wrote, were savages in the forests of Europe: "Nowhere is to be found a state (Athens) so great in its progress, so gigantic in its activities—so immortal in genius. Its free inhabitants have

filled the world with their renown; Poetry, philosophy, architecture, tragedy comedy, geometry, physics, history, politics almost date their origin from Athenian genius, and the monuments of art with which they have overspread the world still form the standard of taste in every civilized nation." I may add, her statuary is yet the model of the world and the despair of artists. Her architecture still forms a perfect model of beauty everywhere. The Acropolis is the wonder of the world and the centre of study in the arts of sculpture and architecture. In oratory, the fame of Demosthenes, Aeschylus, and Pericles still fills the world. Herodotus is the father of real history as distinguished from fable and mythology. Homer's Iliad of a much earlier date, rivals the Ramayan. As philosophers, Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle are still recognized masters for the world, the last especially in his logic. And that supremely brilliant period was an age of Grecian democracy.

Ancient Rome somewhat later, and as a student of Greece, we find had world supremacy in civilization in all its development. I take illustrations from Rome's "golden age," including about three centuries from the time of the dictator Sulla, B. C. 81 to the reign of the Antonine emperors. In this period we find Livy a real historian, and the poets Virgil, Horace and others. The Aeneid of Virgil ranks as a great model epic for all time, and the prose composition of Cicero in his orations, are the finest masterpieces the world has ever seen. The remains of magnificent buildings testify to the architectural skill of the age. It was the boast that Augustus found Rome a city of bricks and left it a city of marble. The long imperial highways and aqueducts leading to the city, testify to the genius and public spirit of the time, and the civil codes of law are still models for statesmen. The art and literature of Rome are patterned after that of the Greeks conquered by the Romans, thus to become their masters in civilization, and both then to become the teachers of the world to this hour. Rome copied Greece just as India and the world are copying Europe to-day. And it is a mark of wisdom, not abjectness and sycophancy, to imitate the best things whenever and wherever found.

I write all this not to discredit our noble ancestors of India, but to guard the present generation against imaginary supremacy and misleading conceit. I quite agree with a leader in the *Reformer* of March 17th, that cultivation of jealousy of the present or past of other people, is not a mark of wisdom. And no need, in making comparisons, to deny the greatness of India's antiquity. In philosophy, astronomy, mathematics, poetry, logic, grammar and literature, India as well as Greece and Rome, made a splendid record. But in sculpture, architecture, painting, geography and history, India falls far behind ancient Greece and Rome. Much in these subjects is grotesque with but little conformity to nature and fact. Her history in large part is extravagant mythology and her geography absurd. It is folly to pretend that the art remains of ancient India are not an index to her real art of the time. But let me say that in certain forms of self-abnegation and warm profound spirituality, India may well be called, "the burning heart of Asia." Let us then put away all race prejudice, jealousy, and envy and accept gratefully the best things wherever found. This cannot be put better than the *Social Reformer* gives it (March 17th.). "Men must love one another's work, and it is by such love and admiration of others' great qualities, that individuals and nations grow great themselves."

Ocean Grove, New Jersey,

U. S. A.

T. J. SCOTT.



## MISSIONARY VERSUS MESSAGE.

The Editor "The Indian Social Reformer."

Sir,

I thank you for your extremely interesting and inspiring editorial note on 'Missionary versus Message', in the recent number of your steady and esteemed journal. The name of Mr. G. B. Vaidya and his Hindu Missionary Society hardly need any introduction to an Indian Reformer—Reformer of the most sympathetic and self-sacrificing type. Such venomous criticisms levelled against a society having behind it the sympathy and regard of most of the educated people, cannot escape the notice of all Social Reformers in particular and of the public in general. We are to infer, it seems, that the 'Hindu Message' has not made a careful study of the several opinions of such great Reformers as Dr. Bhandarkar, Pandit Sivanath Sastri, R. C. Dutt, Sir H. S. Maine. Prof. Max Muller and others on caste. The late Mr. Gokhale, has pointed out the 'monstrous injustice' of caste. On a perusal of the several objects of the Hindu Missionary Society, it is brought to the notice of every reader that this Society having for its founder, Mr. G. B. Vaidya, the stalwart champion who sticks to his cause, and would rather face death than to make a retreat, does better serve the cause of Hinduism and more tactfully exposes the liberal spirit ingrained in it, that cannot but strengthen the ideal that Hinduism is a universal religion and that men of all races are welcome to it than any amount of trumpery, and despotic arguments advanced by that orthodox section of our Society, who in their fanatic zeal to understand the basic principle of Hinduism easily fall a prey to heresy.

Dr. Bhandarkar, who has won his laurels by his independent and scholarly research work is eminently fitted to advise us and once he has said :—"The caste system is at the root of the political slavery of India."

The success of a religion or faith to be universally embraced depends more upon its harmonious, selfless, in short, liberal character than upon its bureaucratic and spiritually tyrannical character, and what is the beneficial result of caste system if it has not thrown, in the words of Mr. R. C. Dutt, an indelible stain on the criminal law of India; It should be distinctly understood that I do suggest here neither the total abolition of orthodoxy nor do I carry in the course of this brief article a campaign of calumny against orthodoxy and its indefatigable workers; but what I do emphasise here is that in the name of orthodoxy spiritual suicide is committed by a few unscrupulous characters who forgetting the sound, sincere and sympathetic character of the doctrine of orthodoxy indulge in vituperative criticisms against such a class of reformers actuated by the liberal spirit on which the noble edifice of Hinduism is built to which class Mr. Vaidya with his band of sincere workers belongs. I think the "Hindu Message" has not made a detailed study of the psychology of the Spirit of Social Service that has caught hold of the major portion of the Indian population. I ask, is social service possible under the guidance of such a faith as orthodoxy, I should call it the new born orthodoxy which has found a patron in the caste system. I ask of the 'Hindu Message' whether the thirst for social service that is now strongly prevalent among the major portion of the Indian population, I ask again whether that thirst can be quenched under the guidance of the spiritual tyranny that is purposely and blindly committed by a few reactionary advocates not of orthodoxy but fanatic heterodoxy and heresy? Will the 'Hindu Message' be pleased to kindly favour me with an answer to this question?

R. SESHAN,

Assistant Editor, "The Hitavada" Nagpur.

## SREE SARADA SAMAJAM.

[ FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT ].

Bangalore, Aug. 31.

Mrs. K. P. Parvathamma and Sreemati R. Kalyanamma, the two enthusiastic workers in the cause of the elevation of Indian women are to be congratulated on the useful work the Sree Sarada Samajam of Bangalore City is doing for the benefit of Hindu Women. The institution celebrated its fifth anniversary some time last week under the Presidency of Mrs. Cross-Barrat, wife of the General Officer, commanding Secunderabad Division and I have before me the interesting report which Sreemati Kalyanamma, the Hon. Secretary, presented at the meeting. During the year from May 1917 to April 1918, there were 67 members on the roll. The Samaj held 42 meetings, including a meeting to communicate congratulations of the Samaj to Srimati K. D. Rukmaniamma, B. A., Lady Superintendent of the Maharani's College on her election as a member of the Mysore University Council. The subjects of address at some of the meetings are of extreme interest and of domestic utility. The Samaj had also arrangements for occasional readings from Ramayana, and other books for the benefit of members. As in the past year Mrs. Paravathamma the president and some of the members attended St. John Ambulance association fortnightly meetings at the Presidency and took part in the work. The members also contributed to the Soldiers' comforts. The finances of the Samaj seem to be improving, but in view of increase of activities public help is greatly needed. Among visitors to the Samaj during the year was Mrs. Sarojini Naidu who expressed appreciation of the work of the Samaj and at the enthusiasm of those connected with it. The Samaj has Home industries classes where 26 girls, 30 adult women learn tailoring, knitting and rattan making and it also gives English tuition to 9 adult women and 9 girls. It has a well-kept library and runs a bright little ladies journal in Kanarese. Those who have sincere desire at the progress of Indian women would wish the Samaj every success in its work. Mrs. Cross-Barrat in her speech gave some excellent advice and spoke of the valuable work the Samaj was doing in the best interests of Indian womanhood. She said "Women have played a most important part in the history of the world and their influence is recognised by the quotation "the hand that rocks the cradle rules the world." We were influenced by our mothers and our children will similarly be influenced by us so that the higher ideals we set ourselves to attain will be standard progress which our children will attain. "Stewards" in trust for those who follow us and therefore our motto should be "progress." Your Samajam is doing most excellent work and I congratulate you heartily on your success. There are two points however on which I would like to offer you my opinion. First, may I earnestly advocate the study of English, because the most enlightened and best papers are published in English, the reading of which would be of great help to us all in our efforts of progress. Second, I like many English women take a great and deep interest in our Indian sisters; but owing to the language difficulty, can converse only with those who know English. I know Hindustani but that is not of much value in these parts. Here where you have some five different languages it seems to me that there should be one common language to enable us to exchange views and to make that progress we are striving for. My suggestion is not to expand the work of the Samaj into too many branches but perfect what you have already in hand." Mrs. Baratt then announced her intention to be a monthly subscriber of Rs. 10 towards the Samaj.



## AN APPEAL ON BEHALF OF CLERKS.

We have received the following appeal for publication from the Clerks' Union :—

Owing to the earnest request of several members of the Clerks' Union we beg leave to address this appeal to the employers of clerical service in Bombay in the ardent hope that they will be pleased to consider the following lines with sympathy and give adequate relief to those who deserve it in these hard times. There is a very large number of clerks serving in the commercial and other offices and almost 90 p.c. of them who receive lean pay are suffering much hardship owing to the dearness of prices of all necessities of life. These clerks do live a very humble life in very inconvenient quarters and are an easy prey to various forms of sickness, chiefly because they cannot maintain or augment the vitality of themselves and their dependents on account of their inability to meet the expenditure for a decent living. The following figures speak for themselves.

	Pre-War Rates.	Present Rate.	Increase p. c.
	Rs.	Rs.	
Rice (Fara)	7 0 0	10 0 0	43
Pulse (Pylee)	0 7 0	0 10 0	43
Wheat (do,	0 7 0	0 10 0	43
Sugar (Md)	2 10 0	5 8 0	100
Ghee (Seer)	0 9 0	0 15 0	66
Butter (,,)	0 6 6	0 10 6	66
Potato (,,)	0 0 6	0 1 6	300
Milk (,,)	0 2 6	0 4 0	60
Oils (,,)	0 2 0	0 3 3	44
Charcoal (Md)	0 12 0	1 4 0	66
Fuel (,,)	0 13 0	1 3 0	46

Thus the rice on the whole is no less than 50 p. c. on an average as far as food is concerned. There are other items also to be considered, such as oilman-stores, rent &c. which show a rise of 75 to 100 p. c. over pre-war rates. The item of cloth absorbs thrice as much as householders used to spend before the War. Barbers, servants, washermen, vegetable vendors, shopkeepers and several others whose labour is utilised have increased their rates of remuneration about 100 to 200 p. c., to enable them to live in these days of high prices. Only clerks who live by the profession of the pen are cheap and it is sometimes painful to find advertisements for clerks on Rs. 20 and 30. It is no wonder that a clerk earning monthly Rs. 50 who could anyhow make two ends meet before the War, is unable to manage the expense for even half the month now. Hotel-keepers have increased their rates from Rs. 10 to 15 and yet give worse food than before.

What have the employers done under these circumstances? The Government have made a liberal grant upto 50 p. c. extra allowance in the case of their clerks while commercial firms which have earned fatter profits than before have scarcely been alive to their duty. A few Offices have given allowance ranging from 5 to 15 p. c. and very few up to 25 p. c. and more. There are too many firms, however, which have kept the strings of their purse too tight and are not perhaps aware of the misery of their employers. Even the small allowance which is mercifully given by some is too insufficient. We therefore appeal to all employers to satisfy themselves by enquiry with their staff about their hardships and give War allowance on the basis which Government have adopted after long and mature consideration. It would be quite humane on their part to do so.

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

## CONTENTS.

—:o:—

The All-India Liberal Conference.	Hindu Eugenics.—II.
The Bombay Chronicle on Revolutionary Crime.	Excise and Education.
Utterly Irresponsible or Deliberately Malicious.	Indian Constitutional Reforms.
Fundamental Difference between the two Committees.	Emigrant Difficulties at Mandapam.
The Press Act.	Precept and Practice.
The End of Indentured Indian Labour.	Mysore Letter.
Bengal Revolutionary Movement.	Grievances of Third Class Railway Passengers.
	A Greeting.

## NOTES.

—:o:—

**The All-India Liberal Conference.** It is now definitely settled that the All-India Liberal Conference will meet on Saturday the 19th and Sunday the 20th October in Bombay, under the presidentship of the Hon. Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee. At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Reception Committee held last week it was resolved that the question of representation in reformed Legislative

not, the existence of revolutionary crime in the country, particularly in Bengal? Does it or does it not admit that, in the words of the Rowlatt Committee's report, the difficulties attending the enforcement of the criminal law in these cases have been enhanced by terrorism: that, in the words of the Chandavarkar-Beachcroft Committee, "before the Defence of India Act was brought into force, the fair trial of a person accused of revolutionary crime had been rendered practically impossible by the murders of approvers, witnesses, police officers, and law-abiding citizens suspected by revolutionaries of having given information to or otherwise assisted the police in the detection of revolutionary crime?" We want plain answers to these questions. If our contemporary does not admit these points, it has got to explain the numerous illustrations adduced by the two Committees in proof of them. If it does admit these points, it must tell the public how it proposes to meet the situation created by the existence of the conditions set forth by the two Committees. The question for immediate consideration is, how is this sinister development, so disturbing to the peaceful progress of the country, to be effectively met?

## NOTICE.

The attention of our readers is directed to a mistake in the last issue of our paper the title page of which bears the date of **8th September** instead of the **15th September**.

**The Bombay Chronicle on Revolutionary Crime:** The *Bombay Chronicle* for some reason or other seems to be anxious to make out that the *Indian Social Reformer* has taken to politics within the last few months. In the same issue, however, our contemporary quotes with appreciation long paragraphs which appeared in these columns two years ago and more, dealing with purely political matters. The obvious conclusion is that our contemporary is not perturbed by our descent into the political arena when we happen to express views which it approves. The trick is too patent to mislead any one who is not blinded by rank partisanship. As for our contemporary's portentous "warnings" to us we assure our contemporary that it is much mistaken if it thinks for a moment that we are going to be intimidated by them. We are not going to allow the *Bombay Chronicle* to run away from the questions which we put to it under a cloud of impertinence. Does it admit or does it

**Utterly Irresponsible or Deliberately Malicious.** We have expressed in emphatic terms our objection to the enactment of a permanent law on the lines of the Defence of India Act, suggested by the Rowlatt Committee. "The only permanent remedy," we said commenting on their recommendations, "is a permanent improvement in the relations between the Government and the community which, it is but reasonable to presume, does not love to be dacoited and murdered. All merely punitive measures are bound to be merely of temporary effect, and not only that but to increase the feeling of bitterness in the community. The same is true more or less of preventive measures also. With the co-operation of the people sedition will disappear of itself. Without such co-operation, we should embark on an endless programme of repression, each step more stringent than the last, each measure leaving behind it a legacy of bitterness deeper than the last. We venture to suggest that the constitutional reforms under contemplation should be introduced as soon



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# THE INDIAN \* SOCIAL \* REFORMER.

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not  
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

## CONTENTS.

—:o:—

The All-India Liberal Conference.	Hindu Eugenics.—II.
The Bombay Chronicle on Revolutionary Crime.	Excise and Education.
Utterly Irresponsible or Deliberately Malicious.	Indian Constitutional Reforms.
Fundamental Difference between the two Committees.	Emigrant Difficulties at Mandapam.
The Press Act.	Precept and Practice.
The End of Indentured Indian Labour.	Mysore Letter.
Bengal Revolutionary Movement.	Grievances of Third Class Railway Passengers.
	A Greeting.

## NOTES.

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**The All-India Liberal Conference.** It is now definitely settled that the All-India Liberal Conference will meet on Saturday the 19th and Sunday the 20th October in Bombay, under the presidency of the Hon. Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee. At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Reception Committee held last week it was resolved that the question of representation in reformed Legislative Councils by election of backward classes, depressed classes and important minorities should be considered by the Subjects Committees of the Conference. This is as far as the Committee can go, but we may say that, in regard to this as well as the question of a second chamber to the Legislature, there is a growing feeling among Liberals that the conclusions of the All-India Conference should be influenced by a full recognition of the realities of Indian life and thought, and not be based on a hypothetical basis in which the aspirations of the future are confounded with the actualities of the present. The duty before us now is to frame a constitution for India, not for Utopia.

**The Bombay Chronicle on Revolutionary Crime:** The *Bombay Chronicle* for some reason or other seems to be anxious to make out that the *Indian Social Reformer* has taken to politics within the last few months. In the same issue, however, our contemporary quotes with appreciation long paragraphs which appeared in these columns two years ago and more, dealing with purely political matters. The obvious conclusion is that our contemporary is not perturbed by our descent into the political arena when we happen to express views which it approves. The trick is too patent to mislead any one who is not blinded by rank partisanship. As for our contemporary's portentous "warnings" to us we assure our contemporary that it is much mistaken if it thinks for a moment that we are going to be intimidated by them. We are not going to allow the *Bombay Chronicle* to run away from the questions which we put to it under a cloud of impertinence. Does it admit or does it

not, the existence of revolutionary crime in the country, particularly in Bengal? Does it or does it not admit that, in the words of the Rowlatt Committee's report, the difficulties attending the enforcement of the criminal law in these cases have been enhanced by terrorism: that, in the words of the Chandavarkar-Beachcroft Committee, "before the Defence of India Act was brought into force, the fair trial of a person accused of revolutionary crime had been rendered practically impossible by the murders of approvers, witnesses, police officers, and law-abiding citizens suspected by revolutionaries of having given information to or otherwise assisted the police in the detection of revolutionary crime?" We want plain answers to these questions. If our contemporary does not admit these points, it has got to explain the numerous illustrations adduced by the two Committees in proof of them. If it does admit these points, it must tell the public how it proposes to meet the situation created by the existence of the conditions set forth by the two Committees. The question for immediate consideration is, how is this sinister development, so disturbing to the peaceful progress of the country, to be effectively put down? We deal in our leading article to-day with the causes which have contributed to this development and the real remedies which will deprive revolutionary crime of a congenial soil in the long run. Meanwhile no Government worth the name can let the public be dacoited and murdered with impunity, and it is, as we conceive it, the plain duty of the public press to lend the full weight of its support to the campaign against such crimes. Neither the "warnings" nor the cajolery of our contemporary can move us a hair'sbreadth from that conception of our duty.

**Utterly Irresponsible or Deliberately Malicious.** We have expressed in emphatic terms our objection to the enactment of a permanent law on the lines of the Defence of India Act, suggested by the Rowlatt Committee. "The only permanent remedy," we said commenting on their recommendations, "is a permanent improvement in the relations between the Government and the community which, it is but reasonable to presume, does not love to be dacoited and murdered. All merely punitive measures are bound to be merely of temporary effect, and not only that but to increase the feeling of bitterness in the community. The same is true more or less of preventive measures also. With the co-operation of the people sedition will disappear of itself. Without such co-operation, we should embark on an endless programme of repression, each step more stringent than the last, each measure leaving behind it a legacy of bitterness deeper than the last. We venture to suggest that the constitutional reforms under contemplation should be introduced as soon



as possible and that the duty of combating sedition should be left to the enlarged legislature, with their increased powers and opportunities of gauging and conciliating public feeling." Only an utterly irresponsible or deliberately malicious critic can declare that the Chandavarkar-Beachcroft Committee have "out-Heroded Herod" by discarding the rules of the Indian Evidence Act even beyond the restrictions and limitations proposed by the Rowlatt Committee. The objects of the two Committees were totally different. The Rowlatt Committee had "to investigate and report on the nature and extent of the criminal conspiracies connected with the revolutionary movement in India, and to examine and consider the difficulties that have arisen in dealing with such conspiracies and to advise as to legislation, if any, necessary to enable Government to deal effectively with them."

**Fundamental Difference between the two Committees.** The Chandavarkar-Beachcroft Committee had merely to go into the cases of some 800 persons against whom the Government of Bengal had already taken action under existing laws, and to advise that Government as to the adequacy of the grounds on which such action had been taken. The procedure of the Advisory Committee was to a large extent either laid down or circumscribed for them by the Government resolution appointing them. Their proceedings were ordered to be held *in camera*, and no Counsel was to be permitted to appear. Those who object to these limitations, should find fault with the Government of Bengal, not with the Committee. The Committee explain that, though there was no express prohibition as regards their requiring the presence of the parties concerned before them, they did not call these before them for certain reasons. (We may remark in passing that the words of the Committee's report do not preclude the possibility of the members having visited some of the parties concerned though they did not send for them to the place where the Committee held their sittings.) Any one who reads the Rowlatt Committee's report with an unprejudiced mind, will be satisfied that the reasons given by the Advisory Committee are quite sound. These reasons as well as the procedure followed by that Committee, it is made perfectly clear in their report, are justifiable only in the circumstances under which the cases they had to consider and advise upon, arose. They have not made any recommendation to the effect that they should be extended to normal conditions. So far from exceeding the recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee, it seems to us that, between the lines of the Chandavarkar-Beachcroft Committee's report, runs a strong vein of protest against any alteration in the permanent law of the land, subversive of the basic principles of the present system in anticipation of seditious crime in the circumstances which prevailed in Bengal until recently. We also think that it is plainly implied in the report that resort should not be had to these emergency measures a day longer than is absolutely necessary.

**The Press Act.** We are not sorry that the resolution moved by the Hon. Mr. Khaparde in the Imperial Legislative Council to appoint a committee to enquire into the working of the Indian Press Act, was rejected. The main objection to the Act is not dependent on the manner of its working. Even if it was worked with the most admirable judgment and impartiality it will still be a most undesirable piece of legislation for the reasons which we stated some two years ago, and which the

*Bombay Chronicle* opportunely reproduced in its columns last week. We then said: "It is as if the Indian Press were placed perpetually under martial law. It possesses none of the attributes which a law should possess. It is not definite, it is not precise in its statement of what constitutes a cause of action under it, it depends to a dangerous degree on the idiosyncracies of individuals in power; and experience has shown that it is impotent against the most unbridled licence on the part of the privileged section of the Press. . . . Responsible opinion in this country holds that a law which cannot, for whatever reason, be evenhandedly administered, is detrimental to the growth of that reverence for law which is the corner-stone of the cause of freedom of the Press." We adhere to every word in that passage, and we may honestly say that even some of our contemporary's outbursts have not induced in us a moment's inclination to change that opinion. The Rowlatt Committee have significantly observed that the Press Act drove sedition to secret presses. Proceedings under the Act have come to constitute, in the eyes of the general public, a sort of hall mark of the independence and fearlessness of the journals affected. Some Local Governments have been acting recently as if they were absolute rulers of independent States, and prohibited the entry of some newspapers in their provinces. This has been done under the Defence of India Act, but it is nonetheless a serious encroachment on the liberty of the Press. The time is certainly come for the Executive Government to divest itself of some of the *impedimenta* which it has to carry in the shape of repressive measures passed during the last 10 years.

**The End of Indentured Indian Labour.** At the meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council held on the 11th instant, the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya moved that the Government of India should move the Secretary of State for India to negotiate with the Crown Colonies concerning the early release of those Indian labourers whose indentures have not expired. The Hon. Sir George Barnes, the Member for Commerce, responded in an exceedingly sympathetic speech in the course of which he accepted the resolution so far as Fiji was concerned. This qualification is not of practical importance as during the war no emigrants have gone to the other Crown Colonies, and in British Guiana, Trinidad and Surinam, the system will automatically cease about the end of this year. In regard to Fiji, however, indentured emigrants left India for that island so late as November 1916, and these men, therefore, cannot claim their freedom till November 1921. In the course of their speeches, Sir George Barnes as well as the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya made appreciative references to the services of Mr. C. F. Andrews to whom, indeed, it is due that this degrading system is about to die. His Excellency the Viceroy has taken a personal interest in the subject. The moral aspect of it has especially appealed to His Excellency. We are glad that this tremendous evil to which we owe in large part the prejudice against Indians in certain British Colonies, will disappear at no distant date. It has been a hard and difficult struggle against powerful vested interests, and the country will remember gratefully the names of Gandhi, Gokhale, and Andrews which are so honourably associated with the endeavours to extinguish the system of indentured labour emigration from India.



# INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, SEPTEMBER 22, 1918.

## BENGAL REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT.

The publication of the Report of the Sedition Committee, presided over by Mr. Justice Rowlatt, within a week or so of the publication of the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme of reform, was commented on by some at the time as indicating a studious desire on the part of the Government of India to prejudice India's case for responsible Government. Any force that comment had, has now been discounted by the fact disclosed a few days ago by the *London Times*, that the report of the Rowlatt Committee has not been published in England. Whatever the object of the authorities in withholding its publication there, while publishing it in India, it is able to contend that the revelations of the Report are such as to prejudice India's case for the rights of responsible government. The fair inference from those revelations is rather the other way. The Report, so far as it goes, if not directly, at least indirectly, supports the urgent need of administrative reforms in India in the direction of full responsible government. The Report proves the existence of revolutionary organisations, traces their origin, development, and extent, and the character of their constituent elements. No one, so far as we know, has denied their existence and character. The really important point arising from the Report for serious consideration consists in the recommendations made by the Committee for preventing and punishing revolutionary crime. The Committee propose to Government special legislation on that behalf as a permanent measure on lines similar to those of the Defence of India Act, which has been in force in British India, as a war measure only, since the war commenced. According to the proposals of the Committee, all cases of seditious, not only revolutionary crime, should be taken out of the ordinary law applicable to crimes in general, and should be tried, not by the Criminal Courts under the ordinary procedure, but under a special procedure.

Such special procedure may be necessary and unavoidable when sedition assumes the form of an organised revolutionary movement, becomes (to use the words of the Report of the Advisory Committee consisting of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar and Mr. Justice Beachcroft) "continuous and collective," and creating an exceptional situation of terrorism by the assassination and intimidation of approvers, witnesses, police officers and law-abiding citizens who help the Police in the detection of revolutionary crime, and demands an open and fair trial in a Court of law under the ordinary criminal procedure "practically possible." But it is a most serious thing, not only for the liberty of the subject but also for the stability of the State itself, to adopt under legislative sanction that special procedure for all times, whether the exceptional situation and special conditions of terrorism which necessitated the passing of the Defence of India Act as an emergency measure exist, or not. In that case, repressive laws, which take sedition out of the

category of open trials under the ordinary criminal procedure and figure in the statute book as permanent measures, defeat their own object and become provocative rather than preventive. Why should sedition any more than any other crime so figure when it has created no situation of terrorism overthrowing the fundamental assumptions on which the ordinary procedure of criminal law, meant for normal conditions, is based?

While it is important to know that revolutionary conspiracies have existed for some years, it is more important to ascertain the real causes which brought them into existence. A careful enquiry into the causes should, we think, leave no doubt that in India reforms in the administration, giving effect to the legitimate aspirations of the people by marked stages and opportunely, have been much slower than repressive laws. In their Report the Rowlatt Committee remark that it looks amazing, nevertheless it is a fact, that the revolutionary movement, into the existence, character and extent of which the Committee had to inquire, is confined almost exclusively to students in schools and colleges. About 95 per cent of the revolutionaries who have been dealt with either as state prisoners under Regulation 3 of 1818, or as detenus under the Defence of India Act, have been students, of whom about 80 per cent attended middle class schools, while about 15 per cent were from colleges and the remaining 5 per cent have been elderly men. Nearly all of the said proportion of students lived away from their parents or guardians, neglected their studies, changed their schools or colleges from time to time, and lived in hostels, which, not being subject to proper superintendence or supervision, became naturally revolutionary haunts. It is usual with a certain class of critics to ascribe that to something wrong in the current educational system, which permits such a deplorable state of things. But even if all is done that wise statesmanship can do to improve the educational system, it must be remembered that we live in times when, throughout the civilised world, every problem, even the educational, becomes political, and neither schools nor colleges can escape the political atmosphere. By her contact with British rule, India has been drawn into the vortex of European politics and the new awakening of political life in the country has permeated and will continue to permeate our schools and colleges. As long, therefore, as the political advancement of the people is slow, and does not keep pace with the times by duly recognising and giving effect to the legitimate aspirations of the people in general and the educated classes in particular, revolutionary crime is bound to raise its head from time to time and disturb the peace of the country. It will not do to meet such situations by means of repressive laws. Remove in time the standing political grievances of the land and you remove the mischief which brings the secret conspiracies of revolutionary organisations into existence. Remove the mischief and you remove the causes which necessitate the passing of repressive laws for preventing revolutionary crime.



In illustration we shall take the history of revolutionary crime in Bengal, to which the Rowlatt Committee has devoted a large portion of its Report. One prominent fact of that crime is that the youth who have taken to it have resorted to dacoities, the avowed object of the dacoities being two-fold (1) to find funds by means of robbery as the only means available to the revolutionaries for their upkeep and the support of their revolutionary organisations and (2) to enable the revolutionaries to receive military training. It would appear that there was a difference between the revolutionaries in Northern Bengal and those in East Bengal as to whether dacoities should be resorted to for the purposes of their organisations and revolutionary aims. The East Bengal party decided for dacoities on the ground that the dacoities served the purposes of military training which Government had been denying to Indian youths. That was a political grievance of which the revolutionaries caught hold for their secret conspiracies. It is a grievance of long standing. As long ago as 1884 the late Mr. Robert Knight, who then edited the *Statesman* of Calcutta, wrote strongly and incessantly advocating the admission of the educated youth of India into the Army and the appointment of Indians to higher military posts. He said :—

“What a life it would be for the youth of Bengal, if, instead of thrashing Policemen at the gates of the High Court or manling the helpless captain of a passenger steamer at Baranagore, they could seek in a body to storm some future Russian fortification at Merv or lay themselves in a deathbed of glory on a yet unfought field of some future Maiwand !”

Since Mr. Knight wrote, it has taken thirty-four years for the Government to notice the grievance seriously and take some steps to remedy it by inviting the educated youth of the country to enter the Army for its defence and by opening the commissioned ranks to educated Indians within a limited number. It is this very slow pace of political advancement which is at the root of revolutionary crime, and it will not do for the future to repeat the mistake of passing summary laws to repress revolutionary crime while letting the political reforms lag behind and come after that crime has done mischief by demoralising and leading into criminal ways a large number of youth.

### HINDU EUGENICS.—II\*

In the third Chapter the psychological basis of Hindu Eugenics is discussed and the author lays emphasis on the fact that the mere materialistic view of life has no hold on the Hindu mind. It is pointed out that even in the west the origin of life out of pure dead matter has failed to explain many of the features of living matter by purely physical and chemical laws. Even if in the course of a few generations the scientists may show that living matter has been evolved from “inorganic” substances, we shall still find that what we at present consider inorganic is in reality organic matter. This last conclu-

sion of the western biologists is the initial axiom of the thinkers of India. Nature and spirit are not mere parallel principles or absolute opposites but are regarded as inseparable though distinguishable. Even the dualists of the Sankhya school admit a kind of relation based on appropriateness between matter and spirit. The theory of evolution from the first energizing of *Prikriti* or Nature—“the womb impregnated by the divine radiation”, according to Krishna in the *Gita*—to germ plasm in the human race is the elaborated and the two-fold operation on the evolution of organic life, *viz.*, one proceeding from Cosmic will, and the other from the individualized human will, is described. The predominance of the psychic element in Eugenics is then emphasized for the purity of race. Just as full multicellular beings are co-ordinated and made subservient and interdependent in a well-organized society, so unicellular beings in human individuals which convey the life flame from one organism to another should be regularized and made subservient to the individual.

The influences which operate in the domain of genetics are described to be of two sorts:—Those which improve the inborn qualities of the race; and those which develop the good element to the utmost advantage of the individual. The conception of “Heredity” according to Hindu Shastras is then unfolded, and the theory of Karma Vipaka or fructification of Karma is discussed. The merits and demerits of unions of the same stock (सवर्ण); of the males of higher stock with females of the lower stock (अनुलोम); of males of inferior stock with females of superior stock (प्रतिलोम); and of males and females of mixed stocks, are described.

In the fourth chapter the ideal of motherhood which lies at the root of Eugenics is depicted. Yajnavalkya's tenet that the mother occupies the first rank among teachers of humanity is commented on. The cult of mother worship from Vedic to Tantrik period is unfolded and its eugenic value is determined. An interesting point which the author has brought out of Tantrik literature, is that the followers of Agama or Tantra school raised the status of woman and loosened the fetters of the modern caste institution. The Tantrikas lifted woman to the conception of divine Mother from the position of a degrading creature created by post-Buddhistic influences. The Tantrikas also invented a form of marriage called (शैवोद्वाह) in addition to the eight recognized forms of marriage of the Smârtas. The Shaiva form of marriage did not recognize caste restrictions. There were only two restrictions:—

(1) That the would-be wife should not be a *sapinda*, and (2) that she should not have a living husband.

The value of Nurture as against Nature or force of heredity is determined at length, and the author remarks :—“This nurture—physical as well as psychic—was of the best type possible in Ancient India according to the social status and environment of the mother. This nurture of the most ethical kind gave birth to a man like Budhha who revolutionised the Vedic religion. It

\*Prize Essay of Mr. N. D. Mehta, B. A., (Bhau Daj prizeman; Sujna Gokulji Lala prizeman; Senior Dakshna fellow, Gujrat College.)



is true that a genius or a saint cannot be produced at will because according to Hindu conceptions the dominant factor is the individual's Karma while parents furnish the material habitat, for its operation. A highly intellectual or ethical being is in itself a rarity on the earth, and the union of an equally harmonious pair inviting the residence of such a migrating soul is also a rarity. It is for this reason that Hindus believe that God descends on this mortal earth in humble environments to give a moral lift to the human race at certain periods of evolution. Whether this belief is right or wrong cannot be ascertained on a biological basis ; but it at least indicates that the birth of a genius or a saint is divine ; that it is not the result of human calculation and that one such birth revolutionizes the intellectual and moral life of the society in which he is born. But although the birth of a genius or a saint is beyond human control on account of complexity of the genetic circumstances (e. g. rarity of such a soul seeking birth, the scarcity of harmonious couples possessing a suitable germ plasm, the comparative unwillingness of highly intellectual or ethical men and women to beget children &c.) there is great scope for the operation of the negative and preventive eugenics in raising the level of the human race."

In the fifth Chapter the post-natal nurture according to Hindu views is propounded, and the author points out that in Ancient India the imparting of popular education in its widest sense (विनयन) was placed in the fore-rank of the king's duties.

In the last chapter the author describes the aesthetic ideas underlying Hindu eugenics and concludes that the fundamental conditions of the eugenic form of marriage according to Hindu ideals are:—

- (1) Selection of individuals of the same class, but in different branches ;
- (2) the selection to be made by experienced adults to be guided by the voice of the youths ;
- (3) the sacredness and inviolable nature of the marriage tie when once formed ;
- (4) the loving and mutually accommodating attitude of the couple during wedlock ;
- (5) the necessity of maintaining the woman not only by the husband but by the family and society to which she belongs in case she is reduced to a helpless condition and
- (6) the respect to which she is entitled by her position as a loving image of the divine mother.

It is hoped that the Essay will be soon published as we are sure it will give considerable impetus to thought among the present generation of Indian students of sociology.

**Excise and Education.** The Government of Bombay have accepted the recommendation of the special Committee appointed for the purpose, that 75 per cent of the extra revenue expected to be derived by the introduction of the auction system in disposing of the right of retail vend of country spirit, should be devoted to the improvement and extension of primary education. A conservative estimate puts the extra revenue for each of the next three years at forty-five lakhs of rupees.

## INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS.

BY MR. H. V. NANJUNDAYYA, C. I. E., M. A., M. L.

(Continued from the last issue.)

It is proposed to provide for the representation of the European community by nomination. If the Europeans did not take much interest hitherto in Indian politics, it was not so much due to their simplicity or to indifference to their interests, as to a natural feeling that such interests might safely be left in the hands of Government. They may be equally safe hereafter with nominated members in the Legislative Councils, especially as they are likely to get in more members in that manner than if members were allotted to them only in proportion to their numbers or to their contribution to the revenues of the State. But there is apparently an agitation against their not being given the privilege of a separate electorate. As I have stated elsewhere, their claim to have separate representation is entitled to as much consideration as that of the Mussalmans; perhaps they have a stronger case, and if they ask for such a concession, it should certainly be granted.

The Indian Christians have also been asking for separate grouping. It is somewhat unfortunate that they should do so as hitherto in all but their creed, they have usually identified themselves with their Hindu countrymen, and there have been no greater differences between them and their Hindu neighbours than between the different castes of Hindus themselves. If, however, there is a strong feeling for separate representation for them, it will be difficult to resist their claim, as their case does not differ much from that of the Mussulmans.

The Eurasians are also fairly entitled to a similar treatment ; it may not be quite possible to group them and the Europeans together in one electorate.

The chief constitutional change proposed in the Government of India is that the statutory qualifications of Members are to be abolished. At present, of the five or six members of Council, three members should be persons who have been servants of the Crown in India for at least ten years, and one must be a Barrister of five years standing, so that there is room to appoint only one or two members who are not within these small circles. The removal of this restriction will open a larger field of choice, and enable Government to appoint more representative men as members. This is certainly an improvement. There is at present one Indian Member in the Council, and it is proposed to appoint another forthwith. This will not come up to the Congress ideal of having half the members as Indians, but it may lead to it in course of time.

Going to the Provincial Executive, it is laid down that 'single-headed administration must cease and be replaced by collective administration.' In place of a Council with three members as at present, the Governor is to have a Council of two members one of whom will be an Indian, and one or two ministers selected from among the elected members of the Legislative Council. A feature that has evoked some hostile criticism is the proposed appointment of one or two



additional members for consultation and advice. Apparently to disarm criticism, it is stated that these additional members 'would take their share in the discussion, but would in no case take a part in the decision.' But it is difficult to make out what difference there would be in the matter of influencing such decisions, between the functions of the members and ministers on the one hand and that of the additional members on the other, except that these latter would have no portfolio but would continue to hold charge of their previous posts. It is admitted in the very next sentence of the Report, that at a meeting of the whole Government, there would not be any question of voting at all. If Heads of Departments under Government are introduced as additional members of Government, there is no doubt that the status and responsibility of the other members (especially of the Ministers) would be considerably impaired. The step moreover seems to be quite an unnecessary one, for it would be neither difficult nor improper for the Governor to obtain the advice of competent Heads or Departments and other authorities under Government whenever necessary.

#### INDIA OFFICE AND PARLIAMENT.

It is proposed that the Secretary of State should cease to control the administration of the transferred subjects; and that the discussion of such matters by Parliament in future would be governed by the fact of their transfer. This somewhat vague phrase being interpreted seems to mean that Parliament should not concern itself with these matters. The principle is correct so far as subjects which have been placed under Indian popular control without any qualification are concerned. But as during the initial period, the Governor is given very large powers of over-riding the ministers, who also are not made directly responsible to the Legislative Assembly, it seems to be a matter of doubtful expediency that Parliament should altogether withdraw its control. While it is right that the interference of the Secretary of State in petty details of the administration of the Government of India, and of the latter in respect of Provincial Governments, should be minimised, it cannot be a wholesome change that Parliamentary control should be withdrawn except to the extent that popular control in India is made effective.

The proposals to have periodic Commissions to enquire into the administration of India, the placing of the Secretary of State's salary on the British budget, and above all, the institution of a Select Committee of the House of Commons, are all very useful as means to arouse the interest and to ensure more complete knowledge of Indian questions in Parliament. Only to the Select Committee, Indian Members should somehow be added in a sufficiently large number to discuss all important questions with sufficient knowledge and authority before the Parliament. From the Statement (Para. 295) that such a Committee could be drawn from both Houses, it may be inferred that it will not be impossible or unconstitutional to put in members elected or selected from among experienced Indian non-officials; we say non-

officials not because of any assumed superiority in knowledge or ability, but because officials cannot act with the same degree of independence in judging of acts of the Government.

Beyond stating the general principle that the control of the Parliament through the Secretary of State in Indian affairs and of the Government of India over the Provinces, should be curtailed in parallelism with the advance of 'Responsible' Government in this country, the report does not give a clear idea of the extent of the reduction or its particular direction. These things will depend on the labours of the Committees to be appointed and the willingness of the British Parliament to subject itself to self-denying ordinances. The soundness of the general principle can hardly be questioned; but Indian opinion will not be very favourable to a reduction of the Parliament's powers, if the immediate consequence would be an enhancement (directly or indirectly) of the autocratic power of the Government of India or of the Provincial Governments.

#### EMIGRANT DIFFICULTIES AT MANDAPAM.

The Island of Ceylon is situated in close contiguity to the mainland of India, and affords a splendid field for mobilisation of Indian labour. No wonder then that Indians to-day in Ceylon number more than a million. With the growth of business and advancement of commerce afforded by the improved means of communication between Ceylon and India opened by the Talaimannar route, a large amount of labour force and passenger traffic has flowed between these two places. The latter are mostly responsible Indian shopkeepers and petty traders who earn an independent living in Ceylon. In so far as the labour force is concerned, it is one of an organised endeavour to take into the island Indian labour of men, women, and children to work on the tea and rubber plantations owned largely by European capitalists. It is admitted on all hands that the prosperity of the island is due to the poor Indian cooly; and therefore it would be interesting to learn the condition of the cooly.

This brings us straight to the cooly camp at Mandapam. Mr. Karumuttu Thiagaraja Chettiar's pamphlet on "Emigrant Difficulties at Mandapam", from which the following facts are derived, throws a flood of light on the nature of Ceylon Quarantine Regulations. Originally it was the wish of the authorities that only the pick and best of the labourers who could stand malarial fever and other diseases peculiar to plantations, should be allowed to enter Ceylon. But the way in which this all important wish is carried out at Mandapam is extremely unsatisfactory.

The Government of Ceylon have ruled wisely that no person should be allowed to land in the colony without being medically examined, lest Indians should import infectious diseases. For this, they have established two quarantine stations, one at Mandapam—the Madras end of the route—and other at Mataparai for examining passengers pro-



ceeding to Ceylon. There is no systematic carrying out of this medical examination. Passengers are left to the mercy of the Medical Officer or his Assistant. The necessity of a permanent quarantine establishment for preventing the importation of contagious diseases from India to Ceylon, as if India alone was the home of plague, and Ceylon was immune, shows even to a casual observer that there is something wrong in the very system and that it is most carelessly administered. It is not our purpose here to discuss the pros and cons of quarantine. Sufficient it is to examine the way in which it is done.

The chief grievance is the 'Detention' of passengers at Mandapam for seven days. We must make it clear that Europeans and Eurasians are simply allowed to pass on. It is only the Indians who have to undergo the hardships. From amongst Indians, those who wear English costume, talk English and travel first or second class are free after depositing a certain amount of money. Roughly we can say that 75 per cent of the passengers are detained in the cooly camp. This camp is extensive in area, but there is no proper partitioning of it. All are huddled up together—coolies and other third class passengers. This promiscuous throwing of people together is insanitary and breeds diseases which the Ceylon authorities are so anxious to avoid.

Next we come to the problem of food while they are at Mandapam. The monopoly to provide food in the camp is enjoyed by a European Company. They are not allowed to prepare their own food and so they have to put up with any bad stuff they get. Meals are served at odd hours and overcharged. The remedy lies in abolishing this monopoly and allowing a healthy competition between Indian managed hotels. Another grievance of camp life is that coolies are required to keep within certain boundary limit. Passengers have to obtain 'permits' from the Chairman of the Plague Committee, Ceylon. The delay of vaccinations which passengers have to undergo is another source of trouble. There is no attempt made to distinguish between passengers coming from infected and non-infected areas.

Coolies recruited from Madras vary between 70,000 and 80,000 per annum; and so the unsatisfactory Ceylon quarantine regulations affect Madras very much. The Madras Government was moved in the matter and asked to adopt retaliatory measures if driven to it by the indifference of the Ceylon Government. The Government reply was that it is not indentured labour, and that the Indian Emigration Act expressly excludes the Island of Ceylon from its operations; and therefore they were helpless. But it undertook to persuade the Ceylon Government to remove the disabilities of Indians proceeding there and further suggested that the Government of India might pass a fresh Act making the permission of the Madras Government to recruit labour from the Presidency, compulsory.

Two important grievances have been removed, thanks to the intervention of the Madras Government. The branding of passengers with violet ink or a certain vicious dye which cuts into the skin

was rightly resented, it being associated with criminals. This has been now abolished. Another grievance, which has been practically redressed, was the Deposit System.

The whole system requires immediate ending; and now that a good beginning has been made, we fervently hope that the crown colony would make it quite comfortable for self-respecting Indians to settle in Ceylon and this would bring together the members of the British Empire into closer bonds of unity, and fellowship.

L.N.M.

### "PRECEPT AND PRACTICE."

The Editor, The "*Indian Social Reformer*."

Dear Sir,

In one of the notes of your last issue of the 8th instant under the heading "Precept and Practice", while you approvingly quote the precept from the Viceroy's speech to the effect that the training of the teacher should be regarded as an important matter, you do not seem to be quite clear as to what exactly in your opinion the practice should be. Your note evidently refers to the recent appointment of the Principal of the Training College, Bombay, and in spite of, your late disclaimer of all racial partisanship on your part the latter part of your note seems to imply that the appointment of an Indian as such, as Principal of the College is the only way of putting the precept into practice. For, otherwise, the word "Indian" used with reference to Rao Sabab Shiva Kumar Shastri of Saidapet College, whom it is impossible to mistake for a European, can have no significance.

In this connection, I have to point out to you that there is no comparison whatsoever between the Madras appointment and that in Bombay. Mr. Shiva Kumar Shastri, who has put in a service of nearly 30 years or more in the Educational department having graduated in 1884 and passed the L. T. Examination in 1890, must have served as Lecturer and Vice-Principal for a good number of years and has been now appointed acting Principal almost on the verge of his retirement, not because he is an Indian as such, but evidently because of his long experience of the training of teachers. The case of Bombay is entirely different. The work here is divided between four persons of whom one is Principal and the other three, lecturers recently appointed, the work assigned to the four chiefly being, High School English with general Method, Direct Method of teaching English to standard 1 to 3, Mathematics, and Science respectively. In the first place, the lecturers referred to have barely one year's experience of training teachers in their own departments; and secondly none of them is acquainted with the work of the Principal, which mainly deals with English and method. It is therefore presumptuous to expect any of these *raw* lecturers to be capable of training teachers in the above mentioned subjects especially in English which has not been their optional subject even, at the Arts College, and in which they are obviously gropers themselves.

Bombay,  
12th September 1918.

I am,  
Yours truly,  
"Once a Teacher."

[It would have been more to the purpose if our correspondent had told our readers what the Rev. Mr. Darby's qualifications to the appointment are, what his academic qualifications, what experience he has had of training colleges, whether he himself has received any training. That there is no Indian educationist of Mr. Shiva Kumar Shastri's standing and distinction to take the place even as



an acting arrangement, is a serious reflection on the policy of the Educational Department in regard to Indian members of the Service. Our readers will not expect us to reply to our correspondent's insinuation that we are actuated by race prejudice in criticising the appointment. Some English educationists who have spoken to us of it, have expressed themselves in much stronger terms than we have used. Further, if to urge the claims of Indians to higher appointments in the Public Services of their own country, is to be regarded as a sign of race prejudice, we admit we are not, and never professed to be, free from it.—*Ed. I.S.R.*]

### MYSORE LETTER.

[FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT.]

Bangalore, September 1.

#### A LADIES MAGAZINE.

It has become a frequent complaint here in these days that the Government of Mysore are competing with every form of private enterprise. To an extent the statement seems to be true; but then the complaints were till now in relation to activities in which men are engaged. Now it appears there is a proposal to enter into women's domain and make things a little discouraging to those who have been carrying on some useful work. The Education Committee of the Economic Conference thinks it necessary for its existence to run a ladies' journal in Kanarese. They do not believe, it is said, in helping to improve any existing journal. As in matters of women's education the Education committee and its brilliant members like Mr. C. R. Reddy, believe in men's doing everything for women in spite of educated ladies' opposition to men's proposals, so also in the matter of a ladies' journal, the Committee desire that it should be run by men for women's benefit. Suggestions have been made to the committee not to attempt to interfere with the work of a few enthusiastic ladies of Bangalore who are running a magazine at considerable expense at a time when the charges for paper and printing are prohibitive; that once ladies' activities are interfered with they would quit them in disappointment never to take to them again; and that it is advisable to leave women's enterprises in women's hands. But the committee will hear nothing of it and it is stated that a Sub-committee is "confidentially" working out the details of the journal. When the committee's proposals reach the Government, we may know what they will be like and not till then.

#### AN ASPECT OF COMMUNAL REPRESENTATION.

Mr. C. R. Reddy, the officiating Inspector-General of Education, is spoken of as a staunch supporter of communal representation in this part of India. It is a matter of common talk here that his head, heart and hands are in sympathy with the activities of those who "agitate" for communal representation. I cannot say how far there is truth in these reports. But this much might be said that Mr. Reddy, if not the Department over which he presides, is doing things a bit unsatisfactorily with regard to communal representation. His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore very generously offered one lakh of rupees as scholarships for the benefit of backward communities and when the list of scholarships for last year was published as a result of interpellation in the Legislative Council, it was found that the majority of scholarships went not to the really poor and backward communities, but to particular communities whose members consider themselves as champions of non-Brahman communities. It was pointed out then that how in doing away with Brahman "oligarchy" an attempt was being made to set up a Lingayat "oligarchy;" how unfair it was to the backward and non-Brahman

communities to have any "oligarchy" of an exclusive community as the Lingayat or the Brahman. It was sincerely expected then that with the advent of Mr. Reddy as the head of education department any attempt to perpetuate racial differences would be done away with. But it seems to be a hopeless expectation, for recently Mr. Reddy notified a list of 70 scholarships which he gave to students of non-Brahman communities, in the University Entrance Class, of these 18 scholarships go to the Lingayats, 12 to Mahomedans, 5 to Vokkaligas, the largest community in the state and the remaining to twenty other communities. Neither on numerical basis nor on grounds of merit and poverty the distribution of these scholarships is justified. The agitation for communal representation is strong on the part of the representative of the Lingayat Education Fund; and it is a strange coincidence that that community gets the lion's share of every generous concession made by His Highness for the benefit of the backward communities in the State. As a social reformer I view the danger that is ahead by allowing this procedure to continue. In the course of a few years the Lingayat community which is materially more prosperous than other communities will be able to dominate over the really backward communities and the result will be that while they have only to contend with Brahman monopoly at present, then they will have to fight against two or three communities as Brahman, Lingayat and Mahomedan exclusively having all good things for themselves. Any plea to the effect that there are not students of other communities in sufficient numbers is untenable. The Government should certainly see that the scholarships are given to really backward, poor and deserving students of communities, if it desires to mete out justice to all.

#### HOME FOR PANCHAMA WOMEN.

Among the few practical proposals which come before the Committee of Civic and Social Progress Association now and then for consideration was the proposal to start an industrial Home for the Panchama fallen women at Mysore. "Homes of Mercy" are not only necessary for the Panchama fallen women; in other communities as well there are many women who have gone astray either as a result of our social tyranny or due to unscrupulousness of men. It is an interesting proposal and I hear it has received the approval of His Highness the Yuvarajah. A Brahman lady of Mysore who is doing extremely useful work for the benefit of the depressed classes in Mysore is interesting herself in starting the Home.

#### GRIEVANCES OF THIRD CLASS RAILWAY PASSENGERS.

The Editor, The *Indian Social Reformer*,

Sir,

I see that the last Humanitarian Conference held in Bombay has passed a resolution on the grievances of the third class railway passengers. So the dumb animals are not to have a day to themselves. Inhuman treatment of human beings by Jains and marwadis ought also then to have come for the consideration of the conference but it would not suit the Politicians, who engineered that conference and all other conferences under whatever name. Now I want to ask whether you want redress of the grievances of the third class passengers or grievance against the Government. I am unable to help the latter. The former is in the hands of the passengers themselves. During the last 45 years I have travelled much, mostly in third class. My experience is that there has always been enough room and more or all passengers



out the passengers in the carriage, however thinly filled will not allow new passengers to enter. They stand in a line near doors and windows and say that this carriage is filled but further up or down there are several carriages entirely empty. Further the rich and the educated consider themselves entitled to more room than they have paid for. They not only sleep but keep their boxes and bundles on benches and allow poor people to stand. There are of course the railway officials but their number is insignificant. The station and train staff together do not number more than five. They can not ill-treat more than a thousand people in the train. They have not the time if they have the will. In the seventies a friend of mine used to travel constantly from Churney Road to Parel in a train which used to come from Surat in the morning and discuss with passengers "when you are out, you are anxious to come in. Now you are in and there is ample room for more, why do you prevent others from coming in." The reply invariably was "we do for our comfort." How the travellers behave to each other in Europe is well described in the interesting books of travel by Mr. Muzumdar of Baroda and Mrs. Chitanvis of Nagpur. I say to my countrymen (I am a Hindu) if we love one another, no body can ill-treat us.

Yours faithfully,

K.

### A GREETING.

India, our mother, hoary with all ages,  
Yet for ever gracious, young and fair and free,  
We, thy foster-children, wondering and adoring,  
Over lands and oceans gather home to thee.

India, our mother, thou hast called, we answer :  
Swift we run to greet thee, clustering at thy knee.  
Take our lives and use them, making them or  
marring :

See, we give them gladly, dedicate to thee.

Wilt thou have us, mother, aliens and strangers,  
Born in roaring cities far across the sea ?  
Wilt thou kiss us welcome, bounteously bestow-  
ing,

Pardon for our follies, grace to learn of thee ?

Aye, we trust thee, mother, thou wilt ne'er  
refuse us,

For we greet thee humbly, love our only plea.  
See, as little children, joyful and confiding,  
Crave we now thy blessing, claiming love from  
thee.

Lo, through endless aeons, e're the worlds were  
moulded,

Thou hadst called us, mother, sons of thine to be  
Thus the Love Eternal destined and determined:  
God who gave us being, gave it us for thee.

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not  
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard." WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

## CONTENTS.

:0:

The Indian Science Congress.  
Census of Cotton Stocks.  
Education Among Jains.  
Primary Education in Bombay.  
Public Health of Bombay city.  
Treatment of Revolutionary Crime.  
Government by Espionage.  
Sir S. P. Sinha on the anti-Brahman Movements.  
Caste and Christianity.

Mr. Patel's Hindu inter-marriage Bill—II.  
A new History of the Marathas.  
Indian Agrarian Economics.  
Social work in Mysore.  
Telugu Conference.  
The Janma Rahasya.  
Special Maratha Conference.  
A Notable Conversion.  
The Hindu Intermarriage Bill.  
"To My Wife."

## NOTES.

:0:

**The Indian Science Congress.** The sixth annual meeting of the Indian Science Congress will be held in Bombay from January 13th to 18th, 1919. His Excellency the Governor of Bombay, Baron Willingdon of Ratton, has consented to be Patron of the Meeting, and Lt.-Colonel Sir Leonard Rogers, will be President. The Honorary Local Secretaries will be Prof. A. R. Normand, Wilson College, Bombay, and Prof. D. D. Kanga, Elphinstone College, Bombay, to whom all enquiries as to accommodation should be addressed.

**Census of Cotton Stocks.** In order to assist the Government of India in the consideration of the question of the available supply of piecegoods, a census of stocks was taken at the principal ports, namely, Calcutta, Bombay, Rangoon, Madras and Karachi, by the Local Governments on the 6th of July. The results show that there were held on that date in the five ports about 482 million yards of greys, 340 million yards of bleached, over 315 million yards of coloured, printed or dyed, and 64 million yards of fents of all descriptions. In addition to these, there were about 120 million yards in the Bombay Port Trust warehouses, and 13½ million yards in the Karachi Port Trust warehouses. It was further anticipated that supplementary returns would be received to the extent of 32 million yards. Even thus the results are an under-estimate, as it was impossible to extend the Census to the smaller dealers. Moreover, there is reason to believe that considerable stocks were, in some cases, withheld from the returns. It is, therefore, clear that there are a sufficient, though not, considering the population, very large stocks in the country, and that the forcing up of prices to the recent high level was an act of wanton profiteering.

**Education Among Jains.** The Jain community have a worthy and strenuous worker in Mr. Narotam Shah to whose study of the social questions affecting the community we made an appreciative reference some months ago. He has now published a very informing paper on the educational position of the Jains. The Jain population of India numbers 13 lakhs. Roughly

speaking, about a third of them are in British India, and the rest in Indian States. The Presidency of Bombay and its Indian States contain about 40 per cent of the Jains of India, and is thus their principal centre. The community being chiefly engaged in trade, as involving no loss of life to any creature, has naturally a high proportion of literates. Also a much larger proportion of Jain boys are in school than of other communities. But Mr. Narotam Shah brings out clearly that very few of the boys pursue their studies beyond the elementary stage. Also the percentage of Jain girls attending schools is very low. The statistics which he has collected with the obliging assistance of the Bombay Educational Department, throw a flood of light on the educational problems of the community. We cordially support his appeal to wealthy Jains to look into the matter and take early steps to promote higher education among their co-religionists.

**Primary Education in Bombay.** We congratulate the Schools Committee of the Bombay Municipal Corporation on the successful administration of their important charge during the last official year. In his very interesting report issued recently, Mr. D. G. Padhye, the capable Secretary of the Committee, shows that there was notable progress made in every direction. The number of scholars attending the Municipal institutions rose from 24,000 on the last day of the previous year to 28,500. The number of new schools started in the year was 16, of which 7 were girls' schools. The proportion of Marathi girls to boys in the Municipal schools is much smaller than that of Gujarathi girls to boys, and we are glad that during the year under report this disparity was made good to some extent. In Bombay city the difficulties attending the education of girls are at a minimum and we hope the Schools Committee will be able to push forward this part of its work at a more rapid pace than at present. The two questions of great importance in respect of Bombay schools are their housing and the supply of qualified and trained teachers. We are pleased to note that the Committee are alive to the urgency of both these matters. The increase of the salaries of school masters in Bombay city has become necessary owing to the prevailing high prices and rents. The report records the offer of Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla, for many years one of the most influential and useful members of the Bombay Municipal Corporation and the Schools Committee, to bear the cost of a building for accommodating a Municipal Dispensary and School on an Improvement Trust plot at Sandhurst Road, and that of Khan Bahadur Hakim Mahomed Dayam for a Marathi school building on Antop Hill, Matunga.

**Public Health of Bombay city.** The monthly bulletin of health of the City of Bombay for last month shows that the health conditions were



strikingly favourable as compared with the corresponding month last year. Notwithstanding the large increase of population indicated by the increase of passengers by tramway from 47 lakhs to 55 lakhs, the total deaths in August 1918 were 69 fewer than in August of the preceeding year. Though the number of births was slightly higher, the infant mortality was lower than in August 1917. Plague deaths were about a sixth of what they were last year in the month of August. The sudden and calamitous change which has come over the health of the city is shown by the fact that in the week ending 21st September there were nearly as many deaths as in the whole of last month. The number of deaths during the week was about 1000 more than the preceding week, about 1200 more than the week ended 22nd September 1917, and 1344 more than the corresponding week in the preceding five years. The city is practically free from plague and the increase is wholly due to the new disease which has so far defied identification. There were 875 deaths from respiratory diseases under which our unwelcome visitor is apparently classed.

**Treatment of Revolutionary Crime.** Our readers need hardly be told that we are not in the habit of denouncing our contemporaries or individual citizens for holding opinions on public questions with which we are not able to agree. We have no reason whatever to make an exception in the case of the *Bombay Chronicle*. If we departed to some extent from our rule with reference to our contemporary's attacks on the Chandavarkar-Beachcroft Committee's report, it was because we felt that those comments were based on a wild travesty of its contents. We are glad that our contemporary admits that revolutionary crime does exist in the country, especially in Bengal, and we agree with our contemporary that Police terrorism is worse than anarchist terrorism. The Chandavarkar Committee merely explained why, owing to the limitations imposed on it by Government on the one hand, and by the demoralisation of witnesses owing to the prevalence of anarchist terrorism, on the other, the provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code and the Evidence Act could not be adhered to in their entirety in their enquiries. Our contemporary is right in holding that despotism or irresponsible government is at the root of revolutionary ferment in all lands.

We have ourselves repeatedly insisted that the permanent cure for the evil is radical reforms calculated to promote harmonious co-operation between Government and the people. The point our contemporary does not answer, however, is this: What should be done immediately to check a sinister movement which seeks its tools chiefly from among immature boys attending secondary schools? No one who knows India can be ignorant of the great sacrifices which parents often make to get a modest education for their children. When these children are decoyed into criminal conspiracies by revolutionaries, it requires no stretch of the imagination to picture the anguish of their parents. The State owes a duty to parents and children alike to put down with a stern hand sinister influences which wreck the lives of Indian youth. The ordinary procedure should be adhered to as far as possible, but when this has become clearly impossible owing to terrorisation, other means should be applied which, while providing ample safeguards against innocent persons being interfered with, will effectively put an end to an evil of this great magnitude. It is the duty of the public press to extend its support to Government in its campaign against revolutionary crime,

without, of course, foregoing its duty to point out any defects therein and means of improving them.

**Government by Espionage.** If any one wants to know what Englishmen, when free from obscuring pre-possessions, think of a system of Government which relies on espionage to any considerable extent for the maintenance of its authority, he has only to read works by English writers on Russia and Turkey under the Tsar and the Sultan. We could not help being struck by the amazing power of environment to transform men's outlook and sentiments when reading some of the views expressed by high officials in the recent debate in the Imperial Legislative Council on an ill-timed and ill-conceived motion relating to the Criminal Intelligence or Investigation Department.

**Sir S. P. Sinha on the anti-Brahman movements.** The anti-Brahman movement, of which *Justice* published in Madras is the accredited organ, has evidently found an echo in some of the English papers. Sir S. P. Sinha speaking at a function, in honour of the Indian delegates to the Imperial War Cabinet and Conference, referred to it in words which ought to be widely read. "I deprecate," he said, "ill-natured attacks upon what is called 'the political section of the Brahmanical caste of India,' whatever the limitation may connote. I hold no brief for the Brahmans, political or otherwise. I do not belong to that caste myself, and everyone in India knows of my open, avowed, and active hostility to all pretensions of caste or class supremacy on the part of Brahmans or any others. But I will take upon myself to repudiate the malicious insinuation against a class of my countrymen which includes such illustrious names as Ranade, Gokhale, W. C. Bonnerjee, Surendra Nath Bannerjee, and others, and I venture to point out that ill-mannered and ill-informed attacks on a whole class, held in respect and even reverence by large masses of the people of India, will inevitably provoke reprisals which will seriously hamper all efforts for either political or social reform, and will in all probability create a ferment prejudicial to the best interests of the Empire in this crisis in its fortunes."

**Caste and Christianity.** We summarise as follows an editorial comment in the *Harvest Field* for August: "The Christian Church is being pressed on many sides to relax its rule with regard to the renunciation of caste by converts before baptism. Considerable discussion has taken place with regard to the proposals made by the Mass Movement Committee of the United Provinces Representative Council. The general feeling is that those who wish to join the Christian Church from the lowest classes should be required to renounce caste. That they will always do as they pledge themselves may be too much to expect from persons who have seldom attached any binding value to a promise. Still the door of the Church should not open to these outcasts, if they are not prepared to recognise the brotherhood of those who may be equally low with or even lower than themselves. They must be kept waiting till they understand what the renunciation of caste means and are prepared to abide by their pledge. Now comes an appeal from the higher castes. We publish a short paper on this subject, the general tenor of which is, if we understand it aright, to let caste alone, and treat it as a mere social distinction. We agree that no drastic rules about interdining and intermarriage will destroy the spirit of caste; but we contend that caste as an organised social institution is incompatible with Christianity, and the person who will not renounce it is not a suitable candidate for baptism."



## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, SEPTEMBER 29, 1918.

## Mr. PATEL'S HINDU INTERMARRIAGE BILL.—II.

In our last article on the Bill introduced by the Hon. Mr. Patel in the Imperial Legislative Council to give legal validity to intermarriages, we pointed out some of its glaring defects and the necessity of amending and altering it so as to bring it in line with the liberal opinion of the day and remove its present crudities. Today we propose drawing attention to some other shortcomings of the Bill as it stands.

We do not share the opinion expressed in some quarters that Mr. Patel's Bill in its present meagre form leaves untouched certain questions which are sure to arise and make marriages between different castes sources of vexatious litigation and domestic discord. For instance (it is said) that under the old Hindu law, which has become obsolete by custom in this age of *Kali*, a Brahmin was allowed to marry not only a girl of his own caste but also a girl whether of the Kshatriya or Vaishya caste. Similarly a Kshatriya could marry a girl of the Vaishya caste. But the sons born of such mixed marriages had not the same rights of inheritance and partition that sons born of marriages in the same caste had. The question is raised by some as to whether under Mr. Patel's Bill that law as to inheritance and partition will apply to sons born of intermarriages. That question, we venture to think, can hardly arise if Mr. Patel's Bill as it stands becomes law. The Bill does not seek to revive the old Hindu law as to intermarriages. That law is dead and with it the law which was attached to it as to rights of inheritance and partition. Mr. Patel's attempt is to make a new law, which takes no cognizance (legislatively speaking) of the old but now obsolete law and, therefore, cannot attract even by implication the old law as to inheritance and partition. On that point, therefore, no vagueness can be charged to the Bill. An intermarriage under it will stand on the same footing as any ordinary marriage with reference to rights flowing necessarily from marital relations.

One vulnerable feature of the Bill is that Mr. Patel seems to have drafted it without bestowing careful thought on the question as to the essentials of a valid marriage under Hindu law and how far the rules of that law as to those essentials will affect the intermarriages which his Bill seeks to validate. What is called the *Brahma* or approved form of marriage under Hindu law, which in the earlier stages of Hinduism applied only to the twice-born castes, has by custom been adopted by all castes and it is now, generally speaking, the prevailing form among Hindus of all castes including Shudras. But there is this distinction between the twice-born castes and Shudras in point of marriage ritual. In the case of the former, the marriage must be performed before the *homa* or nuptial fire, whereas in the case of

the latter, i. e. Shudras, the Hindu *Shastras* declare that they are incompetent to perform the *homa*, and, therefore, their marriages are performed through the instrumentality of a Brahman. Under this state of the Hindu law as to marriage, with special reference to the ceremonies essential to its validity, the question arises: what ceremony should apply where the marriage between a Brahman bridegroom and a Shudra bride or *vice versa*? As the Hindu law now stands, the nuptial fire is obligatory so far as the Brahman party to the marriage is concerned; on the other hand, the nuptial fire is denied, to the Shudra. If the nuptial fire be omitted, the Brahman cannot be held to have entered into a valid marital relation. If it be used, the Shudra cannot be said to have married according to Hindu law.

The importance of ceremonies to make a marriage valid under Hindu law and of leaving no doubts as to them was realised by the framers of the Hindu Widow Marriage Act (Act XV of 1856). They did not leave that question to be settled by Courts and the quibbles of lawyers; but took deliberate care to make the point clear by the sixth section of the Act. Mr. Patel would seem to have utilised for his purpose only the first section of that Act as if that was sufficient to meet the problem of intermarriages.

Nor is that all. That there is a steadily growing feeling in favour of intermarriages cannot be gainsaid. What is that feeling due to? We think it is due to the growing sense of disapprobation of caste restrictions as a serious hindrance to the growth of unity and nationality in India. The demand for a law validating intermarriages is not a demand of mere sentiment. If it were, the Legislature would be perfectly justified in paying no heed to the demand unless and until the public opinion of the Hindu community as a whole, or by a vast majority, declared itself in favour of it. In the absence of such a majority, that is to say, where the law is demanded by an enlightened minority of the community, the Legislature can only be guided and should be guided by the principle based on sound policy that a law is a rule of conduct determined by and having the sanction of social necessity. "It is impossible," says the celebrated jurist, Maine, "to overrate the importance to a nation of having a distinct object to aim at in the pursuit of improvement," and he regards that distinctness of aim as the greatest merit and signal service of Bentham to legislation in England. The field of law, it has been well said, lies in the domain of the social sciences; and, therefore, when a law to reform the marriage system of a people is advocated, the question whether the Legislature should pass the law must depend on the question: Does it meet a social necessity? The necessity in the case of a law validating intermarriages lies in the growing demand for the recognition of all social forces that go to promote healthy unity, ordered freedom and sound nationality among the people. Intermarriage is one of those forces, provided the intermarriage law levels up womanhood, and breaks the iron rule of caste disunion.

But Mr. Patel's Bill, tested by those considerations, fails except in a casual way to secure



that social necessity. The vice of the Bill is that it takes no account of and learns no lesson from the sad experiences of India's past. As we have said above, there had been a time when intermarriages were allowed by our Shastras; but with what result? A Brahman man could indeed marry a Kshatriya or Vaishya girl; but all the same he could marry as many wives as he liked and the progeny of intermarriages did not rise to the higher caste; but the Brahman parent remained a Brahman free to marry a Brahman wife, and the progeny of the marriage with a Shudra formed a separate caste. And so the number of castes became legion. It is idle to speculate whether to check that increasing multiplicity of castes or for some other reason, our ancestors revolted against intermarriages with the result that such marriages have by lapse of time been interdicted by custom. But the relevant point to consider with reference to Mr. Patel's Bill is whether by merely validating intermarriages, it will not lead to the multiplication of castes as before and whether it has any virtue inherent in it for breaking down the iron rule of caste and promoting unity and nationality among the people. Under that Bill, a Brahman may marry a Shudra wife and yet remain a Brahman, the wife and the issue of the marriage continuing to be Shudras. This is what is happening to-day in conservative Malabar where the old rule as to Brahmans taking non-Brahman wives is still not obsolete. History will repeat itself and caste will go on under the proposed law. It is on that account, among others, that we think that the Bill should be so amended as to strike at the evils of polygamy and child marriage.

#### A NEW HISTORY OF THE MARATHAS \*

"Shivaji has by a curious fate suffered more at the hands of historians than any other character in history" so writes Mr. Kincaid, the new historian of the Maratha people. We have no hesitation in endorsing this statement and we would not make an exception even in the case of Mr. Rawlinson who has written a life of Shivaji. Mr. Rawlinson is halting and half-hearted in his appreciation of Shivaji. But it is not only the founder of the Maratha Power that has been so unjustly treated, it is the whole of the Maratha nation that has been consistently vilified and traduced by all those who have sought to write about the Marathas. To them Shivaji is no better than a freebooter and the Marathas are only plunderers and highway men. They never tired of telling the world that the Marathas were without martial qualities, till the world war came and forced from the British, official and non-official alike, an acknowledgement of the splendid military services rendered to the Empire by Maratha heroes. Even leaving aside this question of martial qualities, we cannot understand how British writers who wax eloquent over the exploits of Drake, Frobisher and other seamen of the

Elizabethan age and describe them as great national heroes, can find no words other than 'plunder' and 'loot' to characterise the work of Shivaji and his Marathas. If the buccaneering exploits of English sailors in the sixteenth century on the Spanish main are worthy of the highest appreciation, we fail to make out by what canon of ethics the work of Shivaji and his able lieutenants, or of Dhanaji and Santaji at a later age, can be regarded otherwise. The latter at least were engaged in freeing the land of their birth from the yoke of the foreigner and in securing national independence. It would appear that the commercial advantages and the political ascendancy that the European nations have enjoyed during the last few centuries have rendered them almost incapable of forming well-balanced judgments in regard to things, events, and persons oriental. Even Mr. Kincaid who has such profound admiration for the Marathas displays such an attitude of mind and that inveterate prejudice against the Brahmans for which the average Anglo-Indian is so well known. On page 89 Mr. Kincaid writes about the founder of the Nizam-shahi kingdom of Ahmednagar: "*Although of Brahman descent*, he yet proved himself superior to every Musulman general against whom he fought." May we ask Mr. Kincaid where he has found the unimpeachable evidence which has led him to grasp the axiomatic truth that Brahmans are inherently incapable of being great generals? A would-be historian of the Peshwas should have arrived at a different conclusion. Again on page 273 we come across the following sentence: "The curse of Indian governments had always been the power of feudal nobility." It would be interesting to know from Mr. Kincaid that European governments never suffered from the uncontrolled power of their barons. So that when such an assurance is received we might revise our ideas about the work of Henry II of England and the significance of the Wars of the Roses, and cease to attach any importance to the work of consolidation done in France by Louis XI and Cardinal Richelieu.

Such lapses do not represent the spirit of Mr. Kincaid's book. That is entirely different and we have heartily to congratulate Mr. Kincaid on the excellent spirit in which he has treated the subject matter of his history. We do not remember to have come across any other book written by a European in which the efforts of the Marathas to obtain freedom and political liberty have been so well appreciated, and above all the character of Shivaji vindicated from all the malicious allegations which it is the fashion to make against it. Mr. Kincaid gives his praise in an unstinted and a whole-hearted manner. We think no apology is needed for making the following quotations from the book.

Shivaji is "the greatest of Indian Kings." p. 124. "But, great organiser and military genius that Shivaji was, it is in far-seeing statesmanship that he stands supreme. In all history there is no such example of modesty in the face of continued success. The insolent, overweening vanity which has proved the ruin of so many commanders, both in ancient and

\*"A History of the Maratha People," by C. A. Kincaid and D. B. Parasnis. Oxford University Press, 1918.



tern times, found no place in Shivaji's admirably balanced mind." pp. 275-6.

His one aim was to secure the freedom of his countrymen." p. 276.

At last.....Maharashtra was free. Southern India was safe. The single wisdom of the great king, dead twenty seven years before, had supplied place of two hundred battalions." p. 276,

These are views and estimates which one tries to find in vain in the writings of European authors. Kincaid has also put forward his facts in support of his opinions. The three incidents in the life of Shivaji, which have given rise to the greatest controversy, are the death of Afzal Khan, the murder of Andra Rao More and the destruction of Baji Ghorle of Mudhol. All these three incidents have been properly explained, the circumstances in which they took place fully set forth and Shivaji's action justified. On one point new light has been thrown, at the least the old light has been rendered brighter. English writers always boast that although Shivaji's career was almost unchecked in its progress, he was not able to take the small English factory at Surat although he raided that prosperous port twice. Marathas were unwilling to concede all the claims that were thus made perhaps by implication. Here is what Mr. Kincaid has to say about

At the time of the first raid on Surat "a body of Marathas tried to storm the English factory but were instantly repulsed.....The King.....very wisely did not attempt the reduction of the two strongholds, defended as they were by valiant men and containing little or no treasure." pp. 205-6. (The Italics are ours). The only remark we would make is that Shivaji's secret service was very efficient and extremely well-organised.

On the occasion of the second raid "a Maratha force for a third time appeared before the English factory and warned Streinsham Master that unless the garrison made their submission by sending Shivaji a present, the king would consider it incumbent on his honour to storm the place. The English, who had no wish to drive the king to extremities, gladly agreed to send him a peace offering." The italics are ours. Comment is superfluous.

It is said that when Macaulay's History of England was published, some workmen met together and passed a vote of thanks to the author for having written a history that could be understood by the labouring classes. In the same manner the Marathas may pass a vote of thanks to Mr. Kincaid for having written a popular history which can be read with interest by the average Britisher and which does justice to the Marathas. We deliberately use the word *popular* to bring out another distinctive feature of this book. Mr. Kincaid is an excellent story-teller as those will admit who have read his works. There is hardly any chapter in his book which does not contain one or more stories about something or other. Sometimes they are very appropriate as, for instance, the anecdote about Dabaji's plucking out the fruit from Shivaji's grove

which illustrates his severe honesty. p. 128. But more often one feels that the author is on the lookout to take full advantage of an opportunity, or even to create opportunities, to enable him to tell a good story. The story of Philip of Macedon, or of Dhruva or of Karan Ghelo can hardly be relevant in a history of India. Nor could the legend of the journey of Hemadri or Hemadpant, the Prime Minister of the Yadavas of Devgiri, to Ceylon in the turban of Bibhishan add to the dignity of a sober historian. And this is not the only instance of its kind. Mr. Kincaid describes also a number of miracles worked by Takaram or Ramdas. They will be excellent reading in a book of fairy tales for children. In a serious history of the Marathas they are sure to create a prejudice against the writer who would be pronounced uncritical. In the same manner the higher problems of Maratha history are not even touched by Mr. Kincaid. The condition of Maharashtra at the time of the rise of Shivaji, the work of the devotional school which flourished before and about his time, the connection between the religious and the national movement, the organisation of Maratha society—these are all questions of absorbing interest. A considerable body of material capable of throwing light on them has been recently made available by the research of scholars. The late Mr. Justice Ranade was the first to deal with these questions in his brilliant essays on the Rise of the Maratha Power. We had looked forward to finding new light thrown on them in the pages of the present work. But it appears we must still wait for an authoritative and a scholarly history of the Marathas.

#### INDIAN AGRARIAN ECONOMICS.

Sir Henry Maine praised the old settlement reports as mines of information relating to Indian social life. The present-day revision settlement reports cannot claim such high praise, but they are always worth looking into, as they sometimes throw light on the way in which the land revenue policy of Government is fashioned and regulated. The latest report of this class which has come into our hands is that relating to the revision Settlement of the Honavar Taluka of the Kanara district in the Bombay Presidency. As we were lazily turning the pages, our attention was arrested by a strongly worded passage in the Collector's letter to the Settlement Commissioner criticising the decision of the officers concerned and of Government in the revision Settlement of the neighbouring Taluka of Karwar, which the Collector thought embarrassed him in making proper proposals for the Honavar Taluka. It is so seldom that officials fall out that we felt at once naturally interested in this exhibition of unwonted independence on the part of the Collector. "I am constrained to question, with the utmost respect," he wrote, "the correctness of the grounds on which the orders on the Karwar Revision Settlement Report is based. The assumption on which these orders rest is that the tenants are rack-rented. I have searched the correspondence in



vain for evidence in support of this assumption. All that I can find is the casual observation in paragraph 25 of Mr. Macgregor's report. Of rackrenting I am afraid there is a certain amount, but probably less than in Ankola, Kumta and Honavar, and Mr. Curtis' *obiter dictum* in paragraph 5 of his forwarding report to the effect that rackrenting is common and any increase of assessment may possibly fall on the tenant. These two sentences so far as I can discover, form the whole of the evidence on which the assumption rests that tenants in the coast village are generally speaking rack-rented. With all deference, I venture to think that the statement that this is the case should not have been accepted without examination of the grounds for it." Mr. G. Monteath did not stop here. He went on to say: "In the Resolution, it is stated: 'Government also consider that the high prices of land are due to the pressure of population, that the same cause accounts for the high rents, and that there is a distinct danger that, as suggested by the Settlement Commissioner (Mr. J. Curtis), any material increase of assessments may fall on the tenants. The second clause of this sentence begs the whole question.'" The Collector went on to show that the Government's assumptions were unfounded. We hastily turned to the Government Resolution on the Honavar revision settlement to see how Government took this castigation of their predecessors at the hands of the Collector. We were surprised to see that Government beyond meekly accepting all the Collector's recommendations, said nothing. Evidently they are of the same opinion as he regarding the action of their predecessors.

The question, however, is much too important to be passed over in silent acquiescence. We therefore, looked into the revision Settlement report of the Karwar Taluka which was published five years ago, to see whether Mr. Monteath's statement that the point was disposed of without examination, is correct. And we are surprised to find that this is far from being the case. Mr. Macgregor adduces what seems to us to be sufficient reason for his statement that of rackrenting, he was afraid, there is a certain amount. If Mr. Monteath had had the patience to read through the report, he would have found that, in a paragraph immediately following that sentence, Mr. Macgregor mentioned that, to his knowledge, there were cases in the Taluka, in which the original survey assessment exceeded the rent due, and the landlords had to resign their lands. He admits that the high-prices of rice lands near the coast, the case with which the revenue is collected, and the rise in prices, point to an increased assessment being justifiable. But, he writes, "it must be admitted that the opening of the Railway to Mormugoa had diverted the streams of carts loaded with cotton which came from Hubli to Karwar and which probably returned to the Karnatak laden with rice and salt. In those days Karwar exported produce outside the district (being a new and flourishing port), now there is no export at all. I think also as in Ratnagiri there is a desire on the part of Government servants when they retire to settle down in Karwar. It has its advantages, educa-

tion in the High School is available and the climate is good; but it has enhanced the value of land for agricultural as well as building purposes to an extravagant figure. I believe the best rice-land in Karwar is worth over Rs. 600 an acre, as agricultural land." Throughout the report, it is clear that, while Mr. Macgregor did not wish to minimise the progress made, he found it impossible to overlook the undoubted retrogression that had taken place in the taluka. Thus referring to a part of the taluka he writes: "In all three villages there was a good deal of *Kumri* in the old days. This has been stopped for many years now, with the result that tenants have emigrated and much land is waste and much very poorly cultivated. These villages I have reduced a good deal, on account of difficulty in getting tenants and malarious climate." The Collector Mr. Swifte, insisted that even Mr. Macgregor's view were too optimistic. The latter had referred to an increase in Local Fund roads as justifying an increase of assessment. Mr. Swifte cogently pointed out that the Local Fund roads are paid for by the ratepayer collectively, who also collectively pay the assessment on the agricultural lands of the Taluka. "It is open to question," he added, "whether collective improvements paid for by the ratepayers collectively can legitimately be taxed any more than individual improvements made by individuals. The matter is one of principle for Government to decide. He further pointed out that free grazing and permission to collect green leaves for manure, were valuable privileges of immemorial standing at the time of the original assessment, which the ryots no longer enjoyed; and that considerable restrictions had been placed on the collection of firewood in forests. As regards the rise of prices, this conscientious Collector, referring to the admitted fact that the Taluka does not grow enough rice to feed itself and that the imports of food grains considerably exceed the exports, observed: "Now, it may, I think, be pertinently argued that if the rice grain in the Taluka is not enough to feed the population which is mainly agricultural, the rise in prices cannot be of very great advantage to that population as a whole. Of course, higher prices benefit big landlords who have surplus to sell, but the rayat requires as much to eat as before, even though, if he were to sell his rice, he would get more for it than he formerly did. The rise in prices does him no good and does not help him to pay increased assessment unless he has a surplus stock of food grains to sell, and that, collectively speaking, he has not." Mr. Swifte's report, in fact, meets every one of the points raised in Mr. Monteath's criticism, and it is one of the best reports of the kind, which we have come across. It brings out the Collector in his true role of "the protector of his people." Mr. Curtis, who was Settlement Commissioner, condemned the Collector's views at all points, upheld that of his assistant, Mr. Macgregor, and argued that though the value of land might be inflated by the demand of Government pensioners and by non-agriculturists, "there would seem to be no reason why it should not bear an assessment in proportion to its value." Mr. Swifte had argued that the tenant will have ultimately to bear the burden of any increase.



The Government of the day strongly took the Collector's view, though either by mistake or as a matter of etiquette, they chose to father it on the Settlement Commissioner who had, as shown above, taken quite the opposite line. "As reasons for enhancement," they said in their final order, "Government are disposed to attribute the increase of population largely to the presence of the population upon the coast and to the pressure of the population, that the same use accounts for the high rents and that there is a distinct danger that, as suggested by the Settlement Commissioner (he had in fact suggested the contrary) any material increase of assessments may fall on the tenants. Indeed, the circumstances of the case seem to suggest to Government the desirability of measures for the moderation of rentals rather than the increase of the revenue demand. The Governor-in-Council is accordingly unable to accept the proposals made by the local officers for increase in the enhancement of assessments in the Taluka."

### SOCIAL WORK IN MYSORE

(From our Correspondent.)

Bangalore Sept. 8.

#### PANCHAMA REPRESENTATION.

It was a startling resolution the six Members of the Central Committee of Social and Civic Progress Association passed at its last meeting with regard to the proposal of Mr. M. Rama Rao, General Secretary of the Association to urge the Government to nominate a Panchama to the reformed Municipal Council of Mysore. The six Members stated that the time had not yet come for the reform in question. When, pray, will that time come? One can well understand an argument to the effect that there is not a literate or educated Panchama to be worthy to be represented in the Municipal Council. This does not seem to be the case, so far at least Mysore is concerned. In the report of the Mysore Depressed Classes Mission presented at the Social and Civic Conference of June 1917 the Secretary says "one special feature of the Conference was the *thoughtful speech* delivered by a panchama, named Venkataesai, a teacher in one of our schools." If there was a Panchama fit to deliver a "thoughtful speech" I should think he must have enough brains to understand his duties and responsibilities as a Municipal Councillor. But our six friends think the time has not yet come. Of these six four are, I may mention, Mr. V. N. Narasinha Iyengar, President, Mr. M. Venkata Krishnappa, and Mrs. Rangamma, members; and the Secretary of the Depressed Classes Mission in Mysore, and two others are well-known retired officials with popularity for public service. It is distinctly discouraging to note this attitude of the "workers" of the Depressed Classes, who in my opinion, ought to have welcomed any such proposals which are likely to be given effect to at present under the enlightened administration of Mysore with which His Highness the Yuvaraja is connected. Compare this attitude with that of Depressed Classes Mission of India which in 1917 states: "the interest of the Depressed Classes as a whole might be better safeguarded than at present either by providing for the election of their representatives on the Municipal and local bodies as well as on the provincial Councils as far as possible or by nominating their advocates from higher classes *whenever qualified representation from their own class may not be available.*" But when available why should we wait for the time to come?

### LADIES FOR SOCIAL WORK.

In a previous issue of the *Reformer* I complained that the Social and Civic Association is not interested *greatly* in inviting the cooperation of ladies to undertake Social work. I think, I am more than justified in making this complaint. In Mysore one or two ladies are, no doubt, taking part in the work of the association. But what about Bangalore, where there are more educated ladies than in Mysore and many of them, *I have heard*, are willing to volunteer their services for Social work. My complaint had one effect. The Government Secretary took it seriously and brought a proposition before the Committee of the Association urging the appointment of paid lady workers, and the Committee resolved to request Government to depute two ladies for the propaganda work, their pay and other charges being borne by Government. I am one with the suggestion to have lady workers and paid workers too. But why rush through the thing before you have made an attempt to get voluntary help of the ladies. I think, in this connection, it would do well for me to attempt to explode the fallacies—or narrow mindedness—that exists regarding "forward" ladies, a term contemptuously applied by some to public-spirited and enlightened ladies. It is no uncommon thing to hear all sorts of "stories" about "forward" ladies simply because they are attempting to raise themselves from the degraded position to which, to our shame and sorrow, we and our society had condemned them for a long time. It is a pity that education has not broadened the minds of many of our men—public men as well. Some of them are still in the stage of that primitiveness to think that a "shake hands" or a "private conversation" with a lady is bid, and that it denotes moral degradation of society. That this view prevails with the Bangalore Committee of Social and Civic Association I do not mean to say. But such "enlightenment" many "forward" men among us possess. To such of the "forward" men who scant social "danger" in women's emancipation and who is horrified in women's approach to public places my remark is that man alone is responsible for all woman's moral faults. Even in Mysore itself, it is my information, the Government were enquiring into the character of two prominent officials and the police were enquiring into the character of another. Yet we do not hesitate to question the morals of our educated ladies. Simply because they are educated and talk freely to people and *take part in public life and activities.*

### TELUGU CONFERENCE.

The Editor, The *Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

I shall be greatly obliged, if you publish the following few lines in your most esteemed paper.

The idea of holding a Telugu Conference was first conceived by late Ramaya Dharmaji Muid, in the year 1904 and his utmost efforts in that direction resulted in a total failure, owing to an inadequate co-operation and enthusiasm on the part of the people. Its adoption appeared unnecessary and its practicability a dream, and the matter was allowed to pass on without exerting any practical effort, for its success.

It was in the year 1915, that the Telugus of this presidency seem to have awakened to their real sense of interest, and gauging the gravity of the situation, they determined upon holding a conference at Bombay, to discuss social questions affecting the communal advancement. A conference that appeared almost impracticable to good many people, and that was left out undecided for years together, was made a reality, in the year 1915, by the untiring energy



and unflinching enthusiasm of Messrs. Parsha and Gangla, two prominent members of our community.

The importance of such a gathering is clearly indicated, and definitely demonstrated, by its practical success, over good many social customs, that were a recognised bar against our progress. Our best thanks are due to them, for their unselfish service to the community. The doubts about its practicability have been shattered to pieces by their labour and its imperious necessity realised by the unprecedented success of the conference. But it is a lamentable fact to mention, that the leading members of the community appear to have grossly neglected the question of holding a second Telugu Conference, as nothing is done in this direction, although some three years are over, after its first session. The Andras of the East (Mairas) are working hard, for a progressive result, and they have well nigh succeeded. Are we, their brethren, their descendants, with glorious and meritorious past, going to allow a lethargic domination over us, and preserve silence at the cost of degradation? Are we to lag behind when others are advancing? The praise-worthy inspiration, breathed out, by the success of the sister-communities is sufficient to wake us up, from the depth of ignorance and superstition, and instil into us the spirit of working for the good of our community.

The wide diffusion of education, the abolition of the pernicious caste-distinction, the prevention of early-marriages and the care for the promotion of the female education, are still the imperious problems, before our community and the sooner we work for their satisfactory solution, the better for the community. A conference is the only place to discuss and exchange healthy opinions on various vital questions tending to ameliorate our social position, and give them all a practical success. On it would depend our ultimate success, and it is better, that we should at once begin to work in this direction, without any further delay in futile consideration. An indefinite postponement of the conference is detrimental to the best interest of the community, and I appeal to the Telugus of Bombay, I appeal to the leading members of this community, to take up the matter in hand and do the needful immediately.

Bombay was first and foremost to hold the conference in the year 1915, will Bombay fail in the year 1918?

10th Kamatipura, }  
11-9-18.

TELUGU MITRA.

### "THE JANMA RAHASYA."

The Editor, The "Indian Social Reformer."

Sir,

The new drama, entitled "Janma Rahasya" or "The difference one's caste makes," recently staged by "The Balwant Sangit Mandali," is entitled to the praise of every high souled social reformer. In this play the learned and talented author Mr. Shripad Krishna Kolhatkar has most skillfully and ingeniously depicted the picture of the most pathetic and deplorable phase of the Hindu Social Life. He has most vividly revealed the most insurmountable difficulties and the sore, heart-rending and pathetic scenes of distress, that occasionally occur in our society owing to the hide bound distinctions and differences observed in the different castes of the Hindu community. The author has attempted to show how an innocent, loving and lovely young maiden and her faithful young and pious lover have been victimised to the cruel observance of the rigid and strict rules of the distinction of caste. This drama, so to say, strongly supports the Hon. Mr. Patel's Bill for validating marriages between Hindus of different castes. The author has bestowed every care upon

his work of art and has succeeded in most convincingly bringing home to his audience the cruel wrong that the Hindoo community imposes upon her most innocent and high principled members. This drama, we hope and expect will go a long way in converting people to a new line of thought, and in redressing a great wrong done to individual liberty and having the invidious distinctions, that have been embittered by caste, gradually relaxed, if not altogether removed.

In spite of its modest programme, therefore, we think that the "Janma Rahasya" makes an important event in the history, not only of our domestic Marathi literature, such as it is, but also of social reform; and we hope, that it will fill a prominent place in the annual review, which the apostle of social reform, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar will take of this year's progress at the ensuing National Social Conference. In this connection, it would be unjust to ignore the claims of the "Balwant Sangit Mandali" who put the "Janma Rahasya" on the stage. Surely, it is a happy combination that such an epochmaking drama should be produced on the stage by such a popular and renowned band of singers and actors as the "Balwant Sangit Mandali."

G. K. SHIRSAT.

GIRGAUM, }  
20-9-18.

### SPECIAL MARATHA CONFERENCE.

Mr. G. K. Kadam Vakil writes that the Special Marathi Conference to demand communal representation and approval in principle the Chelmsford-Montagu scheme, which was announced to be held at Poona in October will be held at Nasik. Representatives from villages in the Nasik District will hold a general meeting on the 26th instant at Sukene near Thergaon Railway Station to form a Reception Committee to elect the President of the forthcoming Conference.

### A NOTABLE CONVERSION.

The *Catholic Herald of India* reports that Sir Archd. Earle, K. C. I. E., late Chief Commissioner of Assam, who was received into the Catholic Church shortly after his return to England, Lady Earle being expected soon to take the same step.

### THE HINDU INTERMARRIAGE BILL.

The Editor, The *Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

The *Bombay Chronicle* confesses to a sense of stupefaction at the hostile attitude of the so many "otherwise estimable" members of the Imperial Legislative Council to Mr. Patel's Hindu Marriage Bill. I think it would do well to ponder over what its vernacular ally in the Bombay Deccan, *Kesari*, has got to say on the Bill. The *Kesari* thinks that the law may be amended so as to allow the children of an inter-married couple to inherit the property of their parents but they ought not to inherit the property of the relatives of their parents. In short, the offending parties should be outcastes, though they may remain Hindus. "And if the law," says the *Kesari*, "were to be amended in this manner, that law, be it remembered, would be looked upon as designed to bring about confusion in caste-system and therefore oppressive. We are prepared to concede that a man may have his individual liberty just as he likes."

The *Kesari* obviously thinks that the caste-system must be upheld by law and that individual liberty must be restricted



in its interests. Of course it forgets that such claims of the caste are opposed to all principles of liberty recognised by the civilized mankind,—principles, on which the Indians, including the extremists of the *Kesari* type, have to base their claim for political enfranchisement. It is interesting to note that this same paper has not scrupled to oppose communal representation on the ground that it would perpetuate caste distinctions!

It is significant that the *Mahratta*, *Kesari's* English twin, is studiously silent on the question.

Poona,  
18th September, 1918. }

V. R. KOTHARI.

### "TO MY WIFE."

#### ON RE-READING SOME OLD LOVE-LETTERS.

Ah, dear, that ever two frail human hearts  
Could hold such store of passion, could sustain  
The royal tyranny of such a love,  
Could dwell so yoked, and yet be separate,  
Could bear that urge to utter union  
And yet by iron laws be held apart.  
For never yet has God to lovers given  
That self and self should truly be but one.  
However sweetly soul be knit to soul,  
However holy the accord of will,  
However near the beat of heart to heart,  
Yet are the lovers twain. In earth or heaven  
No power exists to break those barriers down—  
The barriers of bone and flesh, that hold  
Each narrow brain pent in its own small home,  
Heirs of a past for ever disparate.  
This side the grave we are not one, but twain.  
Ah, sweet despair, that ne'er on earth can love  
Find that full union, whose divine surcease,  
Whose perfect self-surrender and self-loss,  
She craves so keenly : ne'er on earth can each  
Identified in other sink the weight  
Of selfhood—that inexorable weight  
Of selfhood, which for ever fetters love.  
And yet we twain may joyfully thank God  
For that fierce raging flame, which seared  
And shriveled us in sweetest agony :  
Thank God we lived once mightily, drank deep  
The rich rare vintage of imperial love,  
Beat with vain wings against those iron bars  
That keep us yet remorselessly unwed.  
For as the years shall fly, that flame divine—  
Thank God for this—shall change to a clear glow  
Of friendship and of holy reverence,  
And we shall be content to wait in peace,  
Knowing we hold God's highest gift—a Home ;  
And knowing too with gallant confidence  
That we shall dwell for ever fully one,  
One single soul, when Death shall break the bars,  
And so fulfil our first fierce passion's dream.

J. H.

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

## CONTENTS.

—:0:—

The Turn of the tide.  
President Wilson on the War.  
The Influenza Epidemic.  
Mr. Gandhi.  
Governors of Madras and Bombay.  
Sir William Meyer.  
The Next National Congress.  
The Two Reform Committees  
Publications of the Bureau of Education.

The Rowlatt Committee's Recommendations.  
Hindu Marriage.  
Social Legislation in India.  
India and the Future.  
Side Lights on Social Problems from Upnishads.  
The Bengal Moderates Conference.  
A Wedding Hymn.  
The Hindu Inter-Marriage Bill.

## NOTES.

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**The Turn of the Tide.** The last week of September has been a week of victories for the Allies. The surrender of Bulgaria on the last day of the month, and the brilliant victories of Indian and British troops which have resulted in the conquest of the whole of Palestine, have already produced far-reaching effects. The progress on the Western front is steady and sure, though the enemy is putting forth superhuman efforts to stem the irresistible pressure of the French, British and American armies. The end of the war can not be far off. The German Emperor may well feel anxious about the future of his throne and dynasty.

**President Wilson on the War.** President Wilson has made another of his illuminating speeches on the aims of the war. In the course of it, he set forth the main objects which should be had in view in making peace in the following emphatic terms: "Firstly, the impartial justice meted out must involve no discrimination between those to whom we wish to be just and those to whom we do not wish to be just. It must be a justice that has no favourites and knows no standards, but the equal rights of the several peoples concerned. Secondly, no separate or special interest of any single nation or any group of nations can be made the basis of any part of the settlement, which is not consistent with the common interest of all. Thirdly, there can be no leagues or alliances or special covenants and understandings within the general and common family of the League of Nations. Fourthly, and more specifically, there can be no special selfish economic combinations within the League and no employment of any form of economic boycott or exclusion except as a power of economic penalty by exclusion from the markets of the world may be vested in the League of Nations itself as a means of discipline and control. Fifthly, all international agreements and treaties of every kind must be made known in their entirety to the rest of the world. Special alliances and economic rivalries and hostilities have been the prolific source in the modern world of passions that produce war. It would be an insincere, as well as an insecure peace that did not exclude them in definite binding terms."

**The Influenza Epidemic.** The influenza epidemic in Bombay city has shown no signs of abatement till Friday. The number of deaths have been mounting up, and during the 24 hours ending 6 a.m. on that day, it had reached the grim total of 724, notwithstanding that a large exodus of people from the city has been taking place. The mortality is considerably higher than that of the worst days of plague. The sufferings of the people are indescribable. The only bright feature of a most gloomy situation is the splendid manner in which the public spirit of our citizens of all classes has rallied to the relief of the stricken population. In this connection, a special word of praise is due to the Social Service League which, under the energetic guidance of Mr. N. M. Joshi, of the Servants of India Society, and his co-workers, has organised a campaign of relief. Several medical and other students are serving as volunteers under the auspices of the League. The Municipal Health Department is surpassing all previous records by the vigour and dimensions of its relief operations. The epidemic is raging with even greater intensity in some of the mofussil towns where facilities and resources for relief work are far less. The shortage of crops owing to deficient rainfall has aggravated the economic position created by high prices. It behoves Government and the leaders of the people to plan and undertake at once a systematic scheme of famine, and medical relief on a scale larger than any hitherto attempted.

**Mr. Gandhi:** We are sorry to learn from the *Bombay Chronicle* that Mr. Gandhi who has been keeping indifferent health for some weeks past, has had during the last few days a relapse and is lying seriously ill at Ahmedabad. According to the latest report, the condition of his health is such as to cause anxiety. It will be the earnest prayer of many that Mr. Gandhi may soon recover, and that he may be spared for many more years to the service of the country.

**Governors of Madras and Bombay.** It is announced that Lord Willingdon vacates office as Governor of Bombay in the course of the next few weeks and will be succeeded by Captain George Ambrose Llyod M. P. Captain Llyod from all accounts is a capable and industrious man with considerable knowledge of men and affairs gained by extensive travels especially in Asia. Lord Willingdon after a few months' rest and recuperation in England will relieve Lord Pentland in Madras. We are sure that Madras has every reason to look forward to a happy period of progress under Lord Willingdon.

**Sir William Meyer.** The G.C.I.E. conferred on Sir William Meyer on the eve of his retirement is a



recognition, as well-deserved as unique, of his great services as Finance Member of the Government of India during a period of unprecedented stress and strain. We cannot believe that, at a time like this, Sir William Meyer's vast ability and knowledge of India and her people, will be allowed to remain unutilised in connection with the large constitutional and economic developments before us, unless he himself prefers to devote his well-won leisure to the historical studies which are so near to his heart.

**The Next National Congress:**—The Reception Committee of the next ordinary Congress to be held at Delhi have unanimously elected Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak to the Presidentship of that Congress. Mr. Tilak had been nominated by 11 out of 12 Provincial Congress Committees. The Committee decided that the news of his election should be cabled to Mr. Tilak to the first port at which Mr. Tilak's boat might be expected to touch.

**The Two Reform Committees:** The two essentials of the scheme of constitutional reform outlined in the Montague-Chelmsford report, are the composition of the electorates and the demarcation of functions between the Imperial and Provincial Governments on the one hand, and between the Members of Council and the Ministers in the Provincial Governments. The report laid down some general principles but proposed that the details should be settled by two committees after investigation and enquiry on the spot. The authors observed that the composition of the new legislative councils could not be definitely determined without a careful survey of all the material available in the provinces for an electorate. "We must in fact," they said, "measure the number of persons who can in the different parts of the country be reasonably entrusted with the duties of citizenship. We must ascertain what sort of franchise will be suited to local conditions, and how interests that may be unable to find adequate representation in such constituencies are to be represented." They proposed that this work should be undertaken by a Committee which should consist of a Chairman chosen from outside India, two experienced officials and two Indians of high standing and repute. As the Committee visited each province in turn one civilian officer and one Indian appointed by the Provincial Government should join it and share in its labours. "The Committee's investigations into the subject of the franchise, the constituencies and the nominated element," they added, "will enable it to advise as to the composition of the councils, which, we propose, should then be determined by the Secretary of State in Council, on the recommendation of the Government of India, in the form of regulations to be laid before Parliament." It has recently been announced that the Franchise Committee will also have to investigate the question of the extension of communal electorates beyond the limits proposed in the joint report. The second or Subjects Committee, it was proposed, should be similar in composition to, but possibly smaller than, the Franchise Committee. Its first business would be to consider what were the services to be appropriated to the provinces, all others remaining with the Government of India. In the second place the Committee would have to consider which of the provincial subjects should be "transferred" to Ministers chosen from the Legislative Assembly, and what limitations should be placed upon the Ministers' complete control of them. It is clear that it is the intention of the authors that this Committee should not merely frame a general scheme of division for all provinces, but should also go into the question of the extent to which each province might at once be given control of its own affairs. "The list of transferred subjects," say the joint authors, "will of

course vary in each province; indeed it is by variation that our scheme will be adjusted to varying local conditions. The determination of the list for each province will be a matter for careful investigation, for which reason we have not attempted to undertake now."

The composition of the two Committees is not yet complete, but we do not expect that more than one or two more names will be added to those already announced. Lord Southborough will be chairman of both the Committees. This, we think, is necessary as it is part of the proposal that the two committees should meet and confer with each other, "because the extent to which responsibility can be transferred is related to the nature and extent of the electorate which will be available in any particular province." Lord Southborough is one of the ablest men in the English Civil Service and has had large experience of work such as that entrusted to the two Committees. The other members, so far announced, are Mr. Syed Aftab Ahmad, Member of the Secretary of State's Council, Sir Frank Sly, Dr. Sapru, and Messrs S. N. Bannerjee, H. F. W. Gillman, V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, C. H. Setalvad, H. L. Stephenson, J. P. Thompson, and Khan Bahadur Dr. Sapru, Mr. Banerjee and Mr. Sastry, represent their provinces in the Imperial Legislative Council. Mr. Setalvad is Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University, and represented Bombay in the Imperial Legislative Council during its last term in succession to Sir Pherozeshah Mehta. The Khan Bahadur is nominated no doubt as representing Indian States as well as the Mahomedan community. It is further announced that a Deputy Chairman for each of the two Committees will be appointed from England. This is necessary, as the chairman cannot preside at every sitting of each of the Committees. The selection of non-official members has been criticised by Radical papers in India as being confined to members of the Liberal party. There is nothing unfair in this criticism, though the obvious answer is that persons who regard the whole scheme as unacceptable, cannot in fairness to them be charged with the responsibility of settling its details. But the violently offensive personal attacks which *Justice*, the anti-Brahman paper of Madras, is indulging in, on Mr. Srinivasa Sastry, widely transcend the limits of honourable, not to say honest journalism, and are, we are sure, regretted by responsible leaders of the non-Brahman communities in Madras. Mr. Sastry's views on the subject of adequate representation to all classes and communities, are not a secret, and we are utterly at a loss to account for the envenomed diatribes against this "ex-schoolmaster" in *Justice*. Surely, to have been a schoolmaster is not a sin in the eyes of people who profess to believe in education!

**Publications of the Bureau of Education.** We have received two pamphlets issued by the Bureau of Education. One of them relates to Natural Science in the British educational system, and consists of extracts from the report of the Committee appointed by the Prime Minister to enquire into the question. The other consists of extracts from the report of the Commissioner of Education Washington, 1916, regarding vocational education. The pamphlets can be obtained from the Superintendent, Government Printing, Delhi, at annas 4 and 3 respectively.

**The Rowlatt Committee's Recommendations:** It is intended to publish a Bill incorporating the recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee at a comparatively early date so that ample opportunity may be given to all interested in the measure to consider its provisions before the Bill is submitted to the Imperial Legislative Council in Delhi.



## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, OCTOBER 6, 1918.

## HINDU MARRIAGE.

We are glad that Pandit A. Mahadeva Sastry has collected together in a single handy volume his essays published from time to time on Vedic religion and its bearing on social reform in Hindu society. Mr. Sastry has conclusively proved that the Vedas which are the final authority in all matters to professors of the Hindu religion, do not countenance the inferior position which later *Shastras* have assigned to women. He has conclusively shown that in Vedic times women's status was equal to that of men; girls were, like boys, initiated in Vedic studies through the sacrament of *upanayana* and they had to follow the same course of study, including the Vedas, as men; that women were free to marry or not to marry; that the remarriage of widows was not forbidden; that infant and child marriages were unknown; and that inter-caste and inter-racial marriages were not prohibited. Mr. Sastry's explanation of why and when this elevated conception of women's position in society and the family was departed from, is far-fetched and unconvincing. He suggests that the degeneration began when Brahman families ceased to employ Aryan *Shudras* for domestic service, including cooking, as they used to do; that the whole of domestic service fell, in consequence, to the lot of Brahman women; that, as a result of this change in her economical status, any systematic intellectual education was thought unnecessary for Brahman women; and that, therefore, for the girls, marriage and married life had come to take the place of the *upanayana* and student life of boys. In other words, the position of Hindu women according to Mr. Sastry, was high so long as the Hindu social system rested on the basis of a kind of domestic servitude of Aryan *Shudras*. Such an explanation is in flat contradiction to the experience of other ancient societies, which has invariably been that the existence of the institution of slavery in a society has had the direct effect of lowering the status of women. We are, therefore, inclined to take the view—the very opposite of Mr. Sastry's—that it was the enslavement of the *Shudras* that led to the degradation of women's status in Hindu society. Women who were as competent in Vedic times as men to study the Vedas, came to be classed as *Shudras* so far as their competence for such study was concerned, and in other respects, their position in society became one of ever-increasing dependence.

To us who have no pretensions whatever to Vedic scholarship, but have some acquaintance with sociological processes, the downward movement of Hindu society represents a social fusion on unequal terms. No Aryan woman who had been accustomed to the higher status of the Vedic regime, no women born of such a one, would have submitted to the role of a domestic

drudge, a child wife, or a child widow. She would have revolted against the attempt to enslave her by such social customs. These customs could have been enforced only on women of a subject race whom the Aryans were obliged to marry and whom they obliged to marry them as they spread over the country. Such women would naturally come under the ban which forbade Vedic studies to *Shudras*, for they were themselves of *Shudra* origin; pre-puberty marriage would be adopted as the sole sufficient safeguard against pre-marital licence which is still observable among several aboriginal tribes; enforced widowhood would have been regarded as a means of impressing forcibly on such women the sanctity of the marriage tie. These restrictions survived even after the door was closed against marriage with women of the indigenous tribes, and when the men of the higher castes were every whit as mixed in their origin as their women. The social reform movement was originally and is still very largely an attempt to restore to women the status which belonged to women of the Vedic period. It aims at emancipating them from the thralldom of ignorance and of depressing social customs. Many of the early reformers little understood the full implication of the movement. They thought that enforced widowhood could be abolished without any further disturbance of the social environment; when they found that child marriage was intimately connected with enforced widowhood, they hoped that the raising of the marriageable age would be all that was needed; when, again, they realised that the want of education of women, was at the root of these two social evils, they dreamed that the education of women was the ultimate solution of their social problems. These, no doubt, are very important reforms. But the greatest reform of all is the abolition of caste, because so long as men regard their own group as superior to that of other men, they will not like to give to women a freedom which may lead them to choose their husbands from outside their own groups.

Mr. Patel's Bill for validating intermarriages among Hindus of all castes is, therefore, a step in the right direction. Wherein it is defective is that, as we have pointed out in these columns, it entirely ignores the conditions which are necessary to ensure the stability as a social institution, apart from the validity, of intermarriages. The *Indian Patriot* of Madras objects to our suggestion that the Bill should be amended so as to apply only to persons who have attained their legal majority on rather curious grounds. In the first place, it argues that there is no difference between a father taking his minor children with him to another religion and his getting a minor daughter or son married outside the customary circle. Surely, no man can feel that his salvation depends on his getting his child married to a child of a caste different from his own! But the cream of our contemporary's argument is that the restriction of the provisions of Mr. Patel's Bill to adult persons, would derogate from the character of the measure as one of Hindu jurisprudence. The objection is so startling that our contemporary's words



should be quoted. "The proposal of the *Social Reformer*" it observes, "would introduce changes which are opposed to the principles of Hindu law and to the practices of modern times. Mr. Basu's Bill stood on a different ground because it made no distinction between marriages among Hindus and marriages between Hindus and Mahomedans. But intercaste marriages present no such novel features and, therefore, in our opinion, ought not be burdened with conditions which were not insisted on in ancient days. For every kind of marriage there must be a basis, and if Mr. Patel's Bill does not possess the basic principles of Hinduism it is far better to retain the principles which Hindu law and custom sanctioned in ancient days. The changes suggested by our contemporary are peculiar in as much as they reject Hindu law altogether and accept conceptions which take us entirely to modern times. And unless Mr. Patel professes his Bill entirely to be intended to suit the convenience and taste of modern Hindus and has no reference to their old ecclesiastical law, the basis we have suggested for it would be entirely wanting. Hindu law, both ancient and modern, invariably assumed the complete authority of the father over his minor children. And we do not desire Hindu law as it was in ancient days to be changed to ensure success to Mr. Patel's Bill."

Mr. Mahadeva Sastry and other Vedic scholars have proved that child marriage was no part of Vedic usage. So if the object of Mr. Patel's Bill is to revive the Vedic usage, it may well revive it in all its integrity. Apart from that, we are certainly shocked to read such a weighty exponent of public opinion as our contemporary seriously maintaining that orthodox Hindu ideas are more likely to be outraged if the provisions of the Bill are confined to adults than if they applied to babes and sucklings as well. Even if the *Indian Patriot's* contention is right, still it should not be overlooked that we are living in modern times, and that the complete autocratic authority of the father over his minor children is not accepted as a dogma of modern jurisprudence. The *Modern Review*, we think, conclusively answers this line of reasoning, when it writes, "Intercaste marriages should be adult marriages. The parties should contract such marriages, understanding their full social and other consequences. No parent or guardian has the moral right to subject his male or female ward to the consequences of such a marriage at an age when the bride or bridegroom is not in a position to fully realise what they may be."

#### SOCIAL LEGISLATION IN INDIA.—IV.

At the outset it must be said that we have not sought for reforms on abstract principles, with our feet in the air. We are not actuated by theories. We have no Rousseaus, no Godwins, no Thomas Paines to fall back on. If only we had produced such men, the result would have been tremendous. Our movement is not one of those that are sudden upheavals with awful coruscations, not that sudden breaking up or wrenching with the past; but it is

only a steady and well-ordered growth. The peaceful and real character of our agitation and the humane purposes underlying it are not recognised and hence all this pitiful mean cry of little minds. The most vain and indiscreet man in the world would call us Maximalists, etc. and still secure in their exploitation and Directorship of tea companies etc, they would cant in the most unabashed manner about their solicitude for the welfare of the masses. This perfectly dishonest claim has so often been exposed that it requires no more consideration. On the other hand, all the world over, the blunders and the dilatoriness of the powers-that-be and of their allies have always been the opportunities for the advance of democracy. It requires no gainsaying therefore that if only our powers-that-be had been half as watchful as the rulers in England are and if they had at least kept themselves in some touch with all those progressive movements of governmental policy action, there would not have been this much even of clamour and bad blood in this otherwise peaceable people. It can be affirmed quite boldly that the Government has failed in all the fundamental ideas that sweep humanity elsewhere.

Now, there is one sure criterion or touchstone by which the beneficent policies of the Government can be tested as to whether their progress have been commensurate with the needs of the country. It is surprising, therefore, to find that no budget has been framed with an eye to make it an epoch, a landmark whereby the constructive and legislative side of state policy may be furthered, no expenditure has been incurred or increased on account of the needs arising from beneficent legislation, nor has any legislation of a progressive nature been embarked on in consequence of a bold Budget framed by a man of ideas and wide sympathies. This has been the most obvious vulnerable point in the whole policy of the Indian Government. We search in vain in our budgets, for any such policy or programme moulding their nature except it be our budgets are moulded only to satisfy the huge programmes of Railway expenditure on the egregious demands of Railway magnates! Beyond this, our budgets are only a gamble in rain, a gamble in exchanges with a steady growth, possibly, in administrative expenditure. Whereas in the West, not only do the beneficent activities contribute to radical changes in the budget, but also the budget itself is a precursor of manifold undertakings. Each session of a legislature is reviewed at its conclusion as to whether a good number of important beneficent legislation has been placed on the Statute Book or not and whether there has been going on a good deal of legislative activity; and each budget is the occasion for giving effect to such legislations. It will not be wide of the mark to assume that this purpose or idea of a budget had never dawned on the mind or conscience of our bureaucrats. Coming now to closer quarters, one finds that the expenditure too is on the same basis on which legislative activity is carried. Here, as is often complained, there is the overestimating of expenditure and the underestimating of revenue with the consequent plethora of surpluses every



year, and the Government bursting with money, either diverts them to defray some not inconvenient debts, feels impelled to create new posts or, as a last resort, by the clamour of public opinion, hands over a fraction of its surplus for education and sanitation with no policy or programme guiding the Government in its action (of course there is the belated programme for education just issued) it is on such precarious doles that our education and sanitation needs were being met. From the year 1905-06 to 1913-14, the pre-war year, our annual expenditure rose from 68·75 million pounds to 82·9 million pounds *i.e.* by 14·15 millions. The salaries and expenses of Civil Departments in which are included the expenditure on Education and Medical rose from 11·6 million pounds to 17·93 million *i.e.* by 6·33 millions. Let it be borne in mind that this does not include the other civil charges like the Miscellaneous civil charges coming to 5½ millions and charges in respect of collections of Revenue etc coming to another 9¼ millions. The expenditure on Education and Medical increased in these years from 2 millions pounds to 4½ million. Thus of the total increase of expenditure of 14·15 millions, Education and Medical shared in the increase by 2½ millions only, while the increase in all Civil and Revenue Departments was 6 millions.

Whereas, in England from 1905-06 to 1913-14, the annual expenditure rose from 150·4 millions to 197·5 millions or by about 47 millions. The Civil services expenditure which include as in India Education, Science and Art' and 'Old Age Pensions, Labour Exchanges and Insurance etc' increased from 28·43 millions to 53·9 millions *i.e.* by 25·5 millions or increased almost doublefold. Of this increase, Educational expenditure in England already as high as 16·4 millions in 1905-06 rose to 19·5 millions *i.e.*, by about 3·1 millions. And the expenditure on Old Age Pensions, Labour Exchanges, Insurance which began to take effect only from 1908-09, rose from 2 millions in that year to 19·7 millions in 1913-14 *i.e.* in half-a-dozen years. Thus of the increase of 25 millions under Civil Services, Education and Social Reform claimed about 23 millions; and of the 47 millions increase in the total annual expenditure these years, Education and Social Reform claimed one-half *i.e.* 23 millions leaving 24 millions for Army, Navy etc. These form such a strikingly predominant part in the National expenditure, ranking only next to Army and Navy; and taking the year 1913-14, if we add the 9·3 millions paid to Local Taxation Account, the total expenditure on cultural and humanitarian needs of the people comes to 49 millions or  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the annual expenditure—not to speak of the other 150 millions which the Local Authorities raise and spend. In India, the expenditure under these two heads was only  $\frac{1}{18}$  of the total expenditure. And in the last years, too the expenditure in England shows an appreciable increase, while in India the increase is not very perceptible and is a mere drop in the ocean. Considering the size and needs of the population,

an expenditure of 5 millions is very little. In this connection, it is interesting to note that the Daily News Year Book, 1913, while discussing "The Rise in Expenditure" and after examining the Army and Navy expenditure, wrote approvingly, "The second main head is the increased expenditure on Social Reform covering the provision for Old Age Pensions, National Insurance and increased facilities for Education." It also wrote that the increase in the Revenue Departments was apparent rather than real.

It will be remembered that all this increase in expenditure of England was due to no haphazard growth or to no unavoidable surpluses, but it was due to the vigorous policy and programme of Mr. Lloyd George for increased beneficent expenditure. He set before himself and the country, great projects of Social Reform and Reconstruction and, undaunted by threats and attacks of vested interests, he carried the whole country with him. He braved the brewers, the capitalists and the landlords, raised an additional revenue of 30 to 40 millions in a time of peace. There was an occasion when even the conservatives were so swept off their feet by these activities that they without much opposition agreed to the grant of Old Age Pensions, and they even attempted to claim a share in the credit of the National Insurance Scheme. Let it be remembered also that all those increased Taxes of super-tax, death duties, license Tax and others were all levied in time of peace. Here in India, not even the greatest and the most terrible war in the world which is often invoked to quiet us like children has wrought any good change in the financial policy. Where the expenditure has to be met by taxation, it is met by loans; where the rich has to be taxed, the poor man's needs are affectionately taken on hand for taxation. It makes one doubt whether a Government that fights shy of equitable taxation like Excess Profits duties in time of war, fails to husband its resources by falling more and more into the clutches of Railway Magnates, and even pursues a policy of presenting the Railway Companies with crores of rupees, quails before the organised agitation of Mill Owners and Tea planters who enjoy 100 percent and 200 percent dividend—it makes one despair whether such a Government—will ever in peace time launch on costly programmes of Reconstruction. If such be the inexcusable timidity to touch the pockets of the over-rich in war time, it passes one's wits whether, after the war, the country will have the sufficient financial strength to embark on any fruitful schemes when there comes on the period of financial stagnation. Contrast this attitude of surrendering to vested interests even in war time, with that of Mr. Lloyd George who piled up taxes upon taxes long before the war; and the country was none the poorer for it and the prophecies of doleful Cassandras were belied. The people's happiness had been increased and the financial strength of England had wonderfully stood the test of war also.



## INDIA AND THE FUTURE.\*

It is commonly to be expected that any book from the pen of an average Englishman on Indian Affairs is likely to be no more than a eulogy on the grand story of England's work in India. Without skulking behind a "perhaps" or an "almost" Mr. Archer shares the opinion that English rule in India is the most heroic adventure in history. Few Indians will find much to cavil against this harmless and justifiable sentiment. Nevertheless Mr. Archer is too indifferent to this broad fact to be either offended at its denial or be lost in ecstasy over its acknowledgement. For unlike the majority of his kinsmen he is more interested in the future of the fact than in the fact itself. He is led by the notion—most revolutionary so far as Englishmen are concerned—that "every adventure must have an end; and if this one could, by miracle, be eternalized that would only mean that it has missed the highest success." Believing that an end must come his "book is inspired, however inadequately, by the desire and hope that it may be a glorious one." But what is this glorious end to be? To Mr. Archer it is to be self-government for Indians and by Indians.

To the knotty and beguiling question—self-government within or without the Empire?—raised at the outset to divert attention from the main point at issue, Mr. Archer gives, it may be hoped, a final *coup de grace*. His answer is: "sufficient for the day are the problems thereof." Many a long year will have to pass before India is ripe for self-government; and who can tell what may be the state and constitution of the British Empire when that date is reached? It may have broken up into its component parts; it may be merged into a larger synthesis; all we know is that it will be a very different thing from the empire of to-day. It is sheer waste of time to wrangle over the formula "within or without the Empire." Trusting it "far more likely to keep India within the Empire by fostering than by obstinately thwarting her natural aspirations" Mr. Archer urges that the only problem we need attend to at present is that of changing the governance of India by Englishmen into the governance of India by Indians.

It is in the discussion of bringing about this consummation that Mr. Archer shines out with his admirable frankness. He realizes that the bureaucracy as well as the Indian opposition must unlearn their guiding principles before any real progress towards Indian self-government can be made. Consequently he addresses both the parties and that too in no disguised terms. To the bureaucracy which thinks that "the maintenance and perpetual continuance of British rule is the best way of securing the happiness of the Indian people" he admonishes that "British rule should be openly confessed and authoritatively proclaimed to be a *means, not an end*." To the opposition which feels sure that it is fit to rule, his words of counsel are that "British rule is

at best a reminder of India's failure to shape her own destinies: a testimony to her lack of internal unity, of self-assertive vigour, and of political capacity."

Thus the devolution of political power, which is the same thing as the shrinkage of bureaucratic supremacy, can be synchronic and commensurate with the advance of moral and social reform in India. It is because he looks at the Indian problem from this angle that Mr. Archer comes down, with an amount of vehemence which might strike as uncalled for, upon those Indians who start by glorifying their past and end by reviving it. Mr. Archer's uncompromising attitude towards those Indians who look upon themselves as a "chosen people" "under a temporary cloud" appears strange when it is re-called that this ethnocentrism is a world-wide trait. Isocrates idealized Athens as Virgil proclaimed the mission of Rome. The Russians eagerly styled Moscow the "Third Rome" after the fall of Constantinople in 1453. "God" said Milton "reveals Himself first to His Englishmen." In the same train the American believes the U. S. A. as "God's own country." And "Deutschland Ueber Alles" marks the scheme of ethnocentrism. Why then is it unpardonable in Indians? Because it looks backwards. With the view of Mr. Archer that India at best "is the most forward of barbarous, or the most backward of civilised nations." Some ground for disagreement may be found. But there can be no two opinions regarding the point that the true or false halo of the past should not be allowed to obscure much less to be the criterion for the problems of the present and the future. While the present or the future can engage the greatest part of our attention it must be recognized that we can be interested in the past only in so far as it is the past of the present. But when the past is made the absolute standard by which to judge the problems of the present this ethnocentrism becomes an intolerable infirmity as it then festers into a crime. "Every society becomes encumbered with what is trivial, with dead wood from the past, and with what is positively perverse. As a society becomes enlightened, it is responsible *not* to transmit and conserve the whole of its achievements but only such as make for a better future society." But the attitude of the Indian nationalists is the very opposite of this wise dictum. As Sir Rabindranath Tagore says "The general opinion of the majority of the present day nationalists in India is that we have come to a final completeness in our social and spiritual ideals, the task of the constructive work of society having been done several thousand years before we were born, and that now we are free to employ all our activities in the political direction. We never dream of blaming our social inadequacy at the origin of our present helplessness, for we have accepted as the creed of our nationalism that our social system has been perfected for all time to come by our ancestors, who had the superhuman vision for all eternity and supernatural power for making infinite provision for future ages."



Given this creed of social perfection it is easy to understand how every attempt at reform is throttled by an appeal to the authority of the shastras. The utility of any reform project has never been considered *per se*. Nor are the shastras subjected to amendment in the light of knowledge and experience. So long as this reverence for the shastras remain the pace of reform will be hardly perceptible. Secularization of our thought is therefore an essential instrument for carrying out the much needed reforms.

This is only one side of the shield. Let us see its other side as Mr. Archer shows it.

India has many false friends among Englishmen—officials and non-officials. A class of such false friends—mostly non-officials—“gloss over, or even treat as advantages, the historic misfortunes under which she suffers.” Another class of such false friends—mostly officials—do not lull Indians into such false beliefs. But it detracts a great deal from their sincerity when in the same breath they assert the policy of non-interference. He is a worst physician who after diagnosing the disease refuses to treat it. That Indians should carry out internal reforms is all very well. But is it possible to reform without the aid of law? Reformers have been as often invoking the aid of law as the Government has been denying its use. What is the purpose of law if not to reform or repair the peccant parts of society? Must we say that the bureaucracy cherishes India's weakness as its strength? or does it refuse the tool because it does not understand its trade? The British Government is accused in India of dividing the people in order that it may rule. This of course is a sad perversion of the truth. It does not divide us in order it may rule but it rules because we are divided. But the charge instead of being absolved comes in another and a more positive form. What has it conscientiously done to repair division? The answer will probably be in the negative. This may be due to the notion that the governance of India by Englishmen is an end in itself. When the British Government learns the new lesson that it is a *means* it may shuffle off its old traditions and actively engage itself in bringing about the end—i. e. governance by Indians by educating them politically and helping them to reform their social structure.

Thus both parties must help the process of Indian self-Government. But this mutuality is seldom recognized. That Mr. Archer should have served notice on both the parties is therefore no mean service. Englishmen will praise him for supplying a new principle for the Government of Dependencies while such of the Indians who hold that we cannot “build a political miracle upon the quicksand of social slavery” will fain join the chorus. But is it too much to expect such sincere advice to win a few converts from the camp of the sane but misguided who think of Indian politics as a battle for wresting concessions from the niggardly hands of a step-motherly Government?

Besides the central point we have enlarged upon, Mr. Archer has treated many controversial topics. It must be admitted that in the discussion of these he

has not kept the same poise. But poise or no the points will ever remain debatable. They are matters of individual opinions and there is no use quarelling over them. Regarding the central theme, it is hoped, there will be a consensus of opinion, so much so that it would be a pity if a book like that of Mr. Archer which contains a vision of India's political future so noble and advocates means so very fundamental for its realization, failed to secure a serious perusal even from the hands of those who might bear Mr. Archer some grudge for his derisive views on less vital but more touching topics such as Hindu spirituality and culture.

A.

## SIDE LIGHTS ON SOCIAL PROBLEMS FROM UPANISHADS.

### I.

#### JANASHRUTI AND RAIKWA.

The study of Vedic literature on a sympathetic but critical method throws a flood of light on the social conditions of Ancient India. When the Vedic literature was codified, and the stamp of final revelation was given to it, the simple stories were twisted by later commentators to suit their *a priori* doctrines of religion and philosophy. It is an admitted fact that independent Indian thought reached its zenith in the Upanishad period. The ancient prose Upanishads e. g., Chhandogya, Brihadaranyaka &c., reveal various social and religious activities in which women took active part in the discussions relating to abstruse problems of life. The Hindu Society of the time knew no caste system, and although the primitive divisions of Aryans and Dasyus of the Rigveda had disappeared, the social fabric, composed of four Varnas or classes, was elastic, and the intelligent members of the Kshatriya clan were approached by Brahmins as teachers. Brahmins used to go to Kshatriyas to learn with all humility while Kshatriyas, and Shudras used to make charitable endowments and give their daughters in marriage to young Brahmins on account of their erudition and piety. It is proposed to give a few illustrations of the Catholic spirit of the times out of the Upanishads. If Hindus are true to their religion and try to see for themselves what their Ancient Sacred literature says, much of their opposition to the Social Reform movement based on the so-called orthodoxy ought to disappear.

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A pious ruler of the Shudra class named Janashruti Paunrayana according to Chhandogya Upanishad, established charitable institutions throughout his realm. His fame spread everywhere. On one evening when the King was lying on a couch in the terrace of his palace he overheard the following conversation between two swans, who are believed to be Devarshis according to mythology:—

“Well, Bhallaksh, the light of Janashruti has spread in the heavens. See that you are not burnt”.

The other swan replied:—

“Oh! dear Bhallaksha, I hope he is not like Sayngwa Raikwa. All the religious merit of the world is centralized in this sage”.

Janashruti understood the sarcastic remark in which he was portrayed as inferior to Raikwa. He deputed next morning his trusted servant to find out the sage Sayngwa Raikwa. The servant roamed about in all parts of the kingdom and traced out with great difficulty the sage Raikwa



from the descriptive roll given to him. A poor Brahmin suffering from eczema, and sitting under the shade of a cart was the figure his master was so eagerly searching for. His identity was, however, ascertained and the king approached him with 600 kine, chariot, horses &c., and requested him for initiation. Raikwa with a cynic smile replied—"Oh Shudra, be you happy with your chariot, necklace and cows".

The king then offered a thousand cows and added the gifts of a village. But the sage would not condescend to initiate the king. At last the king offered his daughter in marriage to him and Raikwa was pleased. He married the girl, and the king was taught the four aspects of the Absolute (Brahman) Viz, the terrestrial, the planetary, the radiative and biological or organic.

\* \* \* \* \*

The reply of Raikwa to Janashruti contains the explicit word *Shudra* and the text is capable of no other interpretation. *Janashruti was a Shudra by birth, and yet he was a ruler.* He was, however, charitable and anxious to learn from any quarter. He gave his daughter in marriage to a poor Brahmin on the sole merit of his learning. These are incontrovertible facts ascertainable from textual examination. But alas! Brahmanic pride was later on wounded and in Brahmasutra I-iii-33 a fantastic etymology is given to the word "Shudra"—viz, "sorrow overtook Janashruti and hence the latter was addressed as Shudra by Raikwa!! In the concluding portion of his Bhashya on this section known as अपभ्रंशिकरण Shankaracharya is obliged to admit that absolution cannot be denied to Shudras like Vidur, Dharma, Vyadha &c., if knowledge of Brahman is produced. Here the unconscious force of truth asserts itself in a thinker who had to interpret the aphorism according to traditional view.

### THE BENGAL MODERATES CONFERENCE.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer* Bombay.

Sir,

I wonder judging from your recent attitude of an onlooker to that of participator in politics, whether you will allow me a corner in your usually thoughtful paper with reference to Sir Narayan Chandavarkar's speech given in your issue of the 8th instant and which I only saw yesterday. At the outset I will define my position. I am neither an Extremist nor a Moderate, and consequently no seceder from either party. But I am a silent upholder of India cum England connection which has enabled us to see this day—a day of which we are all proud. And as a result of this grateful realization of self respect so quietly taught, I will not say by all, but by the better thinkers among the Rulers, let us remember what is due to that Government. First I would say a manly response to grasp the outstretched hand as shewn in the Reform Scheme, and secondly to point out the possible rocks ahead. For the Secretary of State and the Viceroy have launched this tentative scheme not for our smiling acceptance on the "Jee Hazoor" basis but for manly criticism based upon grateful remembrance of the past and lasting comradeship for the future.

Now Sir Narayan speaking at Calcutta with the Hon. Mr. Surenranath Bannerji on his right and holding possibly Sir D. E. Wacha's telegrams aloft in the other hand proclaims:

"It would be unwise and impolitic on our part to unsay and undo all that we have said and done and join the Special Session." Now the First Principle in Politics is: Meet the changing conditions of time. Do the words, would it be

politic on our part to undo and unsay what we have done and said, do this? To my mind no political thinker, apart from a self-opinionated one, would ever put forward his own predilections or those of his party where such vast interests of the country were concerned, not only of his own but also of the country to which we owe so much. For to lean on one side or the other is to court disaster from awakened forces. He then continues: "If the other side are really anxious for a compromise or unity why does not the Reception Committee approach us with an offer of postponement and a compromise?" Here the inference is complete! We are they who ought to speak who is lord over us. One can only contemplate this in sorrow. We ought to be approached—we the minorities must be approached by the majority of the Country! What care we for compromise or unity. Here least said the better. But as the Reform Proposals are tentative only at this stage for the real ones are yet to follow we might with our honest criticisms and without fear leave them to the great thinkers and sober Statesmen who will neither be led or misled by this or that party same as the then Officials were just before the Great Mutiny of 1857, and for a more detailed reference to which, with your permission, I would refer you to the "Three Readings of a Palm" which appeared in your journal some time ago as serial.

Yours etc.  
O. S. S. PANDE.

Bombay 25th September.

[Beyond the fact that our correspondent does not like Sir Narayan Chandavarkar's speech, it is difficult for us to see his point or points. Apparently, he objects to a certain course being rejected as "unpolitic." As a fact, however, Sir Narayan showed in his speech that the position he took was not only politic but also and most of all patriotic. As for the other question, our correspondent has evidently not noticed that Mrs. Besant in reply to a direct suggestion from Mr. Surenbra Nath Banerjee, had said that postponement of Congress was impossible. The next move should have, therefore, come not from the Moderates but from the radicals. This is what Sir Narayan plainly meant and said.—Ed. I. S. R.]

### A WEDDING HYMN.

Love, from the birth of the world  
Maiden and man were formed,  
Here as one flesh to be joined.  
Now at this hour supreme  
Reap we the fruit of all time;  
Heirs of all ages we stand.  
Swift, swift, rolleth the tide,  
Soon we shall plunge to the depth,  
Forgotten be sunk in the flood.  
Yet now for this moment we stand  
Erect on the crest of the wave,  
Fulfilment of all that has been,  
God's handiwork, perfect and pure,  
The Craftsman's consummate reward.

Here as I gaze in thy eyes,  
Soul facing naked to soul,  
Know I the truth and declare:—  
God when he fashioned the world,  
Moulding the nethermost slime,  
Building through aeons untold,  
A palace, and man for its lord,  
Then, even then, fore-ordained  
That we, being yoked by this love,  
Should reap of his infinite toil  
Full fruit and a harvest sublime.



This is the ultimate goal,  
This, of creation's long pain,  
This is the triumph of God—  
This, that a love like our love  
Should flame from man's desolate clay,  
Lighting the uttermost stars,  
With a flash of God's life in the void.

Whate'er in the future betide,  
Wher'ever we may wander and fall,  
E'en though our love should grow cold,  
Yet have we loved as we love.  
For ever this fact shall endure ;  
Naught in the heavens or earth,  
Neither death nor the legions of hell,  
Can alter this truth, can annul  
The glory eternal, which here  
Hath sprung into life from our love.

J. H.

### THE HINDU INTER-MARRIAGE BILL.

The Editor, The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

I shall feel much obliged if you will publish in your paper the following resolution passed by the Arya Kumar Sabha in a meeting of the 28th instant.

"The Arya Kumar Sabha, Cawnpore, accords its wholehearted support to the "Hindu Inter-caste Marriage Bill" introduced by the Hon'ble Mr. Patel in the Autumn Session of the Imperial Legislative Council. The Sabha also urges the supreme necessity of a vigorous and forward policy of social reform on the part of the Government of India."

I am, Yours faithfully,

Cawnpore, }  
0-9-18. }  
MULKHRAJ KOHLI, M.A.,  
Head Master,  
Dayanand Anglo Vedic High School,

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

## CONTENTS.

—:0:—

Germany's Peace Offer.  
President Wilson's Reply.  
Sea-Voyage in Ancient India  
Rowlatt Report and Legis-  
lation.

The Spirit of Social Service.  
Social Legislation in India.  
Thank God for our bodies,  
dear.

## NOTES.

—:0:—

**Germany's Peace Offer.** The German Chancellor announced in the Reichstag that he had sent a note to President Wilson through the Swiss Government on the night of Friday the 5th instant requesting the President to take up the bringing about of peace and to communicate concerning this matter to the other belligerents. The following is the text of the German note:—"The German Government requests the President of the United States that America will take in hand the restoration of peace and acquaint all the belligerents to that effect, and invite them to send plenipotentiaries for the purpose of opening negotiations. The German Government accepts the programme set forth in President Wilson's message to Congress on January 8, and in later pronouncements, especially the speech of September 27, as a basis for peace negotiations. With a view to avoiding further bloodshed, Germany requests the immediate conclusion of an armistice on land, water and in the air. Signed—Max, Prince of Baden." The Chancellor stated that he had directed the note to President Wilson "because he in his message to the Congress on January 8th 1918, and in later proclamations particularly in his New York speech of September 27th, proposed the programme of a general peace which we can accept as a basis for negotiations." The German Chancellor concludes his address to the Reichstag in the following terms. If the answer to our note by the opposing Powers be dictated by the will to destroy us, I do not despair at the thought of this second alternative. I know the greatness of the mighty powers yet possessed by our people, and that incontrovertible conviction that they are only fighting for their life as a nation would double these powers. I hope however for the sake of all mankind that the President of the United States will receive our offer as we mean it then the door will be opened for a speedy and honourable peace of justice and reconciliation both for us and our opponents."

**President Wilson's Reply.** President Wilson has sent the following reply to the Swiss Government through the Secretary of State, Mr. Lansing. "I have the honour to acknowledge on behalf of the President your note of October 6th, enclosing a communication from the German Government to

the President, and I am instructed by the President to request you to make the following communication to the Imperial German Chancellor. Before making a reply to the request of the Imperial German Government and in order that the reply shall be as candid and straightforward as the momentous interests involved require the President of the United States deems it necessary to assure himself of the exact meaning of the note of the Imperial Chancellor. Does the Imperial Chancellor mean that the Imperial German Government accepts the terms laid down by the President in his address to the Congress of the United States on January 8th last and in subsequent addresses and that its object in entering into discussions would be only to agree upon practical details of their application? The President feels bound to say with regard to the suggestion of an armistice that he would not feel at liberty to propose a cessation of arms to the Governments with which the Government of the United States is associated against the Central Powers so long as the armies of these powers are upon their soil. The good faith of any discussion would manifestly depend upon the consent of the Central Powers immediately to withdraw their forces everywhere from the invaded territory. The President also feels that he is justified in asking whether the Imperial Chancellor is speaking merely for the constituted authorities of the Empire who have so far conducted the war. He deems the answer to these questions vital from every point of view. (Sd) Robert Lansing."

**Sea-Voyage in Ancient India:** Mr. Ramprasad Chanda writes a short article in the current number of the *Modern Review* headed "Brahmanism in East Borneo." In it he reproduces the text and gives the English translation of four Sanskrit inscriptions discovered in East Borneo. He concludes: "About the middle of the fourth century A. D., Brahmanic civilisation was introduced into East Borneo. It was introduced into Annam (ancient Champa) still earlier. The earliest Sanskrit inscription found in Annam is ascribed to the third (or perhaps to the second) century of the Christian era. Another Sanskrit inscription attributed to about 400 A. D. refers to a sacrifice instituted on behalf of the Dharmamaharaja Bhadravarman (p. 189). These records show that in the glorious days of the Imperial Guptas in the North and the Pallavas in the South not only the Bauddhas and the Saivas, but also the orthodox followers of the Vedic *Karmakanda* did not feel any scruple to cross the sea and to admit barbarian princes to the Vedic fold."



# INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, OCTOBER 13, 1918.

## ROWLATT REPORT AND LEGISLATION.

The announcement was made a few days ago, presumably on reliable authority, that the Government of India will shortly undertake legislation on the lines of the recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee and introduce for that purpose a Bill in the Imperial Legislative Council. Those recommendations, as our readers are aware, propose in effect a law on the lines of the present Defence of India Act with certain modifications suggested by the Committee, the law becoming a permanent measure containing punitive and preventive provisions to put down the crime of sedition, and the provisions being put into operation at any time by an Ordinance of the Government whenever the Executive think the situation calls for the enforcement of the law.

In order to understand in its true perspective the significance of the Rowlatt Committee's proposal of such a permanent law and to judge fairly the merits of the proposal, it is necessary at the outset to state the circumstances under which and the reasons for which the present Defence of India Act was passed in March 1915. Those circumstances and reasons have been shortly summarised in the Chandavarkar-Beachcroft Committee's Report, in which it was said that just before the Defence of India Act passed into law, the situation had become such as to render the trial by the ordinary courts of revolutionary crime practically impossible and that it could only be met effectively by the exceptional procedure of the Defence of India Act. That was exactly the ground on which the necessity for the Act was based by His Excellency the Viceroy (then Lord Hardinge) and by the mover of the Bill (Sir Reginald Craddock) and it was assented to accordingly by the Indian members of the Legislative Council when the Bill was introduced. Lord Hardinge said at the time "that it is a war measure, to last during the period of the war and for six months afterwards," rendered necessary by the fact that, in consequence of information of which Government are in possession, "there is cause for precautionary measures and for quickening up the procedure of justice." Sir Reginald Craddock, in introducing the Bill, referred, among other dangers to the peace during the War, to the anarchist movement in Bengal, of which he said :—"That we have had with us for a long time ; sometimes it has been temporarily quiescent and sometimes it has recrudesced, and at the present time there has, as the Council is aware, been a severe recrudescence, and the crimes committed have become increasingly daring. The security of loyal India requires that they should be suppressed."

Expressly designed in its inception as an emergency measure to meet an exceptional situation created by anarchist crime and revolutionary conspiracies plotting

in secret and terrorising loyal and peace-loving citizens, the Defence of India Act is now proposed to be turned into a permanent member of our Statutes on the recommendation of the Rowlatt Committee.

No one now denies that anarchism confined to a comparatively small number of people, mostly misguided youths, has existed and still exists especially in Bengal. The question, therefore, is whether that existence is sufficient justification for the proposal of the Rowlatt Committee that the present Defence of India Act, passed as an emergency measure for the period of the war and a short period after should become a permanent law, with the modifications suggested by the Committee, after the war ceases and peace returns. It must be remembered that the present Defence of India Act was passed professedly on nearly the same lines as the Defence of Realm Act in England after the war commenced. Lord Hardinge put that point distinctly in his speech stating the reasons for the Act. He said :—"The fact that such a Bill has become necessary in India as a precautionary measure cannot be regarded as in any way a slur on the people, since it follows in general outline the Defence of the Realm Act passed in both Houses of Parliament and now in force in the United Kingdom. Law-abiding England accepted this measure without a murmur, realising that in such a situation *salus populi suprema lex.*"

It is clear, then, that the present Defence of India Act was passed for the same purposes as the Defence of Realm Act in the United Kingdom. No one has proposed that the Defence of Realm Act should become a permanent member of the statute book in that Kingdom, though in Ireland the Sinn Fein movement has existed and still exists. When the validity of the Defence of Realm Act was questioned in 1917 before the Judicial Committee of the House of Lords, the Attorney-General representing the Government put the necessity for the measure on the ground "that we are living in times when the inadequacy of the regulations for securing the safety of the realm might be fraught with graver consequences than at any previous period in the history of the nation. In an emergency such as the present, when espionage and sabotage are rampant to an extent hitherto unknown, it is essential to public safety that there should exist in the Executive a power of preventive detention. It is not surprising that in this time of danger Parliament should have armed the Executive with the widest possible powers." And the Lord Chancellor accepted that view. "One of the most obvious means of taking precautions," he said, "against dangers such as are enumerated is to impose some restriction on the freedom of movement of persons whom there may be reason to suspect of being disposed to help the enemy. It was strongly urged that no such restraint should be imposed except as the result of a judicial enquiry. It seems obvious that no tribunal for investigating the question whether circumstances of suspicion exist warranting some restraint can be imagined less appropriate than a



Court law. The statute was passed at a time of supreme national danger, which still exists."

That being the scope of the Defence of Realm Act in the United Kingdom as an emergency measure intended to meet an exceptional situation, and the Defence of India Act having been avowedly passed for the same purpose, it is, we think, unwise to think of making the latter Act permanent for India after the war when no one has recommended that course in the case of the Defence of Realm Act in the United Kingdom. The exceptional situation created by revolutionary organisations no doubt warranted a special law with a special criminal procedure to meet it. But, as we pointed out in a previous article, when the new reforms come and put India in a fair way towards the realisation of responsible government, it is likely that anarchism will cease. At any rate, Government should give the reforms a chance and see whether they succeed or not in rooting out revolutionary crime. As we said in that article, while laws such as the Defence of India Act are needed for exceptional situations of terrorism created by dacoities and murders committed by revolutionaries, repressive laws cannot root them out but laws reforming the administration should be trusted to check them in times of peace. That opinion is fortified by the past history of Bengal. As pointed out by the Governor General of British India in his despatch to the Court of Directors in 1810 (see Vol. I, 5th Parliamentary Report on Indian affairs, page 93) Bengal was full of dacoities, robberies, murders and the most atrocious deliberate cruelties, "in a word, an aggregate of the most atrocious crimes" in every part of Bengal; from 1801 severe measures were adopted against them in the form of new regulations, rendering the criminal law more severe, and yet "the disorders which they were intended to subdue still increased." Reforms in the administration subsequently helped to root out the crimes. That is a significant lesson from the past history of crime in Bengal.

**The Spirit of Social Service.** We have shared in the general dislocation caused by the Influenza in Bombay and must postpone fuller comment on the course of the epidemic to a subsequent issue. One of the brightest features, however, is the abundance of the proof of the existence of the Spirit of Social Service of which it has been the occasion of affording. The following incidents taken from a private letter speak for themselves:—"Mr. Hamley and Mr. Ickenzie offered their services to the Municipality some ten or twelve days ago, and they ultimately asked them to work in the Kandawadi district. The students who remained in the hostels—a small company—joined themselves to them and they did excellent work in Kandawadi and on the Babulnath estate. Their numbers were swelled by others who reside in the City and a few outsiders. The work was insufficient for their energies, and they asked for an additional field. They were given one in the Ardeo district. The largest of the three centres in which they were asked to work there included the Sweepers' Chawls. Before they started out on the morning of the 9th instant, they thought it right to

call for special volunteers for this area, and to their delight every single student offered himself. In the end they took only two Hindu students with them as the others were required elsewhere, but the interesting thing was that all were willing to go, and that the final selection was made not on the ground of the presence of reforming tendencies but of the possession of bicycles—the Sweepers' Chawls being in the most remote part of their field. The writer adds "I should like also to say how extraordinary have been the enthusiasm and devotion of our students in this work throughout. They have come morning after morning with unfailing regularity, their numbers growing from day to day. They have gone into the filthiest of dwellings and have shirked no disagreeable task. It has amazed me. Some of us have tried in the past with only moderate success to interest them in Social Service, but this shows us what they are capable of rising to in an emergency. Many of them are not reformers in theory, but their practice at present shows the spirit that is in them. Let us thank God and take courage."

#### SOCIAL LEGISLATION IN INDIA—V.

It only remains to observe whether the Reform schemes will hasten the advent of the time when those needs and activities sketched above, will be taken on hand. From this standpoint, whether the Reforms are satisfactory or not, whether they will usher in a new era, we will not pretend to discuss. The future is in the knees of gods and is also in the strength and capacity of the leaders who will be asked to co-operate in the Government, and in the good faith of our rulers. Great and noble as is the word and policy of Self-determination, it seems we are not going to have the full benefit of it. Still if under the Reforms Scheme, there be a change not only tending towards self-determination but giving to the people more power and control over the Government, it might be used for bringing the country on a level with the progressive nations of the west. Only it must be said that the distinguished authors of the Report seem not to have perceived the real nature of our criticisms against the bureaucracy on some points. It is enough if we take our stand on the two greatest criticisms that have been offered by two most friendly critics of the Government. The *Times of India* and Sir Narayan Chandavarkar. The *Times of India* on June 21, 1917, suddenly changed the whole current of discussion by writing "No mere policy of negation will meet the needs of India of to-day. The Madras Government points to the need of education in order to fit India for wider liberties. What are we doing to furnish that education? The Madras Government points to the need of diminishing the elements of disunion that prevail. What are we doing to encourage and help Social Reform? \* \* \* Things are moving too slowly for the days in which we live." Sir Narayan Chandavarkar's utterance fixed the attention of all to the crux of the problem when he said. "If we take the history of the administration from 1858 down to now, with special reference



to the amelioration of the condition of the Indian Agriculturists, who form seventy-five per cent of the people of India, we shall incontestably find that measures advocated in their interests by the educated Indians \* \* \* had been strenuously opposed as chimerical by the British officials in India for a long time and were ultimately more or less adopted under the stress of circumstances." However much the Reforms and the Report are considered satisfactory and are a real step in advance, it is open to question whether anywhere in the Report, there is an answer to the above criticisms on the bureaucracy—just as there are some criticisms on our fitness and unfitness—unless it be that the Reforms themselves furnish the answer and response. As to the question whether the Reforms satisfy us from the particular standpoint we have dilated on and whether there should not be more welcome, more generous and more bold changes, we will not venture to discuss. After all, our answer can be only one answer.

Only this must be said there must be a change in the head and heart of our rulers and the Report does advocate and earnestly desire for it. One regrets to observe, however, that it looks even now there is not much change in the head and heart of the rulers. While the programme for repressive measures is being rattled before us for all they are worth by two Lieut. Governors—not that we condone the vicious and wretched anarchists and dacoities—there has been no authoritative pronouncement, no well-considered programme of constructive policy sketched out before us. In England, all the great leaders are busy with ideas and schemes of reconstruction and even Lord Milner talks of "of the fair prospect of domestic progress, greater social equality, better conditions of life and labour which we have good reason to look forward to, in the great era of reconstruction that will follow the war." Sir William Meyer whose financial policy we have referred to above, does not hesitate to put forth the egregious argument when pressed for more educational expenditure that Mr. Fisher's Bill is not yet passed in England! On the other hand, we would be highly satisfied to have the same proportion of expenditure on Education that prevailed in England not even of 1913-14 but of 1905-06. Instead of projecting his vision towards problems like the Ministry of Health or better housing and better conditions of life and labour, all he could put forth as a programme was that the Export duties on Jute and Tea would have to be reconsidered! And can we ever imagine a speech like that of Mr. Curtis on the Beggars control Resolution, being delivered in the House of Commons by the hardiest of Tories even including Sir Frederick Banbury whose aversion to all changes is without parallel. Bismarck was the progenitor of a wonderful system of State Socialism and he took away the wind out of the sails of the socialists and it was bureaucracy that carried out his schemes to success; Mr. Lloyd George, likewise, by his policy took away the wind out of the sails of the labour party as well as of some of the Unionists who were flirting with the Labour Party. But has the Indian bureaucracy ever tried to develop that faculty and that imagination and thus to forestall agitation? No

doubt, by its failure, it has only given point to the very much overworked adage "good Government is no substitute for Self-Government." His Excellency Lord Chelmsford whose sincerity is the most encouraging and hopeful asset we have in this country, recently emphasised the sentence in the Report "we have carried the advance right up to the line beyond which our principles forbid us to go," thus meaning, thus far wilt we go and no farther, or in other words, thus far shall thou go and no farther. And he called in the aid of the Russian situation to lend support to this. As against this we will only quote the very excellent and sensible dictum of Lord Milner. While speaking at Plymouth in an air of statesman—like expansiveness, he said, "I am not one of those who fear an out-break here of those follies and excesses which have laid Russia helpless at the fact of the foreign conqueror. That madness, however deplorable, is intelligible in a people accustomed only to servitude and repression. It is inconceivable in this land of old-fashioned freedom and long experience of self-Government, a land in which by successive steps, the greatest step of all taken only the other day ( Franchise Bill ) political power is now wholly in the hands of the great mass of the nation." The above itself is a sufficient answer and we shall not quarrel with words. Till now, the policy has been one of drift and of "sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof" and there is therefore a justifiable trepidation and hesitancy as the Imperial Government from which must emanate all great policies, is left mostly untouched. Even without the modifications demanded, nothing prevents the bureaucracy to strike out into bold paths activity. And it is to be hoped that Lord Chelmsford himself will raise considerably the tone and purpose of administration and governance. Self-determination, or no self-determination, will these Reforms usher in a new period of complete change working for human happiness of this Seeming multitude will they remove all the evils and sores of the body politic and help us to solve the social and political diseases, half self-inflicted and half inflicted by a cruel Nature; will they serve to increase the National wealth and National income and to make for a equitable distribution of wealth—already the welcome conflict between labour and capital is raising up its head; will they serve to raise the standard of life and thus help to reduce the high birthrate and the high death-rate; and above all, will they make the bureaucracy and our rulers shed their old skin and throw themselves heart and soul and with re-enthusiasm into the new fields and possibilities thrown open before us all?



## THANK, GOD FOR OUR BODIES, DEAR.

Thank God for the glory of right,  
 For the tyrannous tides of the sun,  
 For the moon and the mystical glamour of might,  
 For the mists where the swift rivers run.  
 Thank God for our bodies, dear.

Thank God for the glory of sound,  
 For the whisper of wind in the trees,  
 For the drumming of drops on the thirsty ground,  
 For the musical murmur of bees.  
 Thank God for our bodies, dear.

Thank God for the glory of scent,  
 For the hay in the barn piled dim,  
 For the wood-smoke sweet round our forest-pitched tent,  
 For the scent of the stream as we swim  
 Thank God for our bodies, dear.

Thank God for a dive from a height,  
 For the swift, sure rush of the train,  
 For the effortless drift of the eagle's flight,  
 For the pitiless pelt of the rain.  
 Thank God for our bodies, dear.

Thank god for the long-drawn kiss,  
 For the thrilling of hand upon hand,  
 For the glory and grace of an infinite bliss  
 That lovers alone understand.  
 Thank God for our bodies, dear.

J. H.

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# INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

## CONTENTS.

—:o:—

In Memory of Krishna.	The New World.
The late Dr. H. S. Deva.	Indian Constitutional Re-
The late Lieut. Indra Lal	forms.
Roy, R. A. F.	Death of Mr. Krishna Nata-
The Gurukula, Kangri.	rajan.

## NOTES.

—:o:—

**In Memory of Krishna.** Confined to a sick-bed and forbidden to do any work, I cannot yet let this issue go out without a few words in memory of my beloved Krishna who was called away after a few days' illness on Wednesday. He had completed his M. B. course and was studying for the final examination next month. When the Social Service League appealed for senior medical students, he sent in his name to Mr. Joshi at once, and was accepted. Mr. Joshi met the boy in my office and invited him to organize the work in Parel the next day. How he threw himself into the work, Mr. Joshi has borne testimony in the Press. Krishna took me and his sisters, to his Dispensary, showed us everything that was being done, and as we were returning pointed out the quarters of the working-classes among whom his work lay. I am told that he did the dirtiest and most menial tasks as cheerfully as examining and prescribing. Certain it is that he bore a great and burning love for the poor in his heart. His ambition was to work among them. We feel he has given his life in a worthy cause. This home can never be the same. We feel that the sunshine has gone out of it. His devotion to his sisters and young brothers, was touching. As for me, I dare not say how blessed I felt in him. It is difficult for us to that realise that we shall really see him no more this life—courageous, so self-effacing, and so resourceful. On many Saturdays after his College, he would go to the Press to see the final proofs of the *Reformer*. His articles signed "Civisy" were full of indignation at the wrongs of the poor. He told me he would write a series of articles on the influenza epidemic and the steps to be taken in view of any future outbreaks. The sympathy of a large circle has poured out to us. We are most grateful. I will not, I cannot, think of my dear boy as dead. He lives, and will ever live, in our hearts, and we shall never be far from him.

**The late Dr. H. S. Deva.** By the death of Dr. H. S. Deva, the Servants of India Society has lost one of its most devoted members, and the public worker of wide experience and knowledge of men and

things. Personally, he was a most obliging friend. Professor H. G. Limaye writes of him in the last number of the *Servant of India*. "Wherever Dr. Deva went, and he served in three different States as Durbar Surgeon, he endeared himself to the officials and the people alike. He was, however, not merely a doctor, his beneficent influence being felt throughout the administration. In Sangli, especially, where he State served for more than fifteen years, he took part in inaugurating many of the reforms which have marked out Sangli as a progressive State in the Southern Maratha Country. Dr. Deva found his true calling when he joined the Servants of India Society in 1914. For he was an embodiment of the spirit of service and sacrifice, and had been living a life of pure selflessness even when he was in service and drawing a substantial salary. In matters of opinion and controversy he was equally selfless and always tried to understand and appreciate the other point of view. Opponents as such he hardly had any. But his friends sometimes complained that in his zeal for fair play and conciliation he was unfair to them. He did very useful work in Poona during the last few years in connection with the Sanitary Association, of which was the founder, the movement for night schools, &c., and substantially helped Mr. Gandhi in his work in Champaran. A really good man and true was Dr. Deva, and Poona and the Maharashtra are certainly the poorer on account of his death."

**The late Lieut Indra Lal Roy, R. A. F.** We deeply regret to learn of the death, in action, on July 22, of Lieut. Indra Lal Roy, R. A. F., second son of Mr. P. L. Roy, Director of Public Prosecutions, Calcutta, and Mrs. P. L. Roy, who is well known in London Indian circles. Lieut. Roy was one of the brilliant band of young Indian flying-men, and our warm sympathy goes out to the bereaved parents.—India.

**The Gurukula, Kangri.** We are requested to announce that applications for the admissions of new Brahmcharis to the Gurukula Vishva Vidyalaya Kangri should reach this office by the end of Margshirsh (December 14th at the latest.) Forms of application and copies of Rules can be had from the Gurukula Office P. O. Gurukula Kangri District Bijnore.



# INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, OCTOBER 20, 1918.

## THE NEW WORLD.

As we write, the news about the war, thanks to General Foch's masterly strokes and strategy, has become distinctly hopeful. Victory with a peace such as will satisfy the Allies seems almost assured. The proposals made by the new German Chancellor to President Wilson for an armistice as preliminary to negotiations for the terms of peace on the basis of the principles enunciated by the President in January and July last have been considered by the latter, and his reply to the German proposals is, as was to be expected, a plain refusal to put those proposals before the Allies for consideration unless Germany definitely pledges herself, as a condition precedent to any negotiations for peace, to abide by the judgment of the military advisers of the Government of the United States and the Allies in the field, as regards the process of German evacuation and the conditions of an armistice. What is of still greater moment in President Wilson's reply to the German proposal for an armistice is that he calls "solemnly" the attention of the German Chancellor to "the language and plain intent of one of the terms of peace which the German Government has now accepted," that term being contained in the address which the President delivered at Mount Vernon on July 4th last and being as follows:—"The destruction of every arbitrary power anywhere that can separately, secretly, and of its single choice, disturb the peace of the world, or, if it cannot at present be destroyed, at least its reduction to virtual impotency." This term is a direct demand that, if Germany wants peace, the German people must agree to get rid of the Kaiser and his military party. This, the President emphatically tells the German Government, is the "fundamental matter" of "the whole process of peace." In short, President Wilson, speaking both for his own Government and the Allies, has warned Germany that the whole crux of the situation is that there must be an end to the autocracy which has enslaved her and been a menace to civilisation and humanity. This means the Kaiser must go.

Already reports are current that the Kaiser is prepared to abdicate and that Germany is ready to surrender to the Allies unconditionally. Whether events turn out accordingly or not, the War has reached a signal stage, which suggests hopeful reflections with reference to the future of civilisation. When for some time after the commencement of the War, the Government of the United States of America remained neutral and pursued its traditional policy of non-interference in the internal struggles of Europe, it seemed as though President Wilson would adhere

to the last to that policy. But events proved more powerful than American traditions and President Wilson, as the representative of "the New World," so skilfully educated his people that he was able to bring them at last to the side of the Allies to crush Kaiserism. Since then he has been the one prominent figure who has loomed large in the eyes of Europe in general and Germany in particular. Nearly a century and a half has elapsed, since the statesmen of the United States of America, who laid down the federal constitution for those States, spoke to the world, through one of their foremost figures—Alexander Hamilton—that whereas Europe had long considered herself the mistress of the world and regarded other nations as inferior, "it belongs to us to vindicate the honour of the human race and to teach that assuming brother, moderation." Judged by the light of the historic drama of the present in this world war with the wanton barbarities, spoliation, and other inhuman practices which have made Germany the enemy of mankind, that statement of the Federalists reads now as a prophecy which has come true. This Union of the "Old World" with the "New World" is perhaps the striking feature of this War and bodes immense good for the future of mankind and the interests of civilisation.

That feature becomes all the more striking when we study it by the light of another historic aspect. Who would have dreamt, much less expected, four years ago that America, the child of Britain, who nearly two hundred years ago separated from the Mother and nourished, since, as the tradition went, feelings of alienation towards her, would be drawn to her and ally her fate with the Mother-country in the interests of humanity and liberty? We know how events during the present war shaped themselves and gradually led the American people, under President Wilson's leadership, to cast in their lot with the British and their Allies. But to those who read history with deeper insight and trace the source of present events to the springs of what is called the remoter past, the union of England and America in this War has been the slow unseen growth of years anterior to the commencement of the War and President Wilson has been the personality to give a concrete form to that process. The common notion has prevailed due to the inaccurate narrations of contemporary historians and politicians that America separated from England and avowed her Declaration of Independence because of England's selfish policy towards her. But the researches of recent American historians have exploded that tradition and proved that England to the last sincerely strove to conciliate America. The ideas of the Declaration of Independence were borrowed by Jefferson who wrote it, from an English philosopher, and the Federalists, when they propounded their



Constitution, made no secret of their studied partiality in several respects for the British Constitution. The Americans had begun to draw nearer England by the light of that historical research long before the war commenced and the War has served as the master-event which has brought the two into closest relation. President Wilson is but the product of this evolution which was silently preparing the way for the union between the Old World of England and the New World of America.

That union, when war ends, will be for the betterment of the human race. The problems for the reconstruction of political, economic, and social deals, which the end of the War and the restoration of peace will inevitably bring will be more complicated than those which have vexed statesmen and nations during the war itself. The ideas that are now in the air, symbolised by such phrases as "the League of Nations," "democracy," "self-determination," "the reign of the producer rather than that of the profiteer," have given rise to new hopes and aspirations throughout the civilised world and they will have to be put into practice. India has shared in them and has been stirred by the new life. A new constitution, leading to the final realisation, by progressive stages, of full responsible Government within the British Empire has been solemnly promised and is now in course of becoming a fact. When it does become a fact and India learns under it, as Englishmen learnt by stages in the rough discipline of their growing constitution, "how best to use and how wisely to develop the latent powers of her national life, how to adjust the balances of her social and political forces, and to adapt her constitutional forms to the varying conditions of time," the people of this country will become worthy sharers in this awakened life of the New World.

### INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS.

BY MR. H. V. NANJUNDAYYA, O. I. E. M. A. M. L.  
(Continued from the issue of 22nd September 1918.)

#### PUBLIC SERVICES.

In the section dealing with the Public Services, the first point made out is that the Indian element has to be increased, not chiefly with the view of deferring to the oft-repeated expression of Indian opinion, but mainly because if responsible government is to be a reality, a much larger number of Indians should be trained in practical administration; and as "it would lessen the burden of Imperial responsibilities, if a body of a capable Indian administrators could be produced." With various limitations and cautions, the authors of the Report recommend that for the Civil Service recruitment should be made in India to the extent of 33 per cent of the vacancies, with an increase of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent every succeeding year. Taking into consideration the present practice, and the 25 per cent proportion recommended by the Public Service Commission, this should be regarded as a generous concession, and it is difficult to see why dissatisfaction should be expressed by the Indians about it. The percent-

age will come to fifty by the time of the first Parliamentary enquiry.

One of the things that have caused dissatisfaction on the score of racial preference is the difference in emoluments between Europeans and Indians doing the same kind of work. The distinction does not seem to be unreasonable to some extent, as the Europeans who serve in a distant foreign place have many disadvantages and have to meet many charges from which the natives of the country are free. If we expect to obtain the same quality in both cases, the Englishman would justly expect a higher remuneration than the Indian. But it would be invidious and unjust to give him a higher rank and status merely on this ground. The best way of dealing with the problem would be to lay down the same scale as the standard for each class of posts, but to add allowances to persons whose domicile is in Europe. In the case of pensions also, the normal scale should be the same for the same class of posts, whether held by Indians or Europeans, and any increase required to get the proper kind of men from recruitment in England should be given on the contributory basis, the contributions being got out of the "Europe" allowances given to them. This in effect seems to be the view of the joint report. In fixing the standard scale at Indian rates, it should be remembered, that the standard of living of an Indian is not much lower than though it is of a different kind from that of a European of a similar rank and status. Of course there is a certain self regarding bias in such adjustments based mainly on the representations of the persons whose interests are concerned, which should be resisted in fixing the salaries of the different public posts.

#### ECONOMIC POLICY.

The Report endorses what has been the prevailing opinion of Indian Economists, that English theories as to the appropriate limits of the State's activity are inapplicable to India; and that if the resources of the country are to be developed, the Government must take action. The disadvantages to the country on account of her backwardness in industries are clearly brought out, and it is shown that progress in the direction of industrial development is as beneficial to the empire at large as to India itself. There are however no definite proposals for action, and a hope is expressed that, when the fiscal relations of all parts of the Empire and the rest of the world should be considered after the war, India will be adequately represented in the Conference.

Whatever may be the attitude of the Government of India in respect of the correct economic policy—and it has usually been favourable to this country—it is easy to see that this is the one item of the relation between the ruling nation and its dependency which is most difficult to settle in favour of the latter. There can be little doubt that commercial advantages of such connection are much more important and bulk much more largely in the eyes of the English Constituencies that create the Parliament, than political power or official patronage. India owes a great deal of its prosperity to English Capital, but English Capital is not invested there



from philanthropic motives. If, as for example in gold mining, English capitalists pay large royalties to Government and employ a number of Indians (chiefly as labourers on small wages), it should not be forgotten that they carry away many times the wealth they spend and leave the country permanently deprived of its natural wealth. It is something that the truth of the pregnant saying of Ranade quoted in Paragraph 331 is recognised; but it would do little good to the country unless, in course of time, the Economic policy of the country is left to be determined mainly in the sole interests of the country, whether by a responsible government, or by the government of India however constituted, without being governed by the mandate of the British Government based on a consideration of party exigencies in that Country.

#### NATIVE STATES.

The general position of the relation between the Government of India and the Native States is summed up as follows :

“The states are guaranteed security from without; the Paramount Power acts for them in relation to foreign Powers and other States, and it intervenes when the internal peace of their territories is seriously threatened. On the other hand, the States’ relation to foreign powers are those of the Paramount Power : they share the obligation for the common defence ; and they are under a general responsibility for the good government and welfare of their territories.” (Para 296).

The only remark that has to be made on this passage is, whether it is, strictly speaking, accurate to say that the States share the obligation for the common defence, if, as it should be, such an obligation has to be deduced from treaties and engagements. When a necessity of such supreme moment as that of the present war arises, the States are not likely to restrict their services to the bare legal minimum. But if the obligation is not laid on them by the treaties entered into with them, they seem to be entitled to the credit of giving cheerful and voluntary aid to the Paramount Power in its hour of need. The British Government has acknowledged the services and the Report also bears witness to the value of the help rendered.

It is premised that the indiscriminate way in which the term “NATIVE STATES” has been employed in the past, may have tended to obscure distinctions of status, and it is proposed to draw a definite line separating the Rulers who enjoy full powers of internal administration from the others. This no doubt is a very necessary process. It would also tend to improve matters a good deal, if a further attempt is made to demarcate States which have resources enough to provide themselves with the necessary minima of facilities for conducting the administration of their territories in a fairly efficient manner, from those whose scanty revenues will not allow them to employ a fairly satisfactory agency for administration, or to embark on any works or schemes of public utility. The treatment accorded to the different States should be commensurate with the position they occupy in these respects. •

The proposals made in the Report for the benefit (apparently of the States enjoying full powers of administration) are the following :

#### (1) A permanent Council of Princes.

This is apparently proposed in answer to a demand from a considerable number of them, though as the Report has it, ‘some of the most eminent among them have not taken part in the Conferences of 1916 and 1917.’ The functions of such a Council are only vaguely defined in general terms, and it may be doubted whether there will be much work of any importance for them, especially when it is assumed that “the direct transactions between the Government of India and any State, would, of course, not be affected by the institution of the Council.” This is to be a consultative body, to which the Viceroy will refer questions which concern the Empire as a whole, or which affect the States generally or the States and British India in common. There are conceivable cases and circumstances in which such a body may be of some service to the smaller States in enhancing their prestige and adding some force to their representation in matters affecting themselves ; but larger States whose accession does not of necessity bring any advantage to them in these respects may well reserve their choice to enter into the conclave for some years, till it is seen how it would work in practice.

(2). The Council of Princes will be invited annually to appoint a small Standing Committee to advise the Government of India particularly in matters of custom and usage. This body would serve a useful purpose occasionally, as assessors invited to help the decision of a case, with the consent of both the parties concerned.

(3)—(a). It is proposed to appoint Commissions on which both parties are represented, to enquire into and report to the Viceroy on disputes which may arise between States or between a State and the British Government. If the Viceroy does not accept the finding of such a Committee, the matter should be referred to the Secretary of State. It would be an improvement if the reference is not left solely to the discretion of the Viceroy, but is made at the choice of either party in defined matter of importance.

(3).—(b) The appointment of a Commission to enquire into cases of misconduct, is apparently agreed to in answer to the demand made by some Princes. Such occasions can only occur as very rare exceptions to the usual course of relations between the Paramount and Feudatory States, and it may be questioned whether it is in keeping with the dignity of States to ask that such a rule should be embodied in written law.

(4). Direct relations with the Government of India in respect of all the important States do not mean that the States correspond directly with the Political Secretary to Government, but that there should be only one Political Officer between them and the Government of India. In some cases, it may be expedient to keep up the relation between States and Provincial Governments, but the latter should in such matters act as agents of the Government of India. This is, as shown in the report, almost a logical necessity with the advent of responsible Government in the Provinces. Its



practical effect however is not likely to be much, beyond accelerating business to some extent and giving some more prestige to the States which are brought into nearer relations with the Central Government.

(To be continued.)

### DEATH OF MR. KRISHNA NATARAJAN.

#### INFECTION DURING RELIEF WORK.

We deeply regret to announce the death from influenza which took place on Wednesday afternoon, of Mr. Krishna Natarajan, son of Mr. Natarajan, Editor of the "Indian Social Reformer." Mr. Krishna had just completed his M-B Course in the Grant Medical College, and was to have appeared for the final examinations next month.

Mr. N. M. Joshi, of the Social Service League, writes to the papers in this connection:—Mr. Krishna Natarajan was a fine example of the spirit of social service, which is inspiring so many of our youths of the present day. When the Social Service League started its relief work in connection with the present influenza epidemic he was one of the few who promptly volunteered their services to go amongst the poor to help. Those of us who knew him were aware that whenever he took up any work of service he would put his heart and soul into it and even risk his life. As he was a senior student of the Grant Medical College he was given charge of the dispensary at the Workmen's Institute at Lower Parel. He worked daily from 8 in the morning till 6 in the evening and visited poor patients in their homes and attended to the minutest details of nursing and medical help. The poor he treated got soon attached to him and his co-workers could not but admire his courage, and kindness and the risk he ran. So devoted was he to duty that though he had a little fever on the day previous to that on which he took to bed owing to high fever, he left Bandra where he resided as usual at 8 a.m. and did his relief work. He has died bravely doing his duty and is an example to us all.

#### THE LATE MR. KRISHNA NATARAJAN.

We desire to express our deep sympathy with Mr. K. Natarajan, Editor of the "Indian Social Reformer", the death of whose son, after a very brief illness, occurred on Wednesday. Mr. Krishna Natarajan, as described by Mr. N. M. Joshi in the communication which appears in another column, had been working with whole-hearted zeal and ungrudging devotion in the relief work of the Social Service League in the present epidemic, and was himself attacked by the disease with fatal result. His was an inspiring example of that sense of civic duty and social service which is such a splendid feature of the young India of to-day in Bombay and has been notably displayed during the black days of suffering that have recently overtaken the City and the whole Presidency, the loss of such a public spirited and zealous young man is the grief of which is shared with his distinguished father by the whole community.—The *Bombay Chronicle*.

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

## CONTENTS.

—:0:—

A Sensible Step.	Lord Sydenham's Solatium.
"The Saturday Review" on India.	Indian Constitutional Reforms.
The Influenza in Bombay.	Death.
The Woman's Cause.	

## NOTES.

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**A Sensible Step.** A Press Note issued on the 12th October announces that His Excellency the Governor of Bombay in Council has resolved to cancel the resolution of that Government (No. 49 of 6th January 1909) requiring all superior servants to make a solemn declaration of loyalty upon entering the service of Government. As a corollary to this decision, the orders of Government relating to the taking of similar declarations from teachers in aided schools and colleges are hereby cancelled simultaneously.

**"The Saturday Review" on India.** The *Saturday Review* wrote as follows recently:—"We need India for trade. Let us realise that having won our position by the sword, we have been compelled to maintain it by the sheathed sword to save India and ourselves from the perils of racial and religious wars....We can so easily undermine our position, bring ruin on the country we are in honour bound to protect and in our own interests bound to retain in the interests of commerce." Commenting on the above, the *Bombay Chronicle* remarks that the *Review* "had dragged in 'racial and religious wars, the familiar and time-dishonoured idea of all reactionaries', merely because it would have looked so selfish and revolting 'to talk only of British trade interests.'" Perhaps the best answer to the *Saturday Review* is contained in what it wrote in 1857. We give the extract:—"Why in the world should an 'open' Council of resident Europeans pretend to Govern India?...What right has a man to rule an immense and populous country because it happens to have selected it as a field for speculation? Is an adventure in indigo-planting or an expedition to a hot latitude in search of briefs to entitle every chance Englishman to share in the most prodigious oligarchy which the world will have seen? Such a Government...would mismanage because it would be too busy with its commercial speculation; it would job because its interest in India would by the assumption be sordid and personal and it would owe to the mere privilege of race an unnatural authority which it neither deserved nor has." This was said by the *Saturday Review* in opposing a proposal made in 1857 that the Government of India should have a representative elected Council of European Merchants and barristers to guide the administration.

**The Influenza in Bombay.** The influenza epidemic in Bombay is steadily going down. The deaths

dropped to 162 on Thursday, the lowest figure recorded since the 12th September last. In about a week, we may expect the mortality to reach the normal level. There is a talk in some quarters of a probable recrudescence in a month or two. Whether we are going to have it or not, we earnestly hope that the present relief organizations will not be completely closed. A permanent nucleus should be maintained which can be expanded when occasion arises without undue delay. We are glad that the Social Service League is extending its operations to the districts where the need is urgent. We should not omit to refer to the admirable work done by the Humanitarian League whose travelling dispensaries have been of the greatest use. The Health Officer of the Bombay Municipal Corporation writes:—"It has given me much pleasure to see the admirable work done by the Humanitarian League. It is really a well-organised business and the advantage of the Mobile Dispensary is very great. The distribution of medicine and milk and financial help to the poor goes a long way to remove the chance of a fatal issue. The greatest benefit, however, in my opinion, is the manner in which the people are approached and the confidence inspired. Work of this kind is bound to be of the greatest help to the people and the Health Department will feel that in future epidemics they can appeal with confidence to the Humanitarian League whenever it is required."

**The Woman's Cause.** After over a century of hard struggle, the Woman's cause is making rapid way everywhere. The women of the United States of America celebrated on August 13th, 10th birthday of Lucy Stone the pioneer of the woman's rights movement in America. She was the first Massachusetts woman to take a college degree (at Oberlin, Ohio, in 1848), and she began her public work for equal suffrage five years before Susan B. Anthony entered the movement. The *Public* of New York announces in the same issue that the Secretary for Labour, Mr. Wilson, has appointed Miss Florence C. Thorn assistant director of the Workings Condition Service in the Department of Labor, whose function is to examine into the working conditions in war industries, determine the standards that should be maintained, and adopt rules and means for enforcing such standards. The appointment of Miss Thorn, who is a graduate of the University of Chicago, to such a responsible position, adds our contemporary, encourages the women of organized labor to think the Federal Government is coming to take a broader view than formerly. A Reuter's telegram last week states that the House of Commons has passed a resolution by 274 votes to 25 that a Bill should be passed forthwith making women eligible as Members of Parliament. We trust that no reservations against women as women will be made in the extension of the franchise in the coming constitutional reforms in this country. Women must be entitled to vote for and to sit in the Legislature on the same terms as men.



# INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, OCTOBER 27, 1918.

## LORD SYDENHAM'S SOLATIUM.

The Indo-British Association of London, of which Lord Sydenham, late Governor of Bombay, is the President, and Mr. S. M. Edwardes, late Commissioner of Police of this City, is the Secretary, has at last come out with its constructive proposals of Indian reform, instead of merely resting satisfied with its out and out hostility to the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme. The publication of those proposals at this moment, especially after the debate on Mr. Montagu's scheme about two months ago both in the House of Commons and in the House of Lords affords clear indication that the Association, headed by Lord Sydenham, has perceived the hopelessness of maintaining that the Indian administration requires no change and that if the association is to carry any weight and kill Mr. Montagu's reforms it must suggest a counter scheme as a sop to the British public which is serious and sincere in its desire to meet India's claims to responsible Government. The debate in both the Houses was, upon the whole, friendly to the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme. Lord Sydenham's destructive criticism of it in the House of Lords—judging from reliable reports—seems to have fallen flat on the ear of that House. British public opinion as reflected by the Press, barring a few newspapers has also taken kindly to the fundamental principles and proposals of Mr. Montagu. The Indo-British Association would therefore appear to have felt compelled by the stress of circumstances to show to the British public that it is not a reactionary body, unwilling to move with the times. That, to our mind, is the explanation of the present move on the part of the Association. But it is a clumsy move. A careful analysis of the facts of its genesis ought to exhibit to even the most unwary the cloven foot of the Association. The scheme first appeared as "a specific suggestion" in a leading article of the *London Spectator* of July 13 last—only five days after the publication of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. That paper, writing in the same number on that Report, subjected it to very severely hostile criticism, and propounded an alternative scheme, the main point of which was that the Government of India should select some portion of India in which the population is as far as possible homogeneous in race and creed, and whose inhabitants, owing to their general development and intellectual vigour, appear fairly capable of self-government and that in this area, instead of installing a Prince, a Native Republic should be installed subject to the guidance of a Political Officer. This scheme, which thus originated with the *Spectator* a very few days after the appearance of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report has now been adopted by the Indo-British Association. We call special attention to this fact of the parentage of the Association's scheme, because thereby hangs a tale, with a prominent moral.

For one thing, let it be noted that the *Spectator* was founded by one of the two Missionaries of

Serampore, who, during the Mutiny of 1857 and for some years after, edited the *Friend of India*, and were strongly prejudiced against Indians. That prejudice has all along marked the *Spectator* in its writings on Indian questions. For another thing, when the *Spectator*, in opposing the Montagu Scheme as "a deplorable State Paper", causing a "sense of disgust" shows great anxiety for the future of the poor and helpless masses of India for whom it thinks the British are Trustees, we should not forget its traditional policy of old with reference to the poor masses of its own British people. As Mr. Pease in his History of the Fabian Society has pointed out, the *Spectator* used not many years ago to be horrified at "the theory that it is the duty of the State to make the poor comfortable" and that on the ground that "to do so would be to begin to tamper with the natural conditions." The poor are born to live and die poor, that is their lot,—that used to be in effect the *Spectator's* gospel. It has no doubt shed its old narrow creed because the march of democracy in England has proceeded too long and disillusioned it, but the *Spectator's* old illusion, against Asiatics still lives, for in the very article in which it propounds its scheme of Indian Reform which the Indo-British Association has now adopted, it says that democracy is "the only sound government for the white races of the world," and "does not and never will agree with the Asiatic." In the same strain in which some years ago it used to preach that to make the poor even of its own country comfortable was a sacrilege against the conditions in which Nature had placed them, it now condemns Mr. Montagu's scheme because it thinks that scheme tampers with what it thinks are the natural conditions of Indians as Asiatics. Coming from such a questionable source with such antecedents of doubtful sympathy for the poor and helpless masses of India as well as of Great Britain, the Indo-British Association's scheme naturally arouses suspicion.

The truth is that the scheme is in substance the revival in a respectable form of a stock phrase which one used to hear frequently some 20 or 30 years ago from some high Anglo-Indian officials and merchants and read in some of the Anglo-Indian papers, whenever Indian political Associations first and the Indian National Congress afterwards criticised the administration and claimed political rights. We are old enough to remember, for instance, that when the political life of Bombay was led by the three most prominent Indians of their time—Mr. Telang, Mr. (afterwards Sir) Pherozeshah Mehta and Mr. Badrudin Tyabji,—and they used in their speeches and writings to plead with fervour for their country's cause and give fervid expression to their sense of India's political aspiration, their Anglo-Indian critics were often heard to remark in words such as these:—"The best way to dispel the delusions of these three demagogues,—a Hindu, a Parsee and a Mahomedan,—is to place them in independent charge of some district and within six months they will fly at each other's



throat and the people of the district will fly to the British Government to rid them of these visionaries." This stock phrase with the idea underlying it, is not heard so constantly now as 30 years ago but it has not died out. And the Indo-British Association under the old-fashioned *Spectator's* inspiration, has given it by their scheme a decent covering to prejudice the British public against the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme of reform. We cannot think, with these facts of the genesis of the Association's scheme before us, that they have proposed their scheme because they have faith in it or have genuine sympathy for the Indian people. The presumption rather is that they have proposed it because they hate Mr. Montagu's scheme and the educated classes—the Intellectuals, as they call them—of India.

And on the merits, what does the scheme of the Association come to after all? One of the principal points made by Lord Sydenham, who has been perhaps the most prolific writer and speaker in England among the bitterest opponents of Mr. Montagu's scheme, is that that scheme is complicated and cumbrous. The *Spectator's* scheme, which he and his Association would substitute for Mr. Montagu's looks no doubt simpler, but it is simple because it is so crude. When the Government of India was in 1858 transferred from the East India Company to the Crown, one of the stock arguments of some of the opponents of the change was that the new constitution was too complicated and cumbrous for the needs of India. All constitutions which have made progressive changes in civilised countries with more or less vast populations have been of necessity complicated and cumbrous. The crudity of the Indo-British Association's scheme lies in the fact that it ignores the leading purpose which alone justifies morally the British rule in India. That purpose is to unite the people of India into one political whole as a nation, instead of parcelling them out, whether for the purposes of an experiment in self-government or otherwise into separate units. If that is a sentiment, it must be remembered that, according to the best authorities of the present day on Constitution making, one of the leading features of modern thought to which statesmen have to give effect is the increasing importance of the emotional side of human nature, embodied in such current expressions as nationalism. But to this Lord Sydenham and his followers would say, as they do say, that Indian nationalism and the ideal of the Unity of India are merely a vain dream at present of a handful of the Indian intellectuals, who are wide apart from and without any influence over or sympathy for the Indian Masses, who have no political instincts and do not care who governs them so long as they are governed justly.

In answering Lord Sydenham, we would ask him to look certain facts squarely in the face. For the purposes of that answer we will not miss the argument from history, that during the American Revolution two-thirds of the population of the United States of America—the masses—were indifferent, that the remaining one-third was made up of the intellectuals

divided into Loyalists and Patriots, and that the Patriots who were less in number than the Loyalists, by their political agitations so educated the two-thirds of the masses as to make their creed the creed of the country. In Canada, as Lord Durham's Report points out, before the grant of self-government, the country consisted of "two nations warring in the bosom of a single State"; the *habitants* or peasantry, who were long uninterested in politics and utterly unfitted for franchise, were led by a minority of intellectuals who were either doctors or lawyers. Adam Smith, who contributed materially by his economic writings to the colonising system of England traced the alienation of the United States to its source when he advised England to avoid the Revolution; that England must provide for some scope for what he called "the importance of the leading men of the Colony beyond the present petty prizes".

These are no doubt foreign analogies. But what has happened and what is happening in India? The Masses,—politically ignorant and indifferent—are they not yielding slowly to the teaching of the minority of Intellectuals? If they are not, why are public meetings on certain public questions prohibited? Why pass and modify laws from time to time as to sedition? What is the meaning of what we all read the other day as a fact reported in the papers that when a certain Indian intellectual who is being prosecuted for sedition at Madura came out of the trying Magistrate's court and got into his carriage, twenty thousand people crowded about him to give him an ovation? We will not enlarge that list of facts. Lord Sydenham and his followers may ostrich-like bury their heads under the sand and wax eloquent about their sympathy for the masses and their hatred of the Indian intellectuals. But after all it is dangerous to ignore the intellectuals of any country. It is said not until and unless the masses demand self-government, should the British concede it to India merely because the Intellectuals shout loud for it. May we ask—What is the outward and visible sign of such a demand? When in 1879 Sir George Trevelyan made his motion in the House of Commons for household suffrage, Mr. Lowe opposed it on the ground that there was no demand for it. He was questioned: What is the test of such a demand? He replied that the Government ought to wait for a Civil War and "then it might be wise to concede somewhat." Lord Randolph Churchill got up from his seat and said that he would not wait for a Civil War but would be content with "popular tumults" and would yield when nothing more serious than a disturbance in Hyde Park with "broken windows and broken heads" occurred.

Lord Sydenham and his Association without knowing it are teaching a dangerous lesson to the Indian Intellectuals and Masses and hence—with all respect to them—we say that the policy they are pursuing is revolutionary. We write candidly because the reality of the situation of India must be faced with that courage and sympathy which we expect of the



true British spirit. Lord Sydenham and his followers unfortunately are the victims of worn-out catchwords and hence they are a danger to the Empire.

### INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS.

[By MR. H. V. NANJUNDAYYA, C. I. E. M. A. M. L.]  
(Concluded from the last issue).

(5). The last proposal is concerned with the means of bringing about a joint deliberation of common matters between the Government of India and the States. This is meant to be done by using the Council of State and the Privy Council when created, as the machinery for the purpose. Certain questions in which the States are interested, are to be referred, as already stated, to the Council of Princes. It is thought that it would be possible 'for the Viceroy, when he thought fit, to arrange for joint deliberation and discussion between the Council of State and the Council of Princes, or between representatives of each body.' It is also suggested that officials and non-officials of Native States may be eligible to be appointed to the Privy Council of India. Unless some way is found to make the result of a joint deliberation effective, it is difficult to see what appreciable good the joint deliberation will do. There is no indication in the report that any effect will be given to the conclusion arrived at, in such joint deliberation.

On the whole, it may be doubted whether the scheme which has apparently been formulated at the desire of certain rulers of States, will bring much practical good, or change in any appreciable manner, the present relations between the Government of India and the Native States. Its main object seems to be to prevent a feeling among the rulers of the States, that they are left out, when large changes are being brought into force in British India. But the only conceivable way in which a closer relation can be established is by a system of federation in some form or other. The illustrious authors of the Report observe on this matter; 'Looking ahead to the future, we can picture India to ourselves, only as presenting the external resemblance of some form of federation.' But they have no desire to force the pace.

So far as the people of the Indian States are concerned, there can be no two opinions about the manner in which they are altogether left out of consideration. This may not matter much in a very few of the States, where already, the new model of government is adopted and constitutional practice if not constitutional laws have in greater or less degree established themselves. But the majority of the States are in such condition that if left to themselves and to the reaction of British Indian progress on them, they will take at least 50 to 100 years before they can hope to reach the stage of their neighbours at present. There is no doubt something in the remark contained in the report that "it would be a strange reward for loyalty and devotion to force new ideas upon those who did not desire them," but it must not be forgotten who really bear the burden of this loyalty

and devotion. There can be no harm whatever in creating incentives and safeguards for progress in the interests of the people of these States, who contribute equally with the inhabitants of British India to aid the Paramount Power in its need. I have elsewhere described at some length the various ways in which the Indian States may be made to come into line with British Indian Provinces. The least that could have been expected, if the object of the illustrious Authors of the report was to advance the interests of the large number of voiceless people in the Indian States instead of pleasing the few rulers who made their demands heard, was that more intimate relations with British Indian Government would be granted to these States in proportion as the British Indian ideals and standards of Government and administration were reached by them. The Report admits that "the matters common to the British Provinces are also to a great extent those in which the Native States are interested—defence, tariffs, exchange, opium, salt, railways and posts and telegraphs. The gradual concentration of the Government of India upon such matters will therefore make it easier for the States, while retaining the autonomy which they cherish in internal matters, to enter into closer relation with the central government if they wish to do so."

If the States wish to enter into such relations the objection of interference in each other's affairs will be, to a great extent, rendered meaningless. An offer may at once be made to admit States that agree to restrictions implied by this sort of federalism, to allow them to send members to the Imperial Council of State. Those that do not wish to do so or that do not deserve to be admitted into such closer relation will have no right to complain of their exclusion; and they will vie with each other to attain such position by improvements in their ideas and achievements.

### GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

In Chapter V of the report is given a masterly analysis of the working of the Supreme and Provincial Councils constituted under the Morley-Minto Scheme of reform. It is shown that the Scheme was hailed at the time as an important departure in ideals of Government and a boon of great political value and greater promise for future amelioration, and Mr. Gokhale's appreciation is quoted. After only a short period of seven years of working, it is stated that though the Councils have done much better work than might appear to some of their critics, they have ceased to satisfy Indian opinion, and that their continuance can lead only to further estrangement, and the further growth of criticism unchecked by responsibility. The comment quoted with approval in Para 121 of the report sets forth in forcible language the urgent need for a new departure, starting with the premises that "we should make up our mind either to rule ourselves, or to let the people rule" and that a return to sheer despotism is impossible. Such outspoken criticism of an important measure of Government by its successor is very usual, and would not have been published but for the exigency of the time, and the resolve of the Government to carry out the



expectations which would inevitably be raised. It would in my opinion show the greatest folly on the part of those who are working for greater political liberties, not to recognise the value of this declaration of Policy and to minimise the importance of the Scheme which as an admittedly transitory arrangement, is liable to attacks from both sides.

### DEATH.

Oh death, our friend, throughout a million years  
Thou hast built up the progress of our race.  
Ten thousand times ten thousand deaths have gone  
To make one life of all the countless lives  
The million million lives that populate  
Our earth in teeming multitude today.  
Thou art our friend, the builder up of life,  
Preserver, not destroyer of our mind,  
Through whom things base and outworn yield  
their place

To things more fitted to the future's need.  
Thou givest man his soul; in flouting thee  
Consists his courage; in contempt of thee  
The bravest and the noblest earn their name.  
Thou art the basis, death, whereon are built  
The qualities that sever man from brute.  
Thou art the stuff of life whereof is formed  
The living body and the eternal soul.  
Thou art the ladder, whereby men may rise  
To heights o'er-topping their own destiny.  
Through thee, as through a shining gate, oh  
death,

We enter life eternal, there to dwell  
In glory of communion absolute  
Joined unto God Himself. Through thee at last  
We put on perfect freedom. All the chains  
Of selfhood are cast loose. In thee we know  
As we are known. No shadow dims the light  
Of fellowship with all the blessed dead.  
In fullest comprehension we behold  
Through thee the plan divine, and contemplate  
The deep strong purpose of creation's scheme.  
Dwelling in God for ever we are joined  
With golden intimacy to the friends  
On earth we best had loved. In thee our souls  
Are wed to our beloved evermore,  
United in a mutual life, that knows  
No bar to utter loss of self in self.  
Then shall we not, with praise and solemn joy  
Welcome thy summons, and go forth to live?

J. H.

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

## CONTENTS.

—:0:—

The First All-India Liberal Conference.	Bombay and Constitutional Reform.
Small Holdings in India.	War and Indian Prices.
A Remedy for Spanish Influenza.	Hindoo Undertakers and Crematoriums.
Government and Sanitation.	

## NOTES.

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**The First All-India Liberal Conference.** As previously announced the All-India Liberal Conference to accord its considered support to the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme of constitutional reform, met in Bombay on Friday. Sir Dinshah Wacha, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcomed the delegates in a short and able address at the end of which he suggested a permanent organisation for the liberal party in Indian politics. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, in proposing the Hon. Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee to the presidential chair, re-called the fact that the idea of the Indian National Congress, originated with Mr. Banerjee. The Presidential address was fully worthy of the veteran Indian patriot and of the occasion. It was a masterly presentation of the position of the Indian Liberals and we especially appreciate the earnest and eloquent conclusion, when the President pointed out that Indian politics had entered on a new phase and demanded new qualities in the workers. "The work of propagandism is well-nigh finished;" said Mr. Banerjee, "that was the achievement of the old era. The work of construction will be the distinct portion of the children of the new age. To that task you and I must address ourselves. The political enthusiast who has roused the feelings of his countrymen and has created the most stupendous transformation in modern India, to whom all honour is due, must now give place to the practical statesman. Comparing great things with small, we have had Indian Mazzinis, without Mazzini's revolutionary ideals, appealing to their countrymen with impassioned fervour to rally round the banner of Indian constitutional freedom; but now we want Indian Cavours, who, aided by the genius for construction, will lead us on through wary, steady and progressive stages, without disturbance, without dislocation, with due regard to existing conditions to the final goal of full and complete autonomy. That is the great work before you, the mission of the present age, the legacy which it has received from the past. No reaction, no revolution; but steady, continuous, unbroken progress broadening from precedent to precedent, until, we have become equal partners in the great Confederacy of free states, rejoicing in their indissoluble union with England and the Empire. There are the electorates to be created, filled with citizens, manly, loyal and patriotic, inspired with a true sense of

their civic rights and obligations, safe-guarded by the strongest of all safe-guards, the bulwark of responsible public life against the gusts of wild ideals, pestilential in their fury and disastrous in their consequences. For this great work we need all the patriotic enthusiasm, all the capacity for self-sacrifice, all the moderation and self-restraint we have shown in the past".

**Small Holdings in India.** The current number of *Journal* of the Indian Economic Society, concludes a thoughtful and suggestive series of articles by Mr. Bhimrao R. Ambedkar on "Small Holdings in India and their Remedies." Mr. Ambedkar effectively criticises the superficial views often expressed on the subject. He examines the various factors that make for economic production in agriculture, and pertinently observes: "Can we not say with more propriety that not only the existing equipment is inadequate for the enlarged holdings but that the existing holdings, small as they are, are too big for the available instruments of production other than land? Facts such as these interpreted in the light of our theory force upon us the conclusion that the existing holdings are uneconomic, not, however, in the sense that they are too small but that they are too large. Shall we therefore argue that the existing holdings should be further reduced in size with a view to render them economic in the sense in which we have used the term? For, from our premises we can with perfect logic and even with more cogency argue for increase in agricultural stock and implements which in turn will necessitate enlarged holdings which will be economic holdings as well. Consequently the remedy for the ills of agriculture in India does not lie primarily in the matter of enlarging holdings but in the matter of increasing capital and capital goods. That capital arises from saving and that saving is possible where there is surplus is a commonplace of political economy. Does our agriculture—the mainstay of our population—give us any surplus? We agree with the answer which is unanimously in the negative. We also approve of the remedies that are advocated for turning the deficit economy into a surplus economy, namely by enlarging and consolidating the holdings. What we demur to is the method of realizing this object. For we most strongly hold that the evil of small holdings in India is not fundamental but is derived from the parent evil of the mal-adjustment in her social economy. Consequently if we wish to effect a permanent cure we must go to the parent malady."

**A Remedy for Spanish Influenza.** A Reuter's telegram from Amsterdam says that a doctor writing in a Viennese medical journal says that Spanish sickness is due to streptococcus bacillus which can be destroyed by the injection of sublimate. Twenty-two cases of inflammation of lungs have thus been successfully treated.



# INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, NOVEMBER 3, 1918.

## GOVERNMENT AND SANITATION.

The letter addressed by the Government of India to the Local Governments on the subject of Sanitation, coming as it does in the midst of a virulent epidemic which is devastating the country, is disappointing. We are told that the failure of the Government of India to cope with the problems of public health in this country is due to the intimate connection of sanitary measures with the domestic habits of the villages, the ignorance and prejudice of the people, the want of funds for the organisation of public health, and the competing claims of education and medical relief on local resources, the danger attending the introduction of a low paid inspecting agency, and the opposition to measures of public health which any undue oppression or harassment must necessarily arouse. For these reasons, it is added, the Government of India have always inculcated caution and patience in dealing with the question of rural sanitation and have recommended the restriction of such action as might be taken to a few simple measures. There are conspicuous instances in which the Government of India have not allowed even greater difficulties than those they mention to influence their policy. Apart from that, there are some things which Government might have done and ought to have done without in any way interfering with the habits and prejudices of the people, which they have not done. The real explanation is, as was pointed out in a series of articles which appeared in these columns comparing the course of Legislation in England and in India during the last ten years, the Government of India has had very little talent or inclination for measures of constructive statesmanship calculated to raise the moral and material condition of the people. Even in this letter the one idea that strikes the Government is that a large establishment should be created as the first step towards promoting rural sanitation.

All this, it seems to us, is entirely beside the point. Whatever the ignorance and the prejudices of the people are, they are not such as to prevent them from resorting to medical help, if it is available, in times of epidemic, as has been fully demonstrated by the experience of voluntary organisations in the present influenza epidemic in Bombay and elsewhere. The universal cry has been that neither medicine nor medical advice was available in the villages. The people have been only too eager to avail themselves of any assistance that was sent to them by voluntary agencies. We are sorry we can only describe the helplessness of Government in the matter of public health as discreditable. What is especially reprehensible is that while their own organisation is utterly inadequate, Government have by their policy very nearly extinguished the old indigenous hakims

and vaidas who, whatever their drawbacks, had for centuries been providing cheap and not altogether ineffective medical assistance to the people. We are afraid that the ambitious scheme of the Sanitary Commissioners accompanying the letter of the Government of India, will take many years to be introduced. In the first place, for many years to come the country will be crippled financially, and if Sanitary organisation was found costly in the pre-war days it is not likely to be any the less costly after the war. Then, again the few existing Medical Colleges and Schools cannot turn out the men necessary to fill all the posts within the next 25 years. Our own view is that, following Lady Willingdon's sagacious policy with regard to indigenous *dais*, Government should utilise and encourage the indigenous vaidas and hakims who alone can be expected to live in rural areas and minister to the wants of the rural population. The attitude of Government towards the indigenous medical art and profession should be radically altered. The blind antagonism and prejudice which regards the Indian systems as quackery and the indigenous doctors as quacks should be abandoned. The Indian sanitary reformer no more than the Indian social reformer, can aspire to write on a clean slate. That way madness lies.

## BOMBAY AND CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM.

The Report of the Committee of non-official members of the Bombay Legislative Council, formed to consider the question of reserved and transferred subjects under the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme, has been published. The Committee is of opinion that there should be no reserved subjects and that full responsible government should be introduced in this Presidency as soon as the reform scheme comes into operation. The Committee bases its claim that full administrative control should be immediately granted to this Presidency on cogent grounds. It points to the very great advance which education has made in Bombay. There are Colleges providing for the higher education of students in each of the main divisions of the Presidency, affiliated to the University of Bombay. The percentage of children, particularly of girls attending school, is higher than in any other Province. The recent enactment of a measure providing for compulsory education in Municipal areas marks the first step towards the eradication of illiteracy in this Presidency. The Committee proceeds to say, "No less important a ground is the great commercial development which has characterised Bombay in the last fifty years. Our port is one of the leading ports of the Empire. Our merchants are known for their enterprise and success in every part of the globe. This commercial development has been shared in by men of all communities and the harmonious and successful co-operation of Parsi, Hindn, Mahomedan and European in commercial enterprise is a sufficient guarantee of the ability and the knowledge required for efficient local administration. We have



long been recognised as politically the most advanced of the Indian provinces, and a feature of this political development has been the harmonious co-operation of officials and non-officials. The Legislative Council of the Governor of Bombay has been worked, since the Morley-Minto reforms were introduced, with a non-official majority. The efficient working of the Bombay Municipality is a standing example of our success in the work of local self-government. Finally, we would point to the absence of serious communal difficulties in this Presidency. The co-operation of men of all communities in industrial and commercial development has evolved a consciousness of mutual interest which overrides all religious and racial distinctions." Other reasons may also be cited to show that this Presidency should be among the first to obtain the largest measure of responsible Government at the earliest opportunity. In fact, we do not think there is any difference of opinion on that point.

The Montagu-Chelmsford Report lays down that "the extent to which responsibility can be transferred is related to the nature and extent of the electorate which will be available in any particular province". That is to say, the more completely satisfactory and representative the electorate devisable in a province, the larger the responsibility that can be transferred to it. The question therefore is what is the electorate that we can devise for this Presidency. In this respect also we think Bombay stands in an exceptionally advantageous position. Our population though large is not unwieldy. The total population of the Bombay Presidency excluding Native States is under 20 millions. The population under the age of 21, the present age limit for voters, is about 9 millions so that the population from whom the electorate has to be carved out numbers about 11 millions. If women are excluded from the electorate, this will still further be reduced to under 6 millions. But we cannot imagine the adoption of such a narrow, reactionary policy in this Presidency. Not only advanced social reformers but even elderly conservative gentlemen in this Presidency are agreed on this point. The Hon. Mr. P. A. Desai of Bijapur, who is far from being a hot-headed radical, proposes, we understand, to move the following resolution at the meeting of the Bombay Legislative Council next week: "This Council recommends to H. E. the Governor in Council that early steps should be taken to remove the disqualification by the amendment of section 16 of the city of Bombay Municipal Act III of 1888 which prevents females from sitting on the Corporation." Having regard to the strenuous efforts which the women of this Presidency have, with little encouragement from Government, made to obtain education for themselves in all stages, and the admirable social and humanitarian work they are doing in many parts of this Presidency, it would be nothing less than a scandal if they are excluded from the electorates in any scheme of Constitutional Reform. We hope no importance will be attached to the possible objection that to give votes to women will add to the number of voters of the progressive sections of the community. The com-

munities which, realising that social reform is the sure foundation of political progress, have begun by educating their women, are entitled to any advantage they may derive from their wise action. Indeed, public interests would be best served by communities with such foresight and social sagacity having an influential voice in its councils.

We have therefore to take 11 millions as the total population from which we have to carve our electorates in this Presidency. The total number of literates in this Presidency above 21 is about a million. The Chelmsford-Montagu report says the limitations of the franchise, which it is obviously desirable to make as broad as possible, should be determined rather with reference to practical difficulties than to any *a priori* considerations as to the degree of education or amount of income which may be held to constitute a qualification. This is rather a vague direction, but it may be assumed that a million voters for the whole of the Bombay Presidency will not present too many practical difficulties and will at the same time give us an electorate which under present circumstances will justify the largest transfer of responsibility to this Presidency. As to how this one million persons are to be selected, what proportion of them should be included in communal electorates, and what should be the size and character of the general electorate are questions which require detailed consideration.

## WAR AND INDIAN PRICES.

### CHECKING PROFITEERING.

One of the unfortunate effects which the war has produced in India, has been the rise in the price of many of the ordinary necessities of life, especially those which are more particularly used by the poorer classes. The high prices of salt, of kerosine, of cloth, and of several other articles, have caused considerable distress among the people. Government has given much attention to the matter, and as a result, has adopted a policy of State control so far as many commodities are concerned.

### SALT.

The rise in price of Indian salt, which is a sheer necessity of life for the poorer classes in India, was due partly to the reduction in imports of foreign salt, partly to the increasing difficulty of railway transport. Unprincipled speculators took advantage of the circumstances and indented for large quantities of salt in order to obtain control over the market. To meet this situation Government encouraged local Governments to open salt depots and conferred power on the Commissioner of Northern India Salt Revenue to give priority of delivery to the salt depots thus opened. At a later stage powers were taken to fix maximum prices. These powers have been exercised in Bengal, where in some places the price of salt was reduced from 5 to 10 seers per rupee but elsewhere the price has been kept down by the opening of the salt depots mentioned.



## KEROSENE OIL.

In the case of kerosine oil, the shortage is primarily due to the difficulty of providing freight to bring the oil from Rangoon. It is due secondarily to the difficulty of railing the oil up country. The wholesale price of oil and the price at which it is sold by the sub-agents of the companies, have not been increased. There has been, however, a considerable amount of profiteering on the part of the middle-men who intervene between the sub-agents and the public. To prevent this, the Government of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, and the Central Provinces have introduced a control scheme by which oil is only supplied by the companies' sub-agents to vendors who guarantee to sell the oil at fixed prices. The Government of India has drawn the attention of other local Governments to the desirability of introducing schemes on similar lines. Effect can be given to such schemes without recourse to the "declarations" under Rule XII (j) of the Defence of India Rules; but the Government of India have promised, if necessary, to issue a "declaration" in regard to kerosine oil should any local Governments consider it necessary. By this means it is hoped that all profiteering in this very necessary commodity will soon be brought to an end.

## CLOTH.

The shortage of imports of piece-goods from Lancashire has produced a rise in the cost of cotton cloth, which has been aggravated by speculation in raw cotton. The Government of India are not in a position to take any steps in regard to imported cloth, which is not at present fetching higher prices than those at which it can be imported. They have also decided that it is undesirable to restrict the price of hand-woven cloth. But a Bill has been introduced at this session of the Imperial Legislative Council to provide the poorer classes with certain of the cheaper kinds of cloth manufactured at the Indian mills at a reasonable price. In order to stop speculation in raw cotton, the Government of Bombay intend to introduce legislation to establish a Central Cotton Exchange with a clearing house at which regular and constant settlements will be enforced. The Government of India have already issued the Cotton Contract Rules, 1918, under which the Government of Bombay have appointed a committee to regulate forward contracts in cotton of the 1918-19 crop.

In the case of certain other commodities also, the Government of India have issued "declarations" under Rule XI j. of the Defence of India Rules, which enable the local Governments to fix maximum prices. Such declarations have been issued in the case of charcoal, fire wood, and grass in the Bombay Presidency. So far as food grains are concerned, special difficulties exist with regard to the issue of "declarations." The fixing of maximum prices in any area is bound to have far-reaching results beyond the area for which the price is fixed. Government intervention in this matter has been confined to the provision, through the Director of Civil Supplies, of adequate supplies to areas where a definite shortage has occurred.

## HINDOO UNDERTAKERS AND CREMATORIALS.

To

The members of the managing committees of the Hindoo funeral grounds, Municipalities, Humanitarian League, Social Service League, Justices of the Piece and Ruling Princes.

Honoured gentlemen,

You must be aware of the continuous difficulties, and the disorganizations at the Hindoo funerals, and the proverbial caste tyrannies of the Hindoo Society. News is pouring in from all parts of the country where dead bodies remain uncleared for days, and the caste people are found unable to cope with the task for one reason or another. In mofussil places like Baroda, Rajkot, Surat, etc., and even in Bombay and Poona which boast of volunteers, 'Dhaghooes' have to share very miserable fates. People have to wait for fuel for ten hours over and above the other time required in the affair. In the mean time the dead bodies are heaped up or piled up together in or near dirty water where they are likely to be kicked and such other things happen as to defame the whole of the Hindoo community, injuring human feeling and insulting the dead.

In the 20th century, I challenge if anybody can claim to live the life mentioned in the 'Puranas.' The domestic life of the masses has already changed, the constitution of the society is fast changing, the reform scheme of Government is on the anvil; and hence if you think that the time has come to make some time honoured changes in the barbarous system of Hindoo funerals, and to get the blessing of the Arya Praja at large, I beg you to take into your favorable consideration the facts about physical, mental, social and economic conditions of the masses for the purpose of equipping every big city in India, with Hindoo undertakers and crematoriums.

I beg to draw your earnest attention to the facts that due to low vitality and hence the inability to resist disease, people after attending the funerals seem to make preparations for other funerals which happen over and over again in spite of sanitary notifications and precautions, and many a young hopeful and promising flower of the Hindoo Society falls an easy prey to premature funerals. This is a very grave thing and requires serious consideration. The people who require a 'Hamal' to carry his office portfolio will bless the Hindoo Undertakers. The rich and the educated who seem to show reluctance to attend the funerals under the present circumstances, and the dependant servant and the busy merchant clerk who cannot afford ample time in these times of competition will bless the crematoriums. It will be a boon to those courageous people who are being ex-communicated for their principles of social reforms. A new field will be open for the healthy but unemployed Hindoo brothers, and the Hindoo members of the Government councils and High Court Judges will be spared from the duty of working as 'Daghooes.' The cost of the fuel is also not a less important matter for consideration in the present and the coming economic times.

In the 'Puranic' periods all the affairs were generally carried on in kind, and there was no sterling value of time, men, or materials. In the present times all the affairs are carried on for hard cash, except the carriage or carrier charges for the removal of the deads to the funeral grounds, for which one has to depend generally on his caste. If this is the only bare necessity for the existence of the present castes, which are a hindrance to the unity of Hindoos, be reduced by some such means and others like the Hon. Mr. Patel's Hindoo



marriage bill, the Political upliftment of the caste ridden land will receive Godspeed.

The object of establishing Hindoo Undertakers with 'khandhias' or carriages and the Crematoriums cannot reduce the respect and good feeling towards the deceased but it will increase the same. The reluctant people will always regularly attend the funerals in good company, while the rich also according to the mandate of Hindoo religion will be better able to show true good feeling by contributing handsomely in the permanent funds for the same, and sympathise by attending the funerals. Thus the poor will be spared from the increased costs with troubles, and yet those who will desire to have their funerals carried and performed according to the existing system will most willingly do so.

But for the salvation of the major portion of the Hindoo Society who seems to have become aloof and independent of the ancient and 'Puranic' notions and ideas, some early changes are quite necessary to remove certain social evils. The 'Puranic' Hindoo religion did not allow any body to go on pilgrimages except on foot, yet now-a-days every body does the same on railway trains, and climb up the sacred Hills on "Doolies" carried on alien shoulders. In the same way they can easily do the same in connection with the carriage of the dead bodies also. The Crematorium will supply them with unalloyed ashes of deceased relatives which they now get mixed with so many foreign particles, and the process will spare the public from many other dangers and nuisances.

If my enthusiastic brothers and the Press will agitate in the matter at the present times the society will be fortunate to reap the advantages in the near future and India will not have to wait for her social emancipation any longer.

Yours fraternally,  
C. TEJPAL.

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not  
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

## CONTENTS.

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The War.	Scholarships to Lady Students.
The Forthcoming Indian National Congress.	The late Mr. Gopala Rao.
The Secondary Training College, Bombay.	A University for Lucknow:
Women and the Bombay Municipal Corporation.	Wanted a new Policy.
Democracy and Oligarchy.	The Child in Human Progress.
Weekly Holiday in Mahomedan Schools.	Personal.
	To my Infant Son.

## NOTES:

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**The War.** Following the example of Bulgaria, Turkey has made peace proposals to the Allies, which are regarded as tantamount to unconditional surrender. In the House of Commons on Thursday, George Cave announced that an armistice between the Allies and Turkey was signed on the previous night and came into operation at noon that day. It was not possible to give full terms but they included free passage of the fleet through the Bosphorus, the Black Sea, occupation of the Forts of Dardanelles and Bosphorus necessary to secure passage, and the immediate repatriation of British prisoners. Austria has also concluded an armistice on nearly similar terms. The Austro-Hungarian Empire is sily breaking up. German delegates have arrived at the Allies' Military Headquarters to discuss the terms of the armistice with that Empire.

**The Forthcoming Indian National Congress.** Mr. Vijayaraghava Charya having declared his unwillingness to be elected, the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya has been unanimously elected President of the forthcoming Indian National Congress at Delhi.

**The Secondary Training College, Bombay.** In reply to a question from the Hon. Mr. Principal Ranjpye, at the meeting of the Legislative Council, Government said: "The Reverend Mr. Darby has special qualifications for the post of the Principal of the Secondary Training College. He was selected for the post as an emergency measure in the absence of any better qualified candidate. He receives Rs. 100 per mensem and free quarters. The appointment is purely temporary and can be terminated at three months' notice on either side. No applications were invited but careful inquiries were made for suitably qualified candidates before the appointment was made."

**Women and the Bombay Municipal Corporation.** The Hon. Mr. Desai's motion to which we referred last week, to enable women to be elected members of the Bombay Municipal Corporation, was carried by a majority at the last meeting of the Bombay Legislative Council.

**Democracy and Oligarchy.** Opponents of constitutional reform in India, are fond of using the argument that self-government in India will not mean democracy but oligarchy. There is another side to the question, which Mr. W. H. Mallock in his recent book the "Limits of Democracy" states thus: "Democracy and oligarchy are principles not mutually exclusive. . . . In any great and complex state the one is the complement of the other. . . . In any great and complex state democracy only knows itself through the co-operation of oligarchy; the many can prosper only through the participation in benefits which, in the way alike of material comfort, opportunity, culture and social freedom would be possible for no one unless the many submitted themselves to the influence or authority of the super-capable few."

**Weekly Holiday in Mahomedan Schools.** The Government of Bombay have ordered that in future Friday shall be substituted for Sunday as the weekly holiday in all Government Municipal and Local Board schools for Muhammadans, provided that the majority of the parents of the children attending the schools in question shall have intimated their desire to change the weekly holiday as proposed.

**Scholarships to Lady Students.** The Arya Mahila Samaj offers to pay two terms fees of a poor lady student studying in any Arts College in Bombay. Applications should be forwarded to Dr. Kashibai Nowrange, Bhuleshwar Bombay.

**The late Mr. Gopala Rao.** We deeply regret the death of Mr. Gopala Rao, son of Mr. K. Subba Rao, of the Mysore Civil Service, of influenza in Bangalore. Mr. Subba Rao was one of the founders of this journal and was for several years, one of its conductors. Mr. Gopala Rao was a young man of bright talents, and was also employed in the Mysore State Service. Our deepest sympathies, and, we are sure, those of our readers, are with the bereaved family.

**A University for Lucknow:** At the meeting of the United Provinces Legislative Council, held at Lucknow on Monday morning, the Hon. Pandit Gokarannath Misra moved a resolution urging that steps be taken for the establishment of a University for Oudh at Lucknow. The Hon. Mr. Kean made on the occasion an important statement on behalf of the Local Governments. He said that it was well-known that the establishment of a University at Lucknow was in contemplation and it was equally well-known that His Honour Sir Harcourt Butler was in favour of the scheme. They should, however, he urged, await the publication of the Sadler Commission's report to be able to decide upon the type of the University they would have. The Hon. Mr. Ward, Professor Canning College, Lucknow moved an amendment to the effect that a University be established at Lucknow. The amendment was carried.



# INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, NOVEMBER 10, 1918.

## WANTED A NEW POLICY.

In commenting last week on the recommendations of the Conference of Sanitary Commissioners for the promotion of rural sanitation, we pointed out that the establishment of a new Department and a new Service was the chief of its recommendations. Similarly, the Holland Industrial Commission has recommended that the creation of a new Department and a new Service of Industry should be the first step in developing Indian Industries. This seems to be the panacea which a Government by the Services has to propose for every defect of the administration. Its first impulse is to deny that there are any defects in its handiwork. When pushed to a corner, it recommends the creation of a new Department and a new Service. In fact, the reproductive instinct in a Government by the Services seems to be the most powerful of its instincts. When complaints grew loud as to the slow progress of Primary Education, the Government responded by creating a new Department at Simla. Sanitation was taken out of the Home Department and put in charge of the Educational. It is now a question whether this Department has justified its existence. The Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India now maintains that the slow progress of sanitation is due to excessive expenditure on education, and he says that "nothing less than emancipation of sanitation from the present subordinate position in the scheme of Government" gives promise of sanitary progress. Similarly, it is not many years since the Commerce and Industries Department was created. Now the Industries Department proposes that there should be an Imperial Industrial Department in charge of a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council. Where this process of the creation of new Departments is to end, Heaven only knows! Experience we think, has amply proved that this method of improving the Administration has had no other result than that of making it top-heavy.

We most earnestly plead for a changed angle of vision in approaching problems of Indian development. Writing of the question of rural sanitation last week, we pointed out the folly of eliminating the indigenous medical system and practitioner without and before the adequate provision of men and institutions according to the Western method. Supposing that the official system of medicine can ever be so completely acclimatised in this country as to oust the indigenous system, it is still rash to give the cold shoulder to the old system before the new one has sufficiently expanded in this country. There is no use of talking about the ignorance and superstition of the people when you have not done many things which you could have done with the cordial co-operation of the people, such, for instance, as the water supply in villages. And after all the Government and its Departments exist for the people

and not the people for the Departments. No national Government would ever think of saying, as one finds it often stated in these reports, that the people are the greatest obstacle to the success of the administration. The Holland Commission repeats for the thousandth time that Indian labour is inefficient. It can be said with far greater truth and relevance that the Anglo-Indian administrator, in all matters which concern the moral and material well-being of the people, has proved himself hopelessly, inefficient for his task at present, whatever might have been the case fifty years ago. It has been shown again and again that, given favourable conditions, the Indian workman is extraordinarily quick in assimilating new methods and accommodating himself to novel conditions.

We said above that these problems of National Reconstruction have to be approached from a changed angle of vision. Speaking from past experience, the average Anglo-Indian administrator has hitherto not shown himself especially capable of such a change. It may be that he may do so in the future. The keynote of the new era should be intimate co-operation of the Indian and English mind and hand in moulding and executing national policies. We should clearly recognise that, when all is said, the only true asset of a country is, not its minerals, not its agricultural produce, not its manufactures, but its people. This should be engraved in letters of fire on the portals of every department of Government. Nothing which does not directly contribute to the uplift of the Indian in body, mind and soul should be allowed to form part of the policy of Government. The question in every new scheme should be not what the Indian people's defects are but what they are best capable of doing, and our lines of development should be drawn in close conformity with the aptitudes of the people. Constitutional reforms are only important to the extent that they impose upon and compel the Government of India to identify itself completely with India's interests, India's outlook and India's honour and prosperity. And India means the Indian not India's Coal, iron or wheat.

## THE CHILD IN HUMAN PROGRESS.\*

We are glad to get a copy of this much needed book. Mr. George Henry Payne, the author, has given us in it a historical survey of the position of the child from the earliest up to the present time. The thoroughly scientific spirit in which he has approached the subject is evident from the fact that notwithstanding Western prepossessions in favour of Hellenism and Christianity, Mr. Payne acknowledges that the position of the child in ancient Egypt was far higher than in ancient Greece, and that the Prophet of Islam had inculcated humaner notions of the rights of children when, centuries after Christ, the Christians of Europe were groping vainly as to the proper treatment of infants. The material tendencies of ancient Egyptian society

\*Messrs. G. P. Putnam & Sons, New York and London, price 12s. 6d.



were so pronounced as to lead the Greeks to believe that in Egypt woman was supreme, and the early development of the belief in a hereafter, as it showed itself in the unusual care of the body of the deceased, are mentioned as the prime factors in the humaner attitude of ancient Egypt towards children. Curiously enough, Mr. Payne holds that had there been less positive division of castes in Egypt the infants of the higher class would not have been as well treated. "The lives of the military and priestly castes were almost sacred!" he writes; "it was on them that the king relied for support, and the rest of the population, whether nominally free or slave, were preordained to a life of incessant toil." The example of India disproves the hypothesis that the superior castes are necessarily more considerate towards children. It was among the higher castes that female infanticide prevailed, and it is among them that such atrocious customs as infant marriage and enforced widowhood prevail. "More has been written about the child in the last fifty years," observes Mr. Payne, "than had been written in the world in all civilized times up to the beginning of this half century. In order to appreciate this statement one must remember that the best friends of the child—Jesus, the Jewish Prophets, and Mohammed—lived centuries before the humane theories that they preached had really a living existence. In this connection, it is germane to state that the theory that philosophy and religion go hand in hand with humanity, is shattered by the fact that Plato, Aristotle, Confucius, and Gautama affected, apparently, not a single jot, the ancient attitude of insufferance toward the undesired children."

Infanticide in all primitive and ancient societies owed its origin to economic causes. There has ever been, as Mr. Payne says, on the question of children, a struggle between man and nature. Endowed with the possibilities of a large offspring man has fought the burdens that nature has thrust upon him. Modern science has invented methods of preventing conception which are largely resorted to by many western nations. The ancients could not think of any means of interrupting the process of child-formation after conception, and had, perforce, to resort to infanticide for achieving the same ends. The procuring of abortion may be regarded as a compromise between the neo-Malthusian and ancient infanticide devices. Owing to the economic value of male children, male infanticide became obsolete in almost all primitive societies. Female infanticide, however, continued to prevail. The reason why the teachings of religion were unavailing to put an end to this evil, is that these teachings did not take note of the economic difficulty. The Prophet of Islam, the practical genius that he was, went to the root of the matter, when he, backed up his prohibition of infanticide by the promise that "we will provide for them." In modern times the State alone can say "we will provide for them." Amidst all the gruesome history of child-neglect and worse in this volume, there is always perceptible the efforts of moralists and statesmen to put down the evil.

The most interesting part of this volume is the account of the movements in modern times to protect the interests of children. As may be expected, the United States is foremost in the movement for child-welfare. The volume has for frontispiece the portrait of Mr. Elbridge T. Gerry, the founder of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. "Probably the most important question that has come before the Society in recent years," writes Mr. Payne, "has been the proper treatment of those children who, for one reason or another, are brought into contact with the police. One of the first things that the New York Society did was to insist that the children who had to be taken to court should not be mixed with the really criminal. In 1892 an amendment to the Penal Code made the separation imperative, and out of this movement has grown the children's court movement and the proper study of the so-called juvenile criminal." A portrait of the Juvenile Police Court is given. Another important branch of the child-protection movement that had its beginning in New York City, was placing laws on the statute-book, and then enforcing them, against the sale of injurious liquors to children. Laws tending to protect the morality of children followed these, and in fact almost from the first year of its birth, every year has seen the Protection Society enlarging its field of action until to-day it hardly seems possible that it was only a few hundred years ago that the very life of a child itself was considered of no importance. Dr. A. Jacobi in a foreword to this important volume, says: "Altogether our country has been disrespectful to its best possessions, viz., the children. There was until a few decades ago not even a professional teaching of the children's diseases in our medical schools. There were few child's hospitals or wards in hospitals until a few years ago, even in the largest cities. Society, law, humanitarianism did not mind children. It is only a few months that an official publication in our democratic country carried the title: "Is there a need of a Child Labour Law?" ; and our civilization was humbled by medical discussion of the advisability of killing the deformed or unpromising new-born. It seems to take a long time before this republic of ours begins to work out of the ruts of semi-barbarism. And now, at last there is a book to supply our wants". These observations apply with hundredfold more force to India, and we cordially commend this book to our readers.

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#### PERSONAL.

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Many readers of the *Reformer* have written to me in the kindest terms of sympathy of my inexpressible great bereavement, and I beg to thank them from the bottom of my heart. The loss is incalculable to me, but I assure them their sympathy is a real source of strength. Krishna was self-reliant, full of resource and initiative. Whenever work had to be done, he never asked whose business it was to do it. I have always resented and repudiated the statement that our boys are loth to take off their coats and work. That was because Krishna was al-



ways only too ready to take off his coat and do every kind of work and among any class of people. When he went to the Press on Saturdays, he was working most of the time in his shirt-sleeves with the compositors and the pressmen. The idea of caste or class never existed for him. After his interview with Mr. Joshi at my office about his work at Parel, I called Mr. Joshi aside and told him that my only anxiety was that Krishna's zeal knew no limit, and suggested that the hours might be so arranged as to enable him to come home in time for meals and rest. I told this to Krishna when I came home that night. He did not like it. "If I am not to work on the same level as the others," he said, "I might as well not work at all." I explained that I did not mean that the arrangement should be for him only, but for all workers. He said that when a work of this kind was concerned, it was impossible to prescribe any limitations of time. The first two or three days he came home at 2 in the afternoon. Then he came at 5 or 6. One day he came home after 8 at night. He had left home at half past seven in the morning. When I expressed to him my fear that he was not taking sufficient care of himself, he told me how the people were crowding in for relief, and how it went to his heart to break away from them. After dinner he came and sat near me and described in moving terms the conditions of life of the working people, how in one small room he found four patients prostrated and as there was only one old woman looking after them, he had himself to remain there for some time doing necessary things. That, of course, settled the question and we agreed that his dinner should be taken to him at the Workmen's Institute so that he may remain at his work till evening. Mr. Joshi told my brother the other day that he realised the need of my warning a few days after Krishna had begun work and had thought of writing to me to tell him not to attend on afternoons, but that he was doing such good work and was so liked by the people that he (Mr. Joshi) could not make up his mind to do so.

Perhaps, I may be allowed to quote here from some letters from those who came closest in contact with Krishna. "I had a very great regard for Mr. Krishna," writes the Principal of the Grant Medical College, Colonel Street, "not only for his medical work but for his social and moral influence which he exercised over the students. Peace hath its victories as well as war, and also its heroes, and you have the satisfaction of knowing that your son was doing his duty when he fell a victim to the epidemic." Professor Sisson of the Elphinstone College, who commanded Krishna's Company in the University Corps while under training in Poona, in a most kind letter, writes: "He was a young man of the highest promise, and had already accomplished much morally and spiritually. He had a fiery conscientiousness rare in so young a man, bent on doing his utmost in all he set his hand to. He was not, like so many young men today, a talker, a theorist only. He tested his ideas by putting them into practice. He was a practical enthusiast. India wanted him, and men like him, in her future. He had ability, self-command, humour, high ideals—a fine combination indeed. He had my utmost confidence, and I

rejoice to believe that I had his as his officer and friend. And he had my personal affection, not given often or readily. The last activities of his life were worthy of him." Most touching is a letter from one of his comrades in the University Corps a young man whom I have not met. "Brother Krishna," he writes to me, "was a source of great help to everybody. We had lived together for two months at Poona as tent companions when we were getting our military training. He was a man of cheerful disposition and of patience, also hard-working and industrious. If the Author of our being were to spare him even for 5 years at least, he would have become a very well-known man during such a short period". And Krishna loved little children. A little boy, our neighbour, sends the following note of condolence to my little boy: "I can hardly believe my eyes when I read what Metha writes of Krishna. It is really gives me to read it, he was so good to all of us, he leaving his studies to play with us, may his soul live in peace now." I transcribe the letter as it is. Krishna himself would value this child's appreciation most of all.

The question has forced itself on me several times during the last few days, why should such a thing be? I have been looking over Wordsworth's Memoirs, among other books, to divert my mind, and I came across a letter of the poet's to a friend relating to his (the poet's) brother's death at sea, which seems to furnish the true answer. "A thousand times have I asked myself, as your tender sympathy led me to do, 'why was he taken away?'" Wrote Wordsworth, "and I have answered the question as you have done. In fact, there is no other answer which can satisfy and lay the mind at rest. Why have we a choice, and a will, and a notion of justice and injustice, enabling us to be moral agents? Why have we sympathies that make the best of us so afraid of inflicting pain and sorrow, which yet we see dealt about so lavishly by the Supreme Governor? Why should our notions of right towards each other and to all sentient beings within our influence differ so widely from what appears to be His notion and rule, *if every thing were to end here*? Would it not be blasphemy to say that, upon the supposition of the thinking principle being *destroyed by death*, however inferior we may be to the great Cause and Ruler of things, we have *more of love* in our nature than He has? The thought is monstrous and yet how to get rid of it, except upon the supposition of *another and a better world*, I do not see... So good must be better; so high must be destined to be higher." Yes, our life cannot end here. We are immortal souls. Our bodies are evolved by our souls to function therewith in this world. This power of endowing itself with organs appropriate to the world it dwells in, is inherent in the soul. The poet seer, Browning says:—

And I shall thereupon  
Take rest, ere I be gone  
Once more on my adventure brave and new  
Fearless and unperplexed,  
When I wage battle next,  
What weapons to select, what armour to  
endue.



Our loss is incalculable. But God's Providence is infinite, and we try to gain strength in the belief that our loss has been humanity's great gain.

K. NATARAJAN.

### TO MY INFANT SON.

My son, your mother says with tears,  
'Suppose that he should die tonight.'  
Dear foolish mother, what vain fears,  
What timid blindness to the light!  
Why art thou precious and fair?  
Why dost thou cling round our heart?  
Thyself art the answer, my son;  
We love thee for just what thou art.  
What do we love in thee thus?  
Innocence, beauty and grace,  
Love and the claim to beloved,  
Smiles, and the light in thy face—  
Light that in heaven was born,  
Light that is heaven on earth—  
These do we love, and thank God  
Who gave us these gifts in thy birth.  
Light such as this cannot wane:  
It burns with a radiance divine.  
In death it doth straightway return,  
To the Giver, who caused it to shine.  
All that is gracious and fair,  
Innocent, childish and pure,  
Lovely, and meet to be loved—  
All this doth for ever endure.  
For this is God's life in the world,  
Truth come to earth once again;  
The Eternal hath stooped to our flesh,  
Incarnate, reborn amongst men.  
God cannot die, should thy life  
Flit back to its heavenly bliss,  
Nought alters the fact that it Was,  
Nought alters the fact that it Is.

J. H.

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# THE INDIAN \* SOCIAL \* REFORMER.

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

## CONTENTS.

—:o:—

A message from the Prime Minister to the Princes and people of India.  
A Welcome Innovation.  
Random Generalisations.  
Indian Cadets for Sandhurst.

The end of the War and the beginning of a new World.  
The Problem of National Education in India.  
Indians and the Colonies.

## NOTES.

—:o:—

A message from the Prime Minister to the Princes and people of India: The message below from the Prime Minister to the Princes and people of India was given to the Hon. Sir S. P. Sinha by the Prime Minister on September 10th. Sir S. P. Sinha has brought it out from England with him and handed it to his Excellency the Viceroy:—"I take this opportunity at the close of our deliberations in the War Conference of this year to convey through you to the Princes and the people of India the cordial appreciation of Great Britain and the overseas Dominions, of India's contribution to the war, and of her prompt response to the appeal I made last April, when the situation on the Western front was one of grave menace and serious complications were threatened in Asia. The weight of that period of anxiety is now happily lifted and we are within a measurable distance of the achievement of those ideals and principles, in vindication of which Britain drew her sword against the forces of calculated and organised militarism. In this Titanic struggle, India has borne a great and noble part and her soldiers with those of Britain and the Dominions have freely shed their blood in the battlefields of three continents, but though the tension is relieved we must bear in mind that we have to fight a strong, determined and resourceful enemy with years of preparation behind him and the hour to put off the armour is not yet come. We must make greater efforts and heavier sacrifices to hasten that hour and I have every hope that these efforts and sacrifices India will readily and cheerfully make. India has held a fitting place in our councils of war to which she has added her weight through her accredited representatives and when the time comes she will have no less worthy a place in our deliberations of peace and reconstruction. She may rest assured that the declaration of August 20th will be carried into practical effect. The scheme of reform prepared by the Secretary of State and yourself is under consideration. As soon as conditions make it possible we shall submit our proposals to Parliament.

A Welcome Innovation. We are glad that the Government of Bombay has adopted an innovation in their educational policy which indicates a liberal attitude towards English teaching and is bound to have far reaching results. They have hitherto refused to countenance English teaching in primary schools on the ground that their policy of compulsory

vernacular teaching in these schools will be imperilled thereby. The result has been that Anglo-Vernacular schools being confined to the larger towns, young boys had to be sent away from their homes at a tender age by middle class parents. The Hon. Mr. Principal Paranjpye and the Hon. Mr. Upasani moved resolutions in the Bombay Legislative Council recommending that an alternative middle school branch should be added to full primary schools by appointing one English teacher to every such school where there are likely to be twenty boys in the first three Anglo-Vernacular standards. Government have now issued orders to the effect that a scheme prepared by Principal Paranjpye to give effect to this recommendation should be introduced as an experimental measure in twenty typical villages of the Presidency including Sind.

Random Generalisations: Everybody has nowadays an explanation of his own of the origin and spread of the influenza epidemic. But one expects the Principal of a Medical College to make no statements which are capable of easy refutation. Major Megaw of the Lucknow Medical College is reported by an Associated Press telegram to have accounted for the severity of the second epidemic by the fact that owing to colder nights people did not remain in the open air so much as before and, therefore, they were more liable to infection. This might have been the case in Lucknow, but in Bombay the days and nights were, if anything, uncomfortably warm the whole of last month and it is more likely that the exposure of perspiring bodies was the direct cause of the infection, especially where it developed into pneumonia. Then, again, he is reported to have said that the last epidemic was some 30 years ago. "People who was then infected became immune and so there was no epidemic till they all died in 30 years. The present generation was better prepared for influenza than before and so a fresh epidemic had started." There would be something in this if all or most of the deaths during the present epidemic were of persons of less than 30 years. The experience of Bombay, however, shows that there was a considerable number of deaths of persons above this age. It may be that the immunity conferred by an attack lasts exactly for 30 years.

Indian Cadets for Sandhurst: The following five Indian gentlemen, of whom the two last named are at present in Europe, have been nominated by His Excellency the Viceroy to attend the course which commences in January:—(1) Syed Sikander Ali Mirza, son of Nawab Fateh Ali Mirza of Bombay; (2) Iqbal Ali Beg, son of Nawab Sir Afsal-ul-Mulk, Commander-in-Chief of H. E. H. the Nizam of Hyderabad's Military Forces; (3) Turan Kumar Sinha, son of the Hon. Sir S. P. Sinha, K. C., Member of the Bengal Executive Council; (4) S. Hadanjit Singh, son of S. Partab Singh of Jullunder Punjab; and (5) Lalit Kumar Roy, son of Pyari Roy, Barrister, Calcutta.



# INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, NOVEMBER 17, 1918.

## THE END OF THE WAR AND THE BEGINNING OF A NEW WORLD.

The week has been one of great rejoicing. On Monday the 11th instant, an armistice was agreed to between the Allies and the German Empire, and hostilities were suspended on all fronts. The terms of the armistice virtually amount to a complete surrender on the part of Germany, and preclude the possibility of a resumption of the war. But even more than these terms, events have made any further activity on the part of militaristic Germany out of the question. The Kaiser and the Crown Prince have abdicated and sought an asylum in Holland. The Regency which the former had appointed has evidently been overthrown, and has been supplanted by a new Nationalist Government consisting of socialists. In several of the constituent States of the German Empire likewise, the rulers have either been dismissed or have abdicated, and republics have been established. The war has put an end, we trust for ever, to the old-type of Empire ruled by an autocratic head. It is not a mere political accident which has rid the world in the course of a short four years of four such Empires, Russia, Turkey, Austria-Hungary and Germany. The British Empire has borne the leading part in destroying the old, bad type of Empire where one man and one class of men dominated over the people. India has borne her share of this glorious work, and we are glad to see this generously acknowledged by the King-Emperor in his message to the Viceroy. "In responding to the call upon her for men and resources," His Majesty has declared, "India has played a part worthy of her martial qualities and high traditions. She has fulfilled my faith in her single minded devotion to my person and Empire and she has vindicated my confidence in her loyalty. The bond of brotherhood, proved by partnership, in trials and triumphs, will endure in the years to come when the reign of justice is restored, homes are united, and the blessings of peace are renewed." The people of India are grateful to His Majesty for his inspiring message.

The terms of the armistice include the evacuation of the invaded countries, Belgium, France, Alsace-Lorraine and Luxemburg within fourteen days; the occupation by the Allies and Americans of the evacuated territories; the repatriation forthwith of all inhabitants of these territories who have been removed; the surrender of 5,000 guns, 30,000 machine guns, 3,000 minenwerfer and 2,000 aeroplanes; the evacuation by the German army of the countries on the left bank of the Rhine; Mainz, Coblenz and Cologne are to be occupied by the Allies; 5,000 locomotives, 150,000 waggons and 5,000 motor-lorries to be delivered to the Associated Powers; the German troops to withdraw from the frontiers of Russia, Rumania and Turkey as before the war; the complete abandonment of the Brest-Litovsk and

Bukharest treaties; all sub-marines are to be handed over to the Allies; and the unconditional evacuation of the German forces in East Africa.

The pitiable state to which the people of Germany had been reduced under her militaristic rulers can be judged from the appeal which Dr. Solf has addressed to President Wilson to consider at once the conclusion of a preliminary peace with a view to the acceleration of peace negotiations. Dr. Solf in another appeal states that the terms of the armistice, especially the surrender of the means of transport and the sustenance of the troops of occupation would, after a blockade of fifty months, make it impossible to provide Germany with food, and cause the starvation of millions of women and children, especially as the blockade is to continue. The condition as to the continuance of the blockade, it may be mentioned, states that the Allies and the United States, contemplate provisioning Germany during the Armistice as shall be found necessary. The French Premier, M. Clemenceau, has declared with a chivalrous magnanimity entirely worthy of the best traditions of France, that as the situation in Germany and Austria was now desperate, and they were unable to revictual themselves, the French would assist them to the utmost, for they (the French) were waging a war for and not against, humanity. This is verily heaping coals of fire on the heads of the German rulers who regarded humanity as a weakness which should have no place in international dealings. If the German Emperor had not become inebriated with the sense of his own might, and had allowed room for the pleadings of reason and justice in his counsels, the fate which has now overwhelmed him and his brother Emperors might have been indefinitely postponed. But the progress of humanity would have been delayed. It is as well that the test has come now and that the beginning of the twentieth century has seen the effacement of military despotisms all over the world.

The world, said President Wilson, should be made safe for democracy. It is for the Peace Conference so to arrange the resettlement of the nations that the possibility of a military Empire may be eliminated from human calculation altogether.

This can only be done if all the nations are organized together in a common league with the object of counteracting all tendencies towards military empires. Such Empires are only possible where the people are reduced to a state of subjection to the will of their rulers. Wherever there are subject peoples, there is always the danger of militarism. It should be the aim of the Peace Conference, therefore, to ensure that every race and nation is sovereign in its own territory. When we analyse the causes of the present war, we find that at the bottom it arose out of the desire to exploit the peoples of Asia and Africa in the interests of Europe. If this exploitation is to continue, another war in the near future is a certainty. The Peace Conference should lay the axe at the root of this evil principle of exploitation. Great Britain and France have declared that it is their intention to



restore indigenous rule in the territories taken from Turkey. This is an admirable beginning. We trust that it will not end there. The news that Sir S. P. Sinha will attend the Peace Conference as a delegate from India, has given immense satisfaction. The satisfaction would have been vastly greater if Sir Satyendra had been nominated by a Government which rested, to a larger extent than the Government of India does, on the opinion of the people of India. We have every hope that Great Britain will strain every nerve to hasten the day when India will take her place as an equal among the self-governing nations of the British Commonwealth or, to use the happy phrase of the King-Emperor, brotherhood of nations. It is now our privilege to rejoice at the glorious triumph of right over might, which brings the federation of all mankind for the first time in history within the range of practical politics.

### THE PROBLEM OF NATIONAL EDUCATION IN INDIA.

(Contributed.)

Mr. K. M. Panikkar, B. A. (Oxon) read a very suggestive paper on this problem at a meeting of the East-India Association, London, in April last. The reading was followed by a very lively discussion among the members present—mostly retired gentlemen from the Indian Civil and Educational services. The views of the lecturer and his audience seemed to differ in vital respects. He began by mentioning the fact of his being a Home-ruler, a Nationalist, an Extremist. His criticism of the policy of Lord Curzon of over-officializing the educational system was very sound but when he stated the Moderates' interpretation of the Resolution of the Benares Congress on national Education by saying that "they were unwilling to nationalise education completely" and that "to the moderates of the Gokhale type, national education and native control meant only an extension of the field for Indians in the Service and a greater study of Indian subjects in the Universities," he simply distorted the facts. His attack on Macaulay, his bold assertion of the cultural unity of India before the British rule, and his allegation that the introduction of the present system of education has had only a disintegrating influence on India, provoked severe criticism from some of those present. The chairman, Sir R. K. Wilson, tried to defend Macaulay by saying that he might have underrated the value of Hindu literature but that the Hindus themselves, in those days, did not properly understand their ancient books. Mr. J. D. Anderson laid down that education in the English language and use of the English language and in fact the whole of the process of anglicization of the administration was caused by the wish of the educated classes, not of the government. The Rev. A. E. Davies propounded the theory that "the subject had been before the national and legislative councils in India and English had been adopted by educated influential Indians themselves," as if those councils were more national and more representative of the views of the educated and influential Indians than

the present ones that are sought to be reformed. Mr. Panikkar's exaggerated description of the killing power of the English language, e. g. "For us Indians it is and it will ever be a language in which to commit literary suicide, a tongue which stifles our expressive faculties, a medium of instruction which kills all the thinking power of our mind", simply created laughter when the chairman quoted this same assertion and rebutted it against itself and also by pointing out to the masterly manner in which the whole of the paper had been written.

But these were only the side issues raised by the paper. The questions of Hindi and of state control of education roused the keenest interest and discussion. The lecturer was subjected to scathing criticism on these points on the part of the chairman, and Messrs Anderson, Davies and Usuf Ali. These are also the very points of difference between the present promoters of the National Education movement and many of the leading and sober-minded educationists in India. That English can never become the language of the masses in India and that it must give place to the leading vernaculars as a medium of instruction, is admitted on all hands. But our debt to that language and to the existing educational system in general cannot be fairly ignored. It has had a vastly unifying influence in India, it has been the first step towards qualifying Indians to share with their foreign rulers the work of administration, it has taught us English ideas of nationality and liberty and English methods of obtaining them, it has had a very wholesome and permanent influence on our vernaculars and has enriched their vocabularies, and most of all, it has been able to produce a Rabindra Nath Tagore, a Swami Ramtirtha, a Gokhale, a Tilak and many others. This fair side of the picture was ably put forth by the chairman and Mr. Usuf Ali. We demur, however, to Mr. Usuf Ali's assumption that the English language is the widest spread vernacular of India.

Mr. Panikkar judiciously passed over these aspects of the present system, and vehemently advocated the adoption of Hindi without showing the necessity of such a *lingua Franca* and the method by which to spread its use among the masses. If the different peoples of India have each of them to learn English as the best link with the western world, as the language of legislation and administration and as the medium of discussion of scientific subjects and of the larger operations of commerce, it is an imposition and a waste of national energy to require them, for mere sentiment's sake, to learn Hindi for similar transactions with their brethren in India. When Mr. Gandhi advocates the use of Hindi by saying that "a nation without a national language is a huge joke" he simply gives vent to this sentiment. Moreover, there is no effective method of securing this object. If we want the masses to understand it, we must make it a compulsory subject in our scheme of free and compulsory primary education. But this is, in the first place, as useless and as impracticable as to make English a compulsory subject, and, secondly the people would scarcely retain the knowledge in their after life since the experience of Japan and other countries has shown that even the



knowledge of the three R's is forgotten by the generality of people who leave their education after the compulsory stage. If made compulsory in secondary and college education, it would occupy a neglected place in the eyes of the student just as other vernaculars are doing to-day. The English language after a lapse of one hundred and fifty years, and notwithstanding its being the medium of instruction, the language of the rulers and of the world in general, has remained the language of a 'microscopic minority' in the words of the National Educationists themselves. How can Hindi then, in the absence of all these encouraging circumstances, become the *lingua franca* of India? Because, no one, including the National Educationist, desires to make it the medium of instruction, as all the objections urged against the use of a foreign language such as the English as a medium of instruction will be applicable to this plan also. We admit that Hindi has a double alphabet, that it is known in a slightly different form by almost all the Mahomedans and that it is already understood and spoken by ten crores of people and is likely to be easily learned by fifteen crores more, (our Madrasee brethren excepted.) The superiority of the claim of Hindi in this respect is indisputable. We also sympathise with all attempts to build up the culture of India on some widely known vernacular. But we do not think it practicable in the present advanced stage of the four or five leading vernaculars of India—vernaculars which are about to become the media of independent Universities.

The other point of difference is the Governmental control of education. Here also the National Educationists are not sufficiently explicit. Mr. Panikkar denounced all state control as eminently undesirable even from a strictly Nationalist Indian Government, although he had to concede that government should remedy manifest defects in education as a monopoly by any particular field, should make primary education free and compulsory, prescribe the minimum standard of education in elementary arithmetic and such other subjects and should try to co-ordinate educational institutions. "The Nationalist effort in education" he concludes, "should be directed not chiefly towards any attempt to mould the Governmental policy but in building up local institutions of a great variety of character and embodying different national ideals and culture." Such a wavering statement of policy naturally provoked severe criticism especially from Mr. Usuf ali. He pointed out the growing educational centralisation even in nationalist England since the abolition of the local School Boards, on account of their serious defects; and he pointed out that the most go-ahead schools in the villages draw their life and vitality and their moral and financial support from the district and provincial towns. The wisest policy is to make the Government of India a true expression of national life and ideals—to capture the government and not to boycott it. To establish new educational institutions in order to save students from the real defects of the present system and to remain out of the control of the pre-

sent government only, if necessary, to secure this modest purpose, just as the Indian Women's University is doing is a right policy to follow in the existing circumstances. We do not object to such temporary secessions. To postulate a doctrine of educational anarchy is however the highest conceivable treason to the motherland and the accumulated wisdom of humanity.

The rest of Mr. Panikkar's paper is all full of admirable matter. He vigorously criticises the Gurukula ideal of education as revivalistic, lacking in the element of progression, craving for a uniformity of pattern and exhibiting absolute ignorance of the ideas of education in taking the children for eighteen years into the unreal surroundings of a Himalayan monastery. He rightly gives the preference to the Bolpur School of Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore as based on sympathy rather than rule, on diversity rather than uniformity on individual freedom rather than social control and as treating each case of a student on his own merits and aptitudes. His treatment of female education is equally frank and forceful. He stands for the destruction of the artificial limitation of feminine relationship to the family. He vainly craves, however, for the maintenance of the joint family system which is fast crumbling down before the vast changes coming in the wake of social and economical progress of the community.

In short, there can be no two opinions on the problem of real National Education for India. A true nationalist must cease to underrate the willingness of government to mould its policy to foster that is best in indigenous feeling thought and culture. While advocating a diversity ideal and a local colour and local control in education he must not lose sight of the world's tendency to minimise diversity, to obliterate differences and to facilitate the formation of larger and larger units of Society.

V.

## INDIANS AND THE COLONIES.

To The Editor, *Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

May I be allowed to join with you, and, I doubt not many others, in expressing warmest appreciation of the splendid services rendered to India by my dear friend, Mr. C. F. Andrews, in making his further inquiry into the conditions of the unfortunate Indians in Fiji. He has done most valuable pioneer work, and it is to be hoped that, now that he has, so to speak, "blazed a trail", Indian gentlemen standing, animated with the same spirit of humanity and self-sacrifice, will follow in his footsteps.

I am wondering, however, whether both you and he are not just a little too optimistic in suggesting that "Australians are absolutely without race and colour prejudice." Mr. Andrews of course, speaks with an authority about Australia that I cannot pretend to possess, as I have never been there. I am willing, too, to concede that "the best Australian opinion is sympathetic to 'the utmost freedom of intercourse between India and the Southern Continent as far as students, travellers, and commercial men are concerned.'" This is undoubtedly a very great advance, for much of which Mr. Andrews himself, though he would probably modestly deny it, is responsible. But it is just at this point that I am in difficulties.

The real test is not whether the *best* Australians (like the best South Africans) are the good fellows that everyon



admits them to be, or whether intercourse with temporary sojourners and visitors, not of the unskilled classes, from India is welcomed. It is whether the view of the best Australians is shared by the average Australian, and what would be the feelings of even the best Australians if a considerable number of Indians of different classes on salaries and wages similar to those of Australians themselves, were to express their desire and intention to immigrate into and develop the Northern Territory of Australia. If racial and colour considerations do not count, prejudice arising from the possibility of miscegenation may be ignored. But do you really think that, at the present stage of Imperial relations, and even with strict economic equality, Australians would submit to such immigration without a protest? Would not the sky be rent with shouts for "a white Australia"?

Apart from my doubts whether Australian human nature has changed to such a degree as would appear from your remarks, my scepticism, which is very genuine, and not at all advanced in a spirit of carping criticism, has been aroused by an incident that recently occurred in South Africa. I am free to admit that to submit an analogy from that Dominion may not be altogether fair to Australia, but it has some bearing on this very question. I have often heard it argued there that the objection to coloured labour, on the part of the white worker, is not due to colour-prejudice but to economic fear, and I have tried to believe this. The argument is that the coloured labourer, being paid at a lower rate than the white worker is willing to accept, undersells the latter, who therefore regards him as an economic peril. Much the same problem, by the way, is upon us here to-day, in the matter of equal pay for men and women for the same amount and class of work.

Not long ago, a Labour Conference was held in Johannesburg. The Cape trades unions sent forward a resolution in favour of the admission of coloured workers into the unions provided that they demanded and only accepted the standard white rate of wages for the particular trades. When, however, the Cape unions learnt that the Transvaal unions refused to accept such a resolution, as it would operate against the privileged position at present occupied by the white worker, they declined to take part in the conference. It should be noted that there has never been much real colour prejudice at the Cape. It is clear that the average Transvaaler is still unregenerate, though, doubtless, the best men think differently. That is why I am somewhat sceptical as to the attitude of the average white Australian. I sincerely hope that the estimate of Mr. Andrews and yourself is correct and that I am wrong. But it has yet to be put to the real test.

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not  
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

## CONTENTS.

—:0:—

The Willingdon Memorial  
Movement.  
The Deccan Ryot on the  
Communal Representa-  
tion.  
Indian Christians and Con-  
stitutional Reform.  
The Liberals and the Delhi  
Congress.  
Indian Representatives at  
the Peace Conference.

The New Lieutenant-Gov-  
ernor of Punjab.  
Sir M. Visvesvaraya on the  
Food Situation.  
Sir S. P. Sinha on India's  
Poverty.  
Government Creches for In-  
fluenza Orphans.  
International Outlook.  
Communal Representation.  
The First Mysore Ladies'  
Conference.

## NOTES.

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**The Willingdon Memorial Movement.** We are glad that a movement has been set on foot to commemorate Lord Willingdon's Governorship. His Excellency has distinguished himself among provincial administrators by his breadth of view and generous sympathy with Indian aspirations. But for the war, the Willingdon administration would have been marked by solid and far-reaching achievements, but even with the war the Government of Bombay during the last five years and a half need fear no comparison with any other provincial Government in the country. We are entirely in favour of maintaining a high standard of commemoration in public life, but surely the standard should be appropriate to the times and conditions in which the to-be-perpetuated, the would-be-perpetuators and their opponents, live and work. Nobody pretends that the Willingdon administration has been free from mistakes. Was Lord Ripon's regime free from defects? Judged by any reasonable standard, and without bias, Lord Willingdon is in every way worthy of being honoured by a public memorial to remind after generations of his work and worth. Those who think otherwise are, of course, entitled to their opinions, but they are not entitled to abuse those who differ from them.

**The Deccan Ryot on the Communal Representation.** We are pleased to see the exceedingly sensible view which the *Deccan Ryot*, the organ of the non-Brahman and backward classes of Maharashtra, takes of the compromise arrived at by the All-India Liberal Conference on the question of communal electorates. "A few non-Brahman (including the depressed classes) representatives of the Bombay, Deccan and Coimbatore," it writes, "attended it (the Conference) with a sincere desire to find a *via media*. For a few sad hours those attempts had wholly broken down. But thanks to the spirit of compromise on both sides and to the ceaseless efforts of the Deccan Moderates headed by Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, the lost hopes were revived, and the Conference agreed to recommend to Government the institution of plural constituencies with reserved seats for communities or groups of

them in the Bombay, Deccan and the Madras Presidency and elsewhere who are at present demanding electoral protection. As Sir Narayanrao observed in placing this proposal before the Conference, it was a compromise agreed to by all the leading members of the Moderate party and, as such, accepted by the Conference itself."

Our contemporary points out that this is not quite so satisfactory as separate electorates, but adds that the non-Brahmans "may, in all probability, find their adequate representation secured by adopting the principle of the system recommended by the Conference." In the following sentences, our contemporary goes beyond this somewhat cautious expectation, and defends the compromise with warmth of conviction. "This compromise," it observes, "will achieve many objects. The Councils of the future will be representative of the Brahmins as well as the non-Brahmins in a reasonable proportion. The Brahmins who wield mighty influences in the electorates will have an opportunity during the next few years to show that they will exert their strength to get into the Councils men who will not only be non-Brahmins but will be such as to command the confidence of the communities whose fears have at present got to be allayed. But the greatest of its advantages will be that it will frustrate the attempts of those who desire to exploit the non-Brahman agitation, which is, in fact, as genuine and patriotic as any in the world, for the purpose, totally foreign to it, of wrecking the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme which opens up to India the road to national self-respect." The whole article from which we have made these excerpts, is admirable in tone and temper, and augurs well for the future of the country.

**Indian Christians and Constitutional Reform.** The Council of the All-India Christian Conference has submitted to Government a well-considered memorandum on the Chelmsford-Montagu scheme of constitutional reforms. At the outset the Council wisely lays down that the attainment of single national solidarity in the whole country, irrespective of creed, race and caste, should be steadily kept in view by people and government at every stage of progress. Communal representation, it maintains, is clearly necessary at the present stage, but it desires that, "whatever the method of its application may be, it should be avowedly worked as a concession to the expediency of situations which are bound to be overcome." This is the right view to take of the question. The Council approves of the main features of the scheme, and asks for special representation of the Indian Christian Community, by election where practicable, and by nomination in other cases, in the provincial and Indian Legislatures; and the introduction of responsible government in the Government of India in the same manner as in the Provinces. One suggestion of the



Council, which we do not remember to have seen made by any other body, is that there should be a division of finance corresponding to the division of transferred and reserved subjects, and that the Executive Government should be made responsible for proposing increase of taxation to meet the needs of reserved subjects. The scheme proposes to lay the burden of all such increase on the Ministers. The Council has made a useful contribution to the literature on the official scheme.

**The Liberals and the Delhi Congress.** Some discussion has arisen as to whether the Liberals who attended the last all-India Conference under the Presidentship of the Hon. Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee should or should not attend the Delhi Congress. The special Congress and the all-India Liberal Conference were held to record opinions on the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme. The holding of these gatherings does not by itself indicate any permanent severance between the Liberals and the Congress. We suppose the attitude of the Liberals will be determined by the attitude of those who have control of the Congress machinery towards them.

**Indian Representatives at the Peace Conference.** His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner will represent the ruling Princes of India at the Peace Conference. Sir S. P. Sinha, as already announced, will represent British India. Both are men of proved patriotism and capacity, and the interests of India cannot be entrusted to safer hands.

**The New Lieutenant-Governor of Punjab.** We are glad that Sir E. Maclagan has been appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab in succession to Sir M. O'Dwyer. Whatever Sir Edward's political views may be, he has impressed every one who has come in contact with him as being a fair-minded and courteous gentleman. The Punjab, we are sure, will welcome him with pleasure, and India is glad that his claims have been recognised.

**Sir M. Visvesvaraya on the Food Situation.** Sir M. Visvesvaraya's speech in opening the meeting of officials and non-officials held at Bangalore to consider the measures to be adopted for meeting the present food supply situation in Mysore applies, with some variations, to the situation in the whole country. The influenza and the failure of rain over large parts of the country, have aggravated the portion created by the high prices consequent on the war. The Government is taking action to bring the marketing of foodstuffs under their control, and for importing additional stocks from outside, but the Dewan impressed on his hearers the importance of intimate co-operation of the public with Government, if the measures adopted were to be of full effect. He concluded with these earnest words: "Gentlemen, I am never tired of reminding you that, as a people, we have little education and no organization; our savings are slender, our stamina is poor, our earning power is low. Our people have not yet learnt that disciplined combination which is necessary for economic success. A people cannot have, at the same time, both the ease of the old world life and the advantages which come from modern industry and the adoption of strenuous business methods. The war is over today. Reconstruction will begin tomorrow in every part of the civilised world, in the West as well as in the far East. Are there no reconstruction problems for us, while 90 per cent of the population you represent are yet illiterate and while 80 per cent are still living in mud houses and thatched huts?"

**Sir S. P. Sinha on India's Poverty:** Sir S. P. Sinha, who has been nominated to represent India at the Peace Conference, is the last man to indulge in unnecessary criticism. But, speaking in England not many weeks ago at the Overseas Press Centre, he was constrained to refer to Sir James Meston's reported remark, in the course of a speech also in England, that India was in a great state of prosperity. Sir S. P. Sinha said that he had reason for believing that Sir James Meston's remark had been misunderstood. "It was not a constitution alone that was wanted for India," he went on to say "but contentment and prosperity. However efficient the system of Government might be in India, it will be generally admitted that India was a very poor country, and unless the whole policy of *laissez-faire* was changed, she was likely to remain so. India had not been prosperous for a long time past and was not prosperous now. It was true that jute mills in Bengal were making huge profits but the peasantry were little, if any, better off. The ownership of the mills was exclusively British—perhaps might almost say exclusively Scottish—and that was where the profits probably went. They did not certainly go to the ryots who had to pay war price for food, salt, cloth, and other necessities, but did not receive correspondingly increased payments to meet those higher charges. India had been the hewer of wood and the drawer of water for the rest of the Empire ... Literally millions in India were on the border of starvation: half the population never had a full meal in the day, and means must be found to remedy this state of things. It was essentially necessary to take steps with regard to the constitution as a means of bringing about contentment and prosperity." Sir S. P. Sinha concluded that what was wanted was democratic government, and there was no reason why it should not work equally as well in India as in any other country. The object of the war was that every people should have the same chance and right of self-development.

**Government Creches for Influenza Orphans.** The Bombay Government have issued the following resolution: "It has been represented to Government that owing to the influenza epidemic a large number of babies have been orphaned. It is reported that such cases are numerous in Poona and that the Mission and other charitable Associations are unable to deal with them for lack of funds and proper staff to look after them. The only way in which Government can assist in such cases would be by establishing at Government expense creches in which the orphans can be looked after until they are reclaimed by their guardians or other relatives or handed over for care and maintenance to some orphanage or other similar institution. His Excellency the Governor in Council is accordingly pleased to authorise the Collectors of the districts to organise relief in the direction indicated above. Government have no objection to Mission Agency being employed in running the creches but they desire that the control should remain with the Collectors. The Collectors should be requested to inform Government through the Divisional Commissioners of the action taken by them in accordance with the above instructions and submit an estimate of the cost involved."



## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, NOVEMBER 24, 1918.

## INTERNATIONAL OUTLOOK.

In reading the terms of the armistice to the Joint Session of the Congress, President Wilson made another of his illuminating speeches on the international outlook in view of the end of the war. He pointed out that the object of the war, namely, the extinction of armed Imperialism, had been attained. The great nations which associated themselves to destroy the arbitrary power of Germany's military might, he went on to say, had now definitely united for a common purpose to set up such a peace as would satisfy the longing of the whole world for disinterested justice, embodied in settlements based upon something better and much more lasting than the selfish competitive interests of powerful states. They had given practical proof of their humane temper and intentions by the unanimous assurance to the peoples of the Central Empires that everything possible in the circumstances would be done to supply them with food. There has been a tendency in some quarters on this assurance to maintain that it is rather a piece of quixotic chivalry. But surely the influenza epidemic, if not common sense, ought to tell us that the effects of a famine and all that it brings in its train in the territories which comprised erstwhile Central European Empires, cannot possibly be confined to these territories. The solidarity of the human race, whether for weal or woe, transcends the limits of international politics. It is all for the future of the world that the responsible heads of the Governments of the leading allied nations fully realise this truth and are straining every nerve to get it organically incorporated in the peace settlement. We hope, too, that the prevalent doctrine that, while freedom of self-development is all right for the white races, it was inapplicable to others, will find no sanction, express or implied, in the proceedings of the Peace Conference. So long as the Asiatic and African peoples are regarded to be suitable objects only for exploitation by the races of Europe, so long it is impossible to eliminate "the selfish competitive interests of power-states" in which President Wilson truly sees the greatest danger to the peace and freedom of the world. The only way in which this "exploitative" view can be permanently prevented, is by helping these peoples to become strong and self-sufficient, and by punishing those who seek to keep them subservient. This, no doubt, was in President Wilson's mind when he said in his speech to the Congress that, while the present and all it holds out to the nations who preserve their self-control and the orderly processes of their governments, the future belongs to those who prove themselves the friends of mankind.

President Wilson called attention to the fact that the revolution which has succeeded the fall of the autocratic Governments was running from one fluid

change to another so that it was impossible to know with what Government, and of what sort, the Allies were about to deal in making peace covenants—with what assurance that their authority will abide and sustain securely the international arrangements into which they were about to enter. The German Emperor and the Crown Prince have abdicated and Germany has been proclaimed a Socialist Republic. "The ultimate aim of the revolution," the proclamation announces, "is the socialisation of capitalistic means of production. This is realisable without violence." It will be remembered that Herr Ebert was nominated Imperial Chancellor by Prince Max, and though the Regent has disappeared, his nominee is the leading figure in the new Government. Hindenburg has notified that he remains at the head of the German army with a view to leading the troops home in order and discipline, and that he expects; that the officers and men will continue to do their duty. A Berlin telegram *via* Copenhagen states that the Government requests that military discipline and the right of punishment be maintained in the fleet, that officers be obeyed and that the Soviets support them in maintaining discipline. All the heads of the Army appear to have accepted the Revolution without a protest. Prince Henry of Prussia, the Kaiser's brother has done the same. All this, so unlike what usually happens in revolutions, may give colour to the doubts expressed in a section of the French Press that the German revolution is an elaborate camouflage. On the other hand, the fact that the rulers of many of the States of the German Empire, have abdicated or accepted dismissal, and have been supplanted by socialist republics, shows that the movement is widespread. Bavaria, Hesse, Mecklenburg, Saxony, Oldenburg, Brunswick, Wurttemberg, Baden, and Saxe Coburg Gotha have all become republics. The attitude of all these republics would seem to be reflected in the demand of the Independent Socialists in the German government that those responsible for prolonging the war, including Tirpitz, Admiral von Hoetzendorff and Knapp, the President of the Fatherland party, should be brought to a State trial. General Smuts observed, in a remarkable speech addressed to American editors, that the future map of Europe would soon be a veritable medley of small nations. It is probable however, that these small nations will form some sort of federation which, while protecting their individual liberties, will give them all the advantage of forming part of a great co-operative system.

Speaking of the League of Nations, General Smuts made some observations which are worth noting, as the General was acting the part of Government host to the American journalists at the dinner at which he delivered the speech. "The League," he said, "could be usefully employed to depute a nation to act on the League's behalf in governing certain territories as in the case of certain German ex-Colonies. Some of these were quite fairly and properly claimed by, and would have been given to, the Dominion which conquered them. But, as regards those not so claimed, certain powers might be deputed to



hold the Colonies as mandatories of the League until the question of their ultimate disposal had been settled, because the Allies would resist to the utmost their restoration to Germany, as it was impossible to foresee how Germany would develop in the future." It seems to us that this is not quite on all fours with the principles laid down by President Wilson and the British Premier as to the right of self-determination of every country and every people. That Germany should not be permitted to retain the Colonies wrenched from her grasp, admits of no difference of opinion. But are we going to recognise the right of conquest in the case of any particular Dominion? If the General had in mind German East Africa, Indian troops had a large share in ousting the Germans from that territory, and, surely, Sir S. P. Sinha, as the representative of India, will have something to say to its being handed over to the South African Union which still persists in subjecting British Indian subjects to vexatious and humiliating restrictions in its territories. There is no use blinking the fact that there is a point of view which General Smuts does not and cannot represent. We trust that the Government of India and the Indian representative will not lose sight of the claims of India and the Indians. According to General Smuts' own view, India has a predominant claim to favourable consideration in the settlement of the future of Mesopotamia, Palestine and East Africa which must depend on this country for their means of development. No arrangement which is likely to operate adversely to the trade of this country, and the position of natives of this country in those territories, can be acceptable to Indian or, we hope, British opinion.

#### COMMUNAL REPRESENTATION.

We have received the following communication from a leading non-Brahmin publicist of Southern India who does not wish to disclose his identity at present:

Communal Representation is the order of the day in Non-Brahmin South India. It is on the lips of one and all. It is the be-all and end-all of their hopes and aspirations for the moment. I may say that Communal Representation is the chief plank in the Non-Brahmin platform. Let the Government only grant it in response to the appeal of Non-Brahmin Conferences and the millions in the background, the Non-Brahmin problem would be solved in a trice, they plead.

Let us look the thing squarely in the face and think it over with a sober and an unprejudiced mind. Is it at all feasible? Is it within the legitimate province of practical politics? I am afraid not.

A political concession dictated by expediency and rarely, if ever, made in the case of minorities, judging each case on its own merits, to be thought of seriously being applied to an overwhelming majority of non-Brahmins, quite a non-descript class of people! And then granting for the sake of mere supposition, no harm is done—that an attempt were made to placate the

crowd, where would Government start with the business, how would they proceed with the scheme, where would they land off and on to take breath of a while and when will they see the beginning of the end of it? Quite Utopian! And then, are you going to serve all and sundry with it? How many communities, or castes or sub-castes or sub-sub-castes would demand Communal Representation, do you think, all at once? Have you any conception? Their name is legion. And Government must satisfy them all because India is peculiarly situated and won't budge an inch from where she stands to-day. Her history or story is wholly incomprehensible to modern progressive Western peoples! We have been fed on English literature and we are of opinion that she should at once be brought into line with the rest of the civilized world. That is all. If she cannot, she must simply be left out of account in the interest of the world to die a natural death, I suppose. She loses her chance, her only chance perhaps, and would fall back behind other nations by at least a period of several hundred years.

Now, it is essential that we should begin to clarify and define our ideas on the subject. Communal Representation will accentuate the existing social, also the political and economical differences and create unnecessary heart-burning everywhere. Eminent men who were somebodies in their times had, in the past, entered a strong protest against its inception, or at all events fought shy of it more often than not. It would not help nation-building, they had said; but on the other hand, it would break to pieces most rudely the nation in the forming.

What do they want to do after all, these big non-Brahmin worthies who are all-knowing all-wise and all-representing? Around the mud walls of caste now crumbling into dust, they wish to raise stone-walls and keep the communities hemmed in water-tight compartments for an indefinite period of time unless a time-limit is arranged in advance. Some of these master-minds claiming C. R. want a time-limit of 10 or 20 or 30 or 50 years and they suggest all this in the interest of the novel political experiment they expect Government to undertake at their instance. And the time-limit suggestion itself shows up the hollowness of the whole thing. They have serious doubts about its working smoothly and well.

The whole authors of the Reform Scheme have brushed this C. R. business. There is no parallel in history or tradition anywhere they say, not even in Central Africa or South America. C. R. is sure to effect a further cleavage in the social solidarity of the race. It will prove a set-back and not a stimulus. Common sense and Reason, revolt against the idea. It must, if it came into effect, throw the administration out of gear and put back the hands of progress.

The Mahomedans and the Sikhs have been granted C. R., they repeat time and again from the house-tops and so say, the non-Brahmins should have also. This is their stock argument. Those are evidently important minorities and political ex-



agencies dictate a certain policy on the part of the Government and their interests should be protected thus perhaps. Government cannot always take every one into their confidence in everything and the Non-Brahmins may leave the matter there. But the Non-Brahmins are, by their own admission, an awful majority and how can this majority be treated as a minority I am unable to guess. And, where are the Communal Electorates they want to come from?

Government should think well before committing themselves to any course of action easily in this matter; all the Non-Brahmins in the whole world notwithstanding, the problem bristles with difficulties.

All this agitation for Communal Representation will calm down in course of time if left to itself. It must spend itself shortly. Only a nine days' wonder after all.

Of course, people will curse me in South India for speaking the bare unvarnished truth about it. I shall make due allowances for the personal equation. But, duty must be done without fear or favour. On sober reflection over the whole thing, I have written these few lines and may they appeal to thinking men and women.

#### THE FIRST MYSORE LADIES' CONFERENCE.

##### PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

In opening the proceedings, Mrs. K. S. Chandrasekhara Aiyar, the President, observed as follows:—

I feel that this is indeed a notable day, one that may well prove to be of some consequence for the future of Mysore; for it is the first occasion on which a formal conference of Indian ladies meets in the capital city of this State in order to consider what measures will ensure the progress of the country and particularly what steps are immediately needed for the advancement of its womanhood.

Those who have been watching the public life of India will have noticed during the past few years the manifestation of a new force expressing itself in increased earnestness of purpose and enthusiasm for public service, and the striving after great and noble ideals. As a result people are impelled—not men alone, but women as well,—to agitate and discuss on the platform and in the press questions of vital importance to the nation in all departments of life.

Though ours is the first Ladies' conference for Mysore, our sisters in Gujerat, Maharashtra, Kerala, Andhradesha, and elsewhere have anticipated us in this respect. And what, it may be asked, is the significance of it all? The significance seems to me to lie in the fact that women are coming to realise that, just as the welfare and the happiness of the home and of the family lie largely in their hands, so have they their share of responsibility for the progress and prosperity of the country and the nation. The idea that woman's concern is limited to the kitchen is fast disappearing with the increased recognition of her sphere of influence as co-extensive with the whole field of national existence.

Women are afraid to take part in public life because they feel that they have not the necessary training and experience. Their brothers are educated men and know a great deal of the world, and hence are fitted to take an active part in the country's work; but this advantage, they feel, has been denied to themselves. But it is not wise to rest content with the position. Unless we make up our minds

to go forward, we cannot acquire the training necessary to fit ourselves for our parts. Practice and capacity go hand-in-hand; the one cannot wait till the other is attained. If a person wants to learn how to swim, he must go into the water and get the help of some one who knows swimming to teach him the art and to pull him out of the water if he should venture too deep. Just in the same way, we must not be afraid to come out of our seclusion; else we cannot realise all that there is for us to do; but we have the help of several of our sisters who know a little more of the world than we do, and of our brothers as well who are much more advanced and experienced than we; these will show us the way and set right any mistakes that we may make at first. The main thing is that we should range ourselves alongside of our men and help on to the best of our power the work that the country needs.

Some of you may ask whether this is not a new thing that you are being asked to do, and whether there are in these times Indian women who have taken successful part in public affairs. I can name many who have done useful and valuable work in the fields of literature, women's education, social reform, politics, administration, and the rest,—women like Mrs. Sarojini Devi, the Maharani of Baroda, the Begum of Bhopal, Mrs. Ramabai Ranade, Pandita Ramabai, and several others whose names are household words all over India. All of them, while striving to advance the cause of women, are also helping to show what women can do if the opportunity is given them. It is because of the new force which, as I said, is beginning to be active in the world that such work is being done by these sisters of ours. It is important that at this juncture we move in the direction of this force and work along with it, so as to ensure steady orderly progress.

Some may object "Why should we exert ourselves? Let the world move on if it likes." If you take this attitude the consequences may not be very pleasant. The spirit of progress may be likened to a fast-moving motor car bearing on its cushions all those who are in harmony with the movement; but those who are afraid or do not like the movement are like passengers in a bullock cart which, because the force is one and irresistible, is yoked to the back of the motor car; imagine the uncomfortable position of the occupants of the cart, jolting along at a speed of 20 or 25 miles an hour and getting every little while a heavy knock or kick. That illustrates the truth which I wish to emphasise, that if we do not go willingly along with the strong onward current, we shall have hard and painful experiences and be put to serious disadvantage and discomfort.

Time was when the sex itself was looked down upon as the embodiment of weakness. A feeble man used to be called derisively a womanly creature. But there is no real strength apart from the divine energy for growth, and that is as strong in women as in men. Sons inherit their qualities from their mothers no less than from their fathers, be it courage, intelligence or capacity. Many great men have acknowledged that they owed their greatness and all else that was good in their lives to the influence of their mothers. You all know the saying: "The child takes after her mother; the cloth takes after the thread." It is easy enough to mention instances of the force of maternal example and influence; one of them I dare say will at once occur to your minds in the gratifying fact that the taste for higher education possessed by our sister here, Mrs. Rukminamma, has been imbibed by her daughter, who is like her a graduate and is preparing herself to take the M. A. Degree.

In this matter of educational progress as in other respects our Maharaja and his enlightened Ministers have made what I may call a thoroughfare, along which they invite us to go; they have provided for us various facilities for acquiring the knowledge and training that is so necessary for our advancement. It behoves us to put to use, for ourselves and our girls, the opportunities that are available and those that may be added in course of time. The great thing is for us to come out of our seclusion and take a part in the work that has to be done.

(To be continued.)



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THE

# INDIAN \* SOCIAL \* REFORMER.

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not  
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

## CONTENTS.

—:o:—

British Loans to the Allies and the Dominions:	The Franchise Problem in Bombay.
More Colleges for Bombay:	Is India Civilized. I.
Swadeshi Banking:	The first Mysore Ladies Conference.
Panchama Education in Mysore.	The Depressed Classes Mis- sion Mangalore.

## NOTES.

—:o:—

**British Loans to the Allies and the Dominions:** In moving a vote of credit the week before last, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Bonar Law, told the House of Commons that on October 19th, the loans to the Allies amounted to 1,465 millions sterling, and loans to the Dominions to 218 millions. Altogether, he added, 568 millions had been lent to Russia, 425 millions to France, 345 to Italy and 127 to smaller States. Britain's debts abroad did not exceed one thousand million. Mr. Law did not specify the Dominions to which loans had been made, but India is not one of them. Rather the contrary. The figures given above should give food for thought for such of our British fellow-subjects in this country who claim the right of deciding the pace of our political progress on the ground that British capital is invested in India.

**More Colleges for Bombay:** We are glad that the Government of Bombay have realised the urgent necessity for providing increased facilities for higher education. The number of students rejected by the Arts colleges has been increasing. The Government order states that his Excellency the Governor in Council is pleased to appoint a Committee to enquire into the question of providing additional facilities for education in the Government Arts colleges by means of (1) increasing accommodation in these colleges and (2) establishing new colleges in suitable centres. The Committee will consist of the following members:—The Director of Public Instruction, *Chairman*. The Principals of all Government Arts Colleges in the Presidency, the Honourable Mr. R. P. Paranjpye, Mr. C. H. Setalvad, and the Rev. Father A. Goodier. The Committee will meet in Bombay. The Chairman of the Committee will fix the date and place of meeting of the Committee and inform the members. He will report the result of the deliberations of the Committee to Government as early as possible.

**Swadeshi Banking:** The failure of several Banks in the Punjab and Bombay, managed by Indians, five years ago, led to a general discrediting of Swadeshi banking. The liquidation proceedings of these banks have been in progress since. The People's Bank was the most important Punjab Bank which had to be wound up. The *Punjabee* says that the Liquidator expects to pay the creditors 16 annas in the rupee, and quotes from the report of a Committee appointed by the Punjab Government to show that

the failure of the Punjab Banks was due to avoidable causes. The Maynard Committee summed up its conclusions by remarking that the collapse was due to two fundamental causes (1) the inexperience, and the defects of the machinery inevitable to the starting of every new venture and (2) the lack of palliative or remedial action such as Government itself, or quasi-Government agencies *i.e.*, a state supported provincial bank might supply. Our contemporary gives another significant quotation from the same report. It reads as follows: "During the crisis there was no co-operation between the Indian banks themselves, or between them and the English banks, or between them and the old-fashioned Indian banks. We attach peculiar significance to the statements made by witnesses as to the position of the Bank of Bengal while the fact that the Punjab National Bank has been received on the clearing list—only, after surviving the crisis—shows that at present good relations do exist and that there is future possibility of better, *yet the absence of a provincial bank probably meant the downfall of sound bank which might have been saved.* The Bank of Bengal is too big, not local in its sympathy, ignorant of provincial conditions and not susceptible to the influence of the Provincial Government. The Lahore Branch was willing to help and made recommendations to Calcutta, but these were rejected with curtness, and *not even on the deposit of Government paper would the Bank of Bengal consent to advance money to the Punjab National Bank.*"

**Panchama Education in Mysore:** Mr. C. R. Reddy, M. A., I. G. of Education, has submitted a comprehensive scheme for the development of the Central Panchama Bording School at Mysore into a Central Panchama Educational, Industrial and Training Institution at a cost of Rs 37,124 recurring and Rs. 32,500 nonrecurring. The school will be exclusively for Panchamas as other depressed class people who are caste Hindus are not likely to mix with them. The following Industries together with General Education, will be taught in the school: Boot and shoe making, Weaving, Carpentry and Smithy, Tailoring, Agriculture and Sericulture (Compulsory), Brick laying and house building. It will be an Anglo-Vernacular Lower Secondary School, with Upper Secondary and Normal Training Classes attached to it. The following obligations are imposed that it shall be a sort of residential boarding institution and when sufficient number of teachers are trained similar and smaller institutions be opened in mufassal. That the boys who pass the English Lower Secondary Examination be drafted to High School and those who pass the Kannada Upper Secondary Examination be sent out as teachers in the smaller institutions to be opened in the mufassal. That the present school confined to Panchama boys and that a recommendation be made to Government to open a separate institution on similar lines for Panchama girls in the Mysore City.



# INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, DECEMBER, 1 1918.

## THE FRANCHISE PROBLEM IN BOMBAY.

The Montagu-Chelmsford report lays down two principles to be kept in view in forming the electorates in the Provinces. The system of indirect electorates should be swept away, as it is the main cause of the unreality that characterises the existing Councils by effectively preventing the representative from feeling that he stands in any genuine relation to the original voter. The limitations of the franchise, which it is obviously desirable to make as broad as possible, should, it is laid down, be determined rather with reference to practical difficulties than to any *a priori* considerations as to the exact degree of education or amount of income which might be held to constitute a qualification. The distinguished authors proceed to elaborate the point. "It is possible," they observe, "that owing to unequal distribution of population and wealth it may be necessary to differentiate the qualifications for a vote not merely between provinces but between different parts of the same province. It is essential to take due account of the problems involved in the maintenance of an electoral roll, the attendance of voters at a polling centre, the danger of impersonation and the subsequent adjudication of electoral petitions. On these considerations the strength of the official and non-official agency which could be made available for electoral purposes throughout the country has an important bearing, and warns us against such an inordinately sudden extension of the franchise as might lead to a breakdown of the machinery through sheer weight of numbers" (P. 110). With reference to what is said in the above passage as to the probable necessity of having to differentiate the qualifications for a vote between different parts of the same province, it may be noted that such differentiation as between different classes of voters is strongly deprecated. At page 130 of the report, it is observed in respect of the electorates to the Indian Legislative Assembly: "If constituencies are to be approximately even in size, it may be necessary to concede a special franchise to the Muhammadans who, taken as a whole, are poorer than the Hindus and this means giving a vote to some Muhammadans who could not be entitled to vote if they were Hindus. That is an undesirable anomaly, to which we should prefer the anomaly of unequal constituencies." Such an anomaly at present exists between the general electorates and the special Mahomedan electorates. A Mahomedan who holds land assessed or assessable at one hundred rupees outside the city of Bombay or pays income-tax on the minimum assessable income of one thousand rupees, is entitled to vote in the special electorate, but a non-Mahomedan with these qualifications is not a voter. Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford point out that, though the special Mahomedan electorates were intended to be fairly inclusive, even they are limited to a few hundred electors. If direct voting for the Legislative Council is introduced, and the fran-

chise assimilated wholly or in part to that under an extended scheme of Local Self-Government, the Mahomedan electorates, along with the general electorates, will greatly increase in their size and representative character. We think it absolutely necessary that the electorate for the Legislative Council should be carved out of, if it cannot be identical with, the Local and Municipal electorates, not only because, as Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford remark, the latter are the true schools of citizenship, but even more because, now that Municipalities and Local Boards are not to elect members of the Legislature, without a connecting link in the electorates between the local and provincial parts of the administration, the former are likely to lose in attractiveness for the more ambitious, who are also often the more able, men and to become the monopoly of those who think the rustic cackle of their bourgs, the murmur of the world. In any case we apprehend a considerable falling-off in local self-Government as the consequence of the introduction of direct electorates, at any rate during the initial stages of constitutional reform.

Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford consider the Municipal and the local board franchise as the best means of acquiring education in citizenship. The Government of India in their last resolution, dated 16th May last, on Local Self-government, remark that the provision of a substantial elected majority on local bodies involves as a necessary corollary that the franchise for such election should be sufficiently low to obtain constituencies which will be really representative of the body of the rate-payers. "So far as information is at present available," they proceed to observe, "it would appear that the average electorate in municipalities in India represents some 6 per cent of the population and the electorate in district boards some .6 per cent. It is recognised that a full elective system analogous to that which obtains in the West (such as the municipal franchise in England which is understood to include some 16 per cent of the population concerned) cannot be immediately or universally applied, but it should be regarded as the end to be kept in view and worked up to." The Government of Bombay had appointed a committee to consider and report on the extension of the franchise for municipal and local bodies, and the committee has, it is understood, made important suggestions which will largely increase the number of voters. According to a statement presented to the Bombay Legislative Council in July last, the total number of municipal voters in the Presidency, including Sind is, in round numbers, 150,000, while that of Taluka Local Boards is about 170,000. The qualifying rate in Municipalities varies from Rs. 20 in Ghatkoper Kirol and Rs. 10 in Poona Suburban, to annas 10 in Igatpuri and annas 8 in Ghoga and Ratnagiri. The qualifying rate for Local Board elections, however, is the same throughout the Presidency, namely, assessment of land of Rs. 48 or more per annum. The local Government have power to reduce this rate, but this power has not been



used. The Taluka Local Board voters number about 170,000, as said above, and it has been calculated that a reduction of the qualifying rate to Rs. 16 would raise the number of voters to over 650,000. The rent-payers, lodgers and tenants, are not at present entitled to vote, but this is inequitable, and the franchise, on every ground, should be extended to them. Taking all together, the number of voters for municipal and local boards may reasonably be expected to number under a more extended franchise in the near future 1,500,000, instead of about 320,000 as at present. An electorate of between three quarters of a million and one million voters can be formed out of this body for the Legislative Council in this Presidency. An electorate of this size comprising from  $7\frac{1}{2}$  to 10 per cent of the adult male population of the Presidency, will, we think, be an adequate basis for a considerable measure of provincial autonomy, and for reducing to a minimum the category of "reserved" subjects to be dealt with by what the report styles "the official Executive Government," consisting of the Governor and the Members of his Executive Council.

As Government themselves contemplate the enlargement of the Municipal and Local Board electorates, there can be no serious administrative difficulty in managing an electorate of half the size for the Legislative Council. The machinery of the Municipalities and Local Boards will, of course, be available, in addition to Government agency and should be availed for the Legislative Council elections also. While nobody would suggest that the electorate should be of unmanageable dimensions, we think it unduly cautious to fix our attention primarily on the possibility of electoral abuses. If this had been done in every other country, there will be few of them to-day enjoying the privileges of responsible Government. The history of the English electorates is itself the best proof of this. In India, the course of reform, political and social, has been greatly impeded by a too lively apprehension of all the possible abuses that may follow on the track of reform. In this respect the Anglo-Indian official is the exact counterpart of the orthodox Hindu. There are orthodox Hindus who object that if widows were allowed to remarry there will be quite an epidemic of the murder of husbands; that if girls are educated they will employ their literary talents chiefly for the production of love-letters; that if the depressed classes were educated and their social and economic condition improved there would be nobody left to carry on the work of conservancy in the country. These good people are not at all troubled by the gross abuses which prevail in the present order of things. Your bureaucrat likewise never considers the possibility of abuses where his own schemes are concerned. He will impose and maintain a duty on salt in a tropical country with a long sea-board, without considering the effect of letting loose on the people a vast horde of low-paid employees to prevent them from utilising the brine which Nature has provided with such a lavish hand. He will artificially raise the value of the rupee by legislation to a level higher than the price of silver

it contains and trust to the police and the magistracy to counteract by their vigilance the enormous temptation which his policy offers to the manufacturer of false coins. But it will not occur to him that it is just as possible to put down election abuses by similar measures. An ancient institution bore on its front portal the inscription: "Be bold." A motto, on the inner portal bade the entrant: "Ever more be bold." The inmost portal, however, contained a warning to the neophyte, heartened to a high pitch by the two outer inscriptions, to temper his boldness with prudence: "Be not too bold." This, it seems to us, is the proper counsel to all reformers. The official, however, is apt to invert the order of these exhortations; or rather, to lay all the stress on the last and to slur over the first two. In framing the electorates the proper course, we think, is to bring into our scheme as large a number of persons as possible having regard to their intelligence and capacity, and to devise measures for putting down abuses that may ensue. Even in England election abuses have not disappeared, notwithstanding the long political experience of the people and many severe measures against corruption.

#### IS INDIA CIVILIZED.\* I.

Sir John Woodroffe, the scholarly Judge of the Calcutta High Court, has rendered a great service to India by his book "Is India Civilized?" The volume consists of twelve essays on Indian culture. In a brief introduction, Sir John observes that the question which forms the title of the book is raised by Mr. William Archer whose book "India and the Future" was recently reviewed in these columns. Mr. Archer finds India as a whole to be in the state of "barbarism." Referring to the remark of an Indian that it did not matter if Mr. Archer thought so, as his was only the last of a long list of misunderstanding works abusive of India and her culture, Sir John Woodroffe writes: "This indifferent attitude is a mistake. India cannot at the present moment allow any charges against her to go unanswered. Lordship over alien peoples at present ultimately rests on might, though particular circumstances may render its actual enforcement unnecessary. But (apart from such implied consent as may in any particular case be held to exist) the right which Power-holders today allege is *cultural superiority* and the duty to raise the ruled to the cultural level religious, moral and intellectual of those who control. It is with reference to such a duty that Mr Archer finds India to be barbarous". Sir John Woodroffe's object in this book is not to go into questions of practical politics. It is chiefly to show the three causes, racial, religious and political, which are at the back of the influences making for the cultural conquest of this country. He very justly says that in judging of a civilization we must look to its fundamental principles. "Having lived in this country for a period of nearly thirty years," he writes, "I am

\* Messrs. Ganesh & Co., Madras.



well aware of the divergence between Ideals and Facts. The greater one's interest in India the more acutely is it observed. But this charge is one which, in varying ways, can be made in different degree against all peoples. We must also distinguish between what is essential and of value and what is mere crust." We are inclined to emphasise this last exhortation when we see Sir John Woodroffe needlessly, as we think, worrying himself as to whether a remark reported to have been made by "one who has been called an Indian leader" in a speech, represents an actual tendency of the Indian mind. The remark is that "English institutions were the standards by which their (the Indians') aspirations were set." Sir John's observations on this are as follow: "We may all benefit by the example and influence of others. But it is the Racial Sun of those who speak in this way which is set. Is it possible to conceive of any ordinary, much less a leading, Englishman or Irishman, however friendly to and an admirer of (let us say) France, saying that "French institutions were the standards by which his aspirations were set". He would think that *his own* perfected institutions and racial ideals were the standards according to which his aspirations should be set. Is it possible with such a frame of mind to have independence and nobility of spirit? But perhaps it and other like sayings are only evidence of the occasional lingering of the servient spirit of a disappearing generation into a newly opening age of nobility, courage, vigour and freedom. I greatly hope so."

We cannot help regretting that Sir John does not mention the name of the Indian leader who made the remark. It seems to us that the eminent author would have found no ground for misgiving in it if, as we suspect, what the speaker intended to mean was that the standards in political (not in cultural) matters were set to Indians by English institutions. We are sure no Indian leader holds that in social and religious matters we should be guided by English standards. But in politics we certainly take our standard from English and not from Indian institutions because there are no Indian institutions which embody the principles which we are anxious to see incorporated in the Government of India. Perhaps, the right way of putting it is to say that our standards are set by the institutions of Western democracies, but England is the oldest if not the oldest, of such democracies, and is, moreover, the one with which we are most familiar, and we see no reason for searching of the heart in the remark of the Indian leader. His studies have no doubt showed Sir John Woodroffe that India has never through the ages turned her back to the light from whatever quarter it might come. She has assimilated truth wherever it might have originated and made it one with her own. There are Greek, Persian and Mahomedan elements in Indian culture, but it requires elaborate research to find out which is pure Indian and which is foreign. In the same way, many of us are now unable to distinguish between what we have absorbed from our

Western education and what we have inherited from our Indian ancestry. "Is Indian civilization about to be renewed or to be broken up—another instance of that disintegration which has followed the introduction of Western civilization among Eastern peoples?" If by Eastern, Sir John means Africa or Australia, it is true that the introduction of Western civilization has had the effect of disintegrating the indigenous civilization. But where in Asia has this result been observed? Japan is the one Asiatic country where Western civilization has been widely absorbed, and yet observers tell us that these it is more of a "protective colouring"—the utilization of the weapons of the West to keep the West out. Moreover, when we speak of civilization, Western and Eastern, or Western and Indian, we must, as Sir John himself has said look to fundamental principles. The question which he asks is, in any case, singularly untimely. The West is now called upon to reconstruct her civilization which the war has laid in ruins. The Eastern or Indian civilization, comparatively speaking, is in no such parlous state. We doubt if any war *can* touch the bases of Indian civilization as this war has touched the bases of Western civilization. Because Indian civilization rests on "metaphysical" foundations which fire cannot burn, the wind, dry, the sword, cut, or machine guns, destroy. This feature of our civilization has been ridiculed by Western critics who four short years ago thought that civilization rested most securely on wealth and trade, and armaments to protect both. When Cræsus boasted of his wealth, Solon warned him that the man who had iron would rob him of his gold. The war has opened the eyes of Western nations to the fact that capitalism is a national danger. Programmes are being drawn up with a view to the equitable distinction of wealth between classes and between individuals. It is thought wrong that the working men should be given a subsistence wage, while the employer makes huge profits. The same principle should be applied to nations as well if the proposed League of Nations is to produce the results expected of it. If, as at present happens, the producing nations continue to be left a bare subsistence, and the manufacturing and militant nations take the lion's share of the world's wealth, the League of Nations cannot prevent another world cataclysm before which the war which has been just suspended will be mere child's play.

#### THE FIRST MYSORE LADIES CONFERENCE.

##### RESOLUTIONS.

The first of the Resolutions placed before the conference affirmed that higher education should be on the same lines for women as for men; and was moved by Srimati Mrs. K. D. Rukminiamma B. A., and seconded by Srimati Sou. K. Subamma B. A.

In commending this Resolution for the acceptance of the meeting the President, Mrs. Chandrasekhara Aiyar, observed that Mrs. Rukminiamma had given excellent reasons in support of it. "Female education" was not a happy expression, accentuating as it did the sex-aspect where it did not



exist; cultured people did not like it either; and she might add that her husband, whenever he found the expression "female" used in that way, was for scoring it out and substituting "woman." As regards the main portion of the Resolution, she had this to say that women were already in a very disadvantageous position compared with men in the matter of higher education; what they wanted was greater facilities, more encouragement and better inducements, rather than any discrimination in the nature of the subjects or the mode of teaching. The vernaculars were no doubt entitled to special consideration in the curriculum of national education, but if their exclusive use as the media of higher education was as beneficial and desirable as it was represented to be, it must be so for all, and not merely for women students. She deprecated experiments being made in this respect at the expense of women till after the scheme had been tried successfully in the case of men. Instead of that, if the lines on which higher education was given to women were made materially different from those available to men, the result would be an increasing divergence of quality between the products of the two kinds of education, entailing among other things the one being placed at a serious disadvantage compared with the other in entering the various walks of life. It was easy enough to draw up special curricula in the vernaculars for women students; but it was rather difficult to see how, if the latter insisted upon following the same course of studies as were available for men, they could be prevented from following their own choice.

The Resolution was put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

The second Resolution, about the desirability of raising the age of marriage for boys and girls, was to have been moved by Mrs. G. Aravamudiengar; but owing to her regrettable absence on account of illness, though she had come all the way from Bangalore to speak on the point, the duty of moving the same fell to the President Mrs. Chandrasekhara Aiyar. In doing so, she said that she had spoken at some length at the Civic and Social conference held in June 1917 on the subject of postponing the age of marriage. She did not want to repeat all that she had said then, but would content herself with summarising the main points. After doing so, she remarked that till education was fully and properly gone through, marriage was undesirable for both sexes; it interfered with education, and it was bad for the health of those prematurely united in wedlock; there could be no doubt whatever about the fact, and she alluded to several instances from her own experience. The next question was whether legislation by Government should be resorted to in order to raise the age of marriage. The speaker considered that this was not a very effective or satisfactory remedy, and that a much better thing was that they should themselves realise the evil consequences of early marriage and act with the force of public opinion behind them to get rid of those consequences. In this connection, she cited the instance of plague prevention measures: when plague first broke out twenty years ago, the people did not understand the benefits of evacuation and disinfection; so when the authorities insisted on their giving up their homes and betaking themselves to sheds, there was bitter opposition, a good deal of obstruction, and even a few murders. But now that people had begun to see for themselves the advantages of these measures, there was no difficulty in getting them to do what was useful, and many lives were being saved and much suffering obviated. Similarly with regard to the age of marriage. There was a Regulation which made it punishable to cause the marriage of a girl who had not completed 8 years of age; very few people did take part in such marriages now; but foolish people who wanted to evade the law, had merely to go to Jolarpet beyond the border, perform the marriage of the infants, and return to the State without fear of punishment. There was a proposal that Government

should raise the minimum age of marriage to 10 years; but already all kinds of objections and controversies were being raised, and it was to be feared that in any case very little good would come out of it in the end. In the opinion of the speaker the proper age was much higher; but, as she had already said, it was far better that people should themselves realise what was the right thing to do in the matter and regulate their action accordingly. Early marriage was opposed to the Shastras; and it seemed to have come into vogue in the days of Mahomedan domination, when unmarried young women were liable to be carried away, whereas married women were immune; hence even children in the cradle were occasionally put through the ceremony of marriage. The times had altogether changed. Women were now everywhere respected; and in public functions and in all respectable society the first honours were accorded to women. In the state of enlightenment that had followed in the wake of British administration, the old precautionary practice of early marriage had lost all reason for its existence. After touching upon some of the practical inconveniences of early marriage and the advantages of postponement, the speaker added that they (the women) should understand the matter clearly and speak up strongly in support of what was undoubtedly the better practice. The men stood on platforms and spoke themselves hoarse in favour of late marriages; but they were not supported by their womenkind, whose opposition even compelled them to break their solemn resolutions. As a matter of fact, women had greater strength of mind in these matters than men; and if they made up their minds that the reform in question was a desirable one, nothing could prevent its being accomplished.

Mrs. Ranganna seconded the resolution, which was carried without a single dissentient vote.

### THE DEPRESSED CLASSES MISSION MANGALORE.

FROM A CORRESPONDENT.

The visit of Mrs. Annie Besant to Mangalore for laying the foundation-stone of the local National Girls' School on the 6th Inst, was availed of by the Depressed Classes Mission, Mangalore and the distinguished visitor was invited to the various Institutions worked by the Mission to see the progress made since her last visit to the place in January 1909, which gave a great impetus to the movement.

The Secretary of the Mission Mr. K. Rangarao, after showing her the several articles made by the Panchama students, briefly sketched the work done during the period and said that at present the Mission maintained 7 day schools 10 night schools, 1 Boarding House and an Industrial Institute which won a Silver Medal for its work in carpentry and weaving, in the Industrial Exhibition held in Mangalore in December 1917. The Panchama colony accommodates 60 Panchama families and there are 16 Socio-religious Associations for Bhajan and Temperance work. Difficulty was being felt in the giving of higher education to Panchama boys, in that the Mission has no funds of its own to provide for it and that the other local educational institutions have not yet responded to the request made to them to admit Panchama boys under conditions.

Mrs. Besant was greatly pleased at the progress made and congratulated the Mission at the excellent work, they have been doing under great difficulties. The work, however, on that account should not be slackened in as much as in the service of the lowest, lies the Realization of the Supreme. She was then taken to see the Homesteads of their colony at Deravai, a suburb few miles off the town and in the visitors' books, the following remarks by her are invaluable.

"No better service can be rendered to India than the up lift of her submerged classes, giving them back their self-respect and opening up avenues of employment. The Depressed classes Mission, Mangalore is doing splendid work in this field not only in the schools and in the thorough Manual Training in the central Mission but in the colonies where they are provided by homesteads. May the Divine blessing rest on those who serve Narayana in His poorest brethren."



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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

## CONTENTS.

—:o:—

India and Australia.  
Mr. Patel's Inter-Caste Marriage Bill.  
Indian Women and the Franchise.  
The Queen Mary's College for Women, Madras.  
Bombay Electorates.

Bereavements of a Distinguished Social Worker.  
Armistice Celebration at the Poona Seva Sadan.  
Depressed Classes Mission, Bangalore Branch.  
Child Education in India.  
Indians and the Colonies.

## NOTES.

—:o:—

**India and Australia:** We print in another column a letter from Mr. C. F. Andrews clearing up some points raised by Mr. Polak in the letter which we printed on the 17th November. Neither Mr. Andrews nor ourselves absolved the Australians of all blame in the matter of colour prejudice. They have their share of it, as we too have. The point, however, is that they are just now, owing to various reasons, showing an inclination to confine the restrictions on Asiatic immigration to the narrowest limits compatible with what they deem to be the best policy for their country. Should we not recognise that, and respond in a similar spirit of liberality? When we ask other races to put themselves in our position, it is well worth our while before condemning their methods, to try to look at the questions involved with their eyes. We are convinced that the problem of the free admission of Indians into the self-governing Colonies is likely to be solved quicker and more easily, if we on our part adopt an attitude not of unbending irritation but one of consideration for their difficulties. As regards intermarriage, a point mentioned by Mr. Andrews, it may remove the apprehensions of our fellow-subjects if they knew that we, in India, have not the least desire to encourage the growth of a mixed population in the Colonies.

**Mr. Patel's Inter-Caste Marriage Bill.** As was to be expected, public meetings are being held in various parts of the country by Reform associations and other public bodies—some to support Mr. Patel's bill regarding the validity of inter-caste marriages, others to protest against the same. One of the latest of such meetings is the one which ended in a fiasco in Madras. The conveners desired to protest against the Bill as utterly un-Hindu in spirit, highly objectionable, and repugnant to all sections of the Hindu community. The Chairman Dewan Bahadur M. O. Parthasarathy Iyengar in the course of his introductory remarks said that if the Bill was passed into law it would disturb the peace and tranquillity of Hindu homes. Before the mover of the Resolution could finish reading it, some among the audience desired that the Resolution should not go from the Hindu community but that it should restrict itself by

stating that it was the opinion of "the orthodox Hindu citizens of Madras." This justifiable insistence seems to have made further proceeding with the meeting impossible, and the Chairman was accordingly obliged to dissolve the meeting. One interesting incident at the meeting was that the Chairman read a letter from Dewan Bahadur Rajaratna Mudaliar withdrawing his name from among the conveners of the protest meeting on the ground that Mr. Patel's Bill was only a permissive measure. One wonders whether the Dewan Bahadur first thought that Government was about to enact that no more marriages within each caste would be permitted and that henceforth all marriages must necessarily be of the inter-caste variety!

**Indian Women and the Franchise:** It is understood that the Reform Committee will receive a deputation of the Bharat Stree Maha Mandal at Lahore on the question of franchise for women. A telegram to the *Bombay Chronicle* dated Allahabad the 3rd instant states that a meeting of the Prayag Mahila Samiti (an exclusively ladies' association) was held there with Mrs. Prag Das, wife of Rai Bahadur Babu Prag Das, retired judge, in the chair. There was a large and representative gathering of ladies. The following resolutions were unanimously passed amidst great enthusiasm:—"This Samiti is strongly of opinion that the women of India are fit for the exercise of political rights and that the introduction of any sex bar in the coming reforms would be a serious obstacle in the way of national evolution. It urges that in matters of Franchise and membership of the reformed councils, women should be treated on a footing of absolute equality with man."

**The Queen Mary's College for Women, Madras:** The Secretary of State for India has sanctioned the proposal to place the Queen Mary's College for Women, Madras, on a permanent footing with effect from the 3rd October 1918 and also the retention up to that date of the additional Professor on Rs. 400 per mensem. We understand that Rao Bahadur C. Cunnann Chettiar, in conjunction with his brother, Dewan Bahadur C. Ramanujam Chettiar, has given one lakh of rupees for building a Women's Medical School as an adjunct to the Queen Mary's Women's College in Madras. The gift comes indeed at a very appropriate time, writes the *Madras Mail*, as H. E. Lord Pentland is still in our midst and it must be a source of sincere gratification to him that the educational institution which he was mainly responsible for starting, already bids fair to become the nucleus as it were of a Women's University in this Presidency. The Queen Mary's College received last year an endowment of one lakh of rupees from the Maharajah of Jeypore for founding a special science section. Certainly the education of women in Madras is making rapid strides in every direction, thanks to the impetus given to it by Lord Pentland



# INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, DECEMBER, 8 1918.

## BOMBAY ELECTORATES.

The Bombay Legislative Council at present has a total maximum of fifty members. Four of these are members by virtue of their office. The Governor-in-Council can nominate twenty-five members, official and non-official. The number of elected members is twenty-one. Seven of these are directly elected by the Sardars of the Deccan, the Sardars of Gujarat, the Jagirdars and Zamindars of Sind, and by the Muhammadan community outside Sind. The Sardars of the Deccan number one hundred and eleven. They are defined as persons whose names appear in the list for the time being in force under the Resolution of the Government of Bombay, dated 1807. The Sardars of Gujarat number thirty-nine persons and they are defined in the same way as the Sardars of the Deccan except that the Government Resolution relating to them is less than ten years old. The Government presumably can add to, or, exclude from, these lists anybody they choose. The continuance of constituencies of this kind, consisting of a few score persons whom Government are pleased to include in their lists of Sardars, is obviously incompatible with some of the fundamental principles of the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme. The Jagirdars and Zamindars of Sind number nine hundred and fifty and are a better defined body. But it is a question whether landlords, as such, stand in need of special representation, having regard to their enormous influence in the countryside, which will no doubt make itself felt in the territorial electorates. The Muhammadan community of the Presidency proper sends four members to the Legislative Council. The number of Muhammadan electors in the Northern Division is 2,460; in the Central, 759; in the Southern, 755; and in the city of Bombay, 1,639. The present qualifications for a voter are—the holding of land assessed at Rs. 100 in the Mofussil and of Rs. 2,500 in Bombay City, the payment of income-tax on Rs. 1,000 in the districts and Rs. 2,000 in Bombay City, and any of the following other qualifications: Advocates or Attorneys, title-holders, holders of diplomas in Medicine or Engineering, conciliators under the Deccan Agriculturists Relief Act and graduates of five years' standing of any University in the British Empire.

So much for the direct electorates of the present Legislative Council. Fourteen Members are elected indirectly. The first of these constituencies is the Municipal Corporation of the City of Bombay consisting of seventy-two members. The Municipalities and District Boards of the Presidency, including Sind, return eight members. The total number of members of these bodies is less than 500. The electorates ultimately involved in the election to these nine seats comprise probably about 400,000 persons, the voters in Bombay City alone numbering over 12,000 persons. As we pointed out in the last

issue, one of the things which Mr. Montagu and the Viceroy have laid most stress on is the sweeping away of the principle of indirect election. The right of election enjoyed by Municipalities and Local Boards will have now to be transferred to the taxpayers who, under a considerably augmented scheme of local self-government, will number several thousands more than at present. The University of Bombay at present sends one member to the Legislative Council. He is elected by the Ordinary and Honorary Fellows numbering 193 persons. Twenty of the Ordinary fellows are elected by about 750 registered graduates. The University member under the Scheme will have to be elected by the general body of graduates. The other indirect electorates at present are: the Indian Commercial Community which sends one member elected by two bodies in Bombay numbering about 600 persons; the Bombay Chamber of Commerce which has a membership of 127 sends one member and the Karachi Chamber of Commerce (one member) with a membership of 56, and the Mill-owners' Associations of Bombay and Ahmedabad alternately (one member) the former consisting of 98 and the latter of 53 persons. These small constituencies offend against the first principles of a sound electoral system, and some way will have to be found by which the interests of trade and commerce can be adequately represented in the Council without recourse to this thoroughly unsound and antiquated device. We are sure that there is no insuperable difficulty in the way of the election by larger constituencies of gentlemen who now represent, or, have, in the past, represented, the interests of trade and industry in our Legislative Councils.

We saw in the leading article last week that an electorate of about one million persons for the whole of the Presidency, including Sind, is quite within the range of practicability. That gives about one member for 200,000 of the population, assuming that there are 100 members to be elected to the Legislative Council. This calculation however, does not help us much, as it is obviously impossible to apportion the seats on a solely numerical basis. To begin with, there is the necessity to provide the Muhammadans in the Presidency proper and the Hindus in Sind with separate electorates. Then, there are the four linguistic divisions of the Presidency. And then again, there are the special claims of the population of the larger towns which radiate their progressive influence in the surrounding rural tracts. The proportion of Muhammadan seats in this Presidency has been fixed at a third of the total elected seats with a few reservations by the Congress-Moslem League agreement. Some special representation will have obviously to be conceded to the largest towns and, in the case of Bombay City, having regard to its importance as a centre of commerce and industry and as the centre of the social and intellectual life of the Presidency, it will have to be considerably in excess of the number which a mere numerical test would warrant. Each of the four great natural divisions of the Presidency should be allowed adequate representation in the Legislative Council. These considerations make the task of framing our electorate a complex task. Any arrangement that can be



devised will present many points for perfectly legitimate criticism. The best course, perhaps, is to make a beginning keeping as far as possible in view of familiar landmarks. The Revenue Divisions in Bombay represent in a broad way natural divisions. The Revenue Division, therefore, offers a suitable starting-point for our electoral scheme. It is preferable to the district for this purpose because a scheme having the Division for its starting-point can be adjusted to suit the size and the character of the population of the districts comprising it.

**Bereavements of a Distinguished Social Worker :** We deeply regret to learn of the sad bereavements which have recently befallen Mr. K. Ranga Rao who has been doing noble work for the depressed classes of South Kanara. His son, Mr. K. Sanjiva Rao, died of influenza in Upper Bnarma at the early age of 25, and on the same day in Mangalore, a grand-daughter of his died of the same disease. To devoted social workers like Mr. Ranga Rao, the family affections are the great source of strength against discouragement and indifference, and we deeply sympathise with him in the double loss that has befallen him and his.

**Armistice Celebration at the Poona Seva Sadan :** A Correspondent writes : "The students of this institution celebrated this function on the morning of the 27th November. After witnessing the military Procession that passed by their doors the students assembled in the Ramabai Ranade Hall. Mrs. Ranade in her presidential remarks thanked God for the success. She also referred to the recent epidemic of influenza when the students of the institution worked as volunteers and thus justified its title: The Home of Service. Mr. Natekar, the supervisor of the Training College of the institution, then explained how the armistice was related as cause and effect to Victory. Mr. R. G. Joshi then described the services of India in the great war and explained how her status was going to be raised owing to the loyal co-operation of her people. Mr. K. S. Abhyankar then explained how the Suffragists stopped all opposition when the war was declared, and how their aims were achieved by more peaceful means. He eulogised the splendid services of English women at war time and showed how these secured for them political rights. He said that in the next war India will have to bear a greater burden, nay she was agitating that her services should be requisitioned more in future. He thus impressed upon the students the necessity of Indian women being equipped as English women were for any such contingency that may arise. Then followed a dialogue specially prepared for the occasion by Mr. D. J. Gokhale. The proceedings terminated with the singing of the National Anthem and the distribution of sweetmeats."

**Depressed Classes Mission, Bangalore Branch :** We are requested to publish the following : "The Depressed Classes Mission Bangalore Branch has given Charitable Influenza Relief to 1079 persons both on town and village area of Bangalore city in the past 18 days of the epidemic. Through Messrs. Gopalswami Iyer and Chalwa Roy Moodali and Dr. Amrit Rao, Mr. K. G. Patade received some medicines and nourishment. A friend chemist also supplied medicines worth Rs. 10-14. The following money cash was received :—Shet L. R. Tairsee of Bombay Rs. 100, Messrs. C. K. Naidu Re. 1, V. Moodali. Re 1, V. G. N. Chettiar Re. 1, V. C. Chetty Re. 2, C. S. Naidu Re. 1 and D. C. M. Society of India Rs. 10. Thanks are due to all of them. Suggestion.—As winter is approaching care should be taken to provide the working poor people at least blankets. Any help for this mission will be gratefully acknowledged and will be very carefully used."

## CHILD EDUCATION IN INDIA.

Mrs. E. Agnes R. Haigh writes in the *Quarterly Review*, London, April 1918.

The national life of a people is embodied in the manner of its education. The schooling and apprenticeship which it evolves for the training and discipline of its youth are a mirror reflecting national ideals and aspirations, national aims and beliefs. By looking to the system of learning under which a student grows from childhood to maturity we discover the material from which his thought is fed, the purposes and relative values which his mind is trained to accept. The ideal education is a continuous development, building-up the firm chain of succession, establishing harmoniously the sense of causation and sequence, the strength of united purpose and action, and the value and importance of combination. Where national life is normal and consistent, we find educational methods correspondingly continuous and natural, expressing, as well as forming, the temper of the people. Accepting this view of education as a national function we recognise that the principles of education must be constantly challenged, its practice constantly revised, according to the changing demands of the times. The lessons of recent experience have emphasised this necessity for vigilance ; and the problems of education must be faced with equal regard for the needs of individual self-development of vocational efficiency and of national service.

The need of wisdom and foresight in inaugurating revised educational methods in India is proportionately more urgent than with us, as the difficulties to be met are more intricate and complex. The system of school and college education which has the authority of official sanction, and constitutes the direct approach to public life and office, has hitherto been built up on English models. Hence the tendency, among those to whom the task of educational administration in British India is entrusted, has been to discuss its problems on lines almost parallel with those of modern England, to assume similar difficulties and no others, and to search for similar solutions to those difficulties. Here, in England, the educational questions of the moment may seem to be debated almost exclusively with 'a view to school curricula and university courses, but it must be remembered that the years of 'nursery' and 'kindergarten' training, when imagination is most vigorous, observation most acute, memory most retentive, are provided for by an inherited discipline which political problems have never touched, and by a development which our national re-awakening combined with the more scientific methods of the modern teaching art, has splendidly enriched. The policy of education in India, which has accepted an exotic and arbitrary scheme as the basis of school and collegiate learning, of necessity precludes any continuity of mental training between the stages of childhood and student life ; and the preliminary period of child development has been, as a result, almost entirely neglected. Now, this period is manifestly of the highest importance for all subse-



quent growth, since, during these early years, the faculties of sense must be awakened and disciplined, perceptions and powers of discrimination developed, direction given to mental habits which will determine the course they take during adolescent and adult life. What the preparing of the soil is in horticulture—and without it all later effort may be in great measure unproductive—that is the training of the child, at home and in the class-room, in lesson and in game, in the higher culture of human development.

Experience and observation of the particular needs of child training have led, in practically every country of the West, to similar conclusions. Lessons of obedience can begin with infancy; and a wise mother or trained nurse can encourage in the infant, even before it can speak, rudimentary instincts of regularity, method and self-control, as well as intelligent response to certain outside influences and impressions. Recognition of the rights of others can be implanted in babyhood; system may be observed in games as well as in the daily routine of living. In the next stage the child's restless mental and bodily activity is regulated and developed by occupations that interest and hold the attention. The most recent cultivation of music as an active experience a rediscovery of the true and original purposes of the musical art is now becoming recognised as an æsthetic discipline and culture of the widest influence. Eye and ear are further trained in drawing and nature-study; and manual dexterity is acquired in many practical branches of handicraft. The vast literature of childhood, ranging from the simpler stories and rhymes, of legend or fancy, through epic tales of valour and romance, to the striving, suffering and accomplishment of saints or heroes, peoples the child-mind with ideas of permanent value, gives understanding of human nature and conduct, and implants the conception of honour and self-sacrifice. So trained, the child of, say, from seven to nine years of age, who may, perhaps, have learned no actual lessons, has progressed far in culture and education, has acquired a standard (though not yet conscious) in art, literature, and conduct, and is truly prepared, in the coming years of school-life, not merely to learn but to discriminate, select, and use his individual judgment. These are critical years of infant and child life, not merely in the houses of the wealthy but, more or less, in every representative class of life. The teacher may be mother, nurse, governess, or school-mistress, but the lessons are of the same kind.

Now, what is the provision made for the corresponding years of childhood in India? The course and routine of childhood is necessarily determined by the conditions of home-life: and the life of the Indian home is distracted at the present day by a tremendous unsettlement. There exists no uniformity in upbringing, no accepted standard, no common aim scientifically pursued. With few exceptions, the only children trained systematically in infancy and earlier childhood (apart from the scattered units who attend Christian missionary institutions in their earliest years) are those who are

brought under the influence of certain reforming bodies of recent growth, which wisely seek to disseminate their propaganda through a social and religious training along national lines. Until recently there existed a very definite idea of home education, more adapted, perhaps, to developing the qualities of reverence, dignity, patience, kindness—the time-honoured virtues of Indian culture—than to training individual powers, or imparting knowledge, other than the traditional lore of the ancient epics. But this tradition has become less and less operative as the home has come to be, within the last generation or so, increasingly out of sympathy with the aims and methods of scholastic training along Western lines, and with all the factors that determine success or prosperity in modern active life. At the present day, the best representative traditions of the home have been largely undermined by bewilderment and indifference—the failure of the past to deal adequately with its own problems, and the apathy of the present, where security imposed from without has robbed the people of all incentive towards national growth and progress. Among the poorer agricultural classes—the vast majority of India's population—whom state education has hardly touched, and upon whom their own traditional culture is fast losing its hold, the child grows up in utter ignorance, neglected in body and mind, unreasoning and unthinking, influenced mainly by the cruder superstitions of past ages, the bonds of caste, and the baneful customs of ancient and tyrannous convention.

The old Sanskrit and Koranic learning, which formed the guiding principle of thought and the source of mind-culture, which inspired the ideals and moulded the manners of every age and class, was an influence of more consistent and universal appeal than anything which our briefer and more chequered history has enabled us to develop. The advent of new ideas from the West would not, by themselves, have dispossessed this ancient education, even though its vitality had sunk to a low ebb; but the new orientation which an English Government of necessity brought which it, introducing new purposes, new methods, new values, into every department of human life, meant a hopeless break-up of the old regime. Moreover, the experiment of modern Western education, imposed upon certain sections of the male population, between certain stages of their development, introduced, as it was, partially, arbitrarily, and with little reference to the events and surroundings of daily life, was bound to lead to the present chaos and confusion. Thus the home continues to reproduce the life of a bygone age pathetically robbed of purpose and meaning, because unrelated to the needs of today, while education widens the gulf, by imparting to the school-boy lessons of which the subjects lack that harmony of sequence and method which could give them a living meaning, imparting them, moreover, in a foreign tongue, which he but seldom wholly masters. The language of his infancy remains to him, therefore, more often than not, a mere *patois* for domestic needs; and the language which he acquires in school-days, and for public life, may be no more than a



## INDIANS AND THE COLONIES.

The Editor, The *Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

I have only just seen Mr. H. S. L. Polak's letter on the above subject, which raises certain points of very much interest indeed. I agree that the statement "Australians are absolutely without race or colour prejudice" is far too sweeping. If I ever implied anything so strong as that in my article, I would retract it. But it is unquestionably true that race sentiment in Australia is poles apart from the sentiment I found in Durban and Johannesburg. At the same time, I cannot ignore the fact, that there is a race and colour prejudice growing up in Australia, which, if not checked, may become a menace to the peace of the world. Nevertheless, taking all this into account, I am certain that the present is a golden opportunity for the best Indians and Australians to come into close and friendly relations. I do not think that there could be any better way to effect this than through the Universities. If the higher branches of our Indian Universities offered facilities for Australian graduate students, such students would be forthcoming; and *pari passu* the door is freely open for advanced students to go from India to Australia. I confess that I am surprised that the Indian Government is so slow in recognising the advantages of such an opening.

Mr. Polak has put two test examples by which to try the genuineness of the Australian freedom from colour prejudice. It is interesting to me that, in one of his test cases, the trial has already been made. He relates how Johannesburg European workmen would not admit coloured workmen into their Union, even on the condition that they would not on any account lower the standard wage. This same question came up in Australia. The Chinese carpenters used to undersell the European carpenters, and at first great friction occurred. But since the Chinese have formed a Union of their own, as a branch of the Australian Labour Union, accepting all the labour conditions, there has been no friction at all. In New Zealand, if my memory serves me rightly, I found some Indians admitted into a European Labour Union. I am glad that Mr. Polak has pointed out, how free from racial prejudice Cape Colony was, compared with Natal and the Transvaal. I would say, from personal experience, that both Australia and New Zealand are freer still than Cape Colony.

Mr. Polak's other test case, namely, whether Australians would allow immigration into the Northern Territory, is a more difficult one. Economic questions are mixed up with questions of racial intermixture, on a large scale. It must be remembered, that there are not yet five million Europeans in Australia altogether. A very large immigration of Indians—numbering possibly millions—into the Northern territory might easily swamp the present population and the Australians as a whole do not wish this to happen. But far more than this, they are in very serious alarm lest some form of indentured plantation labour should be introduced by the insistent forces of capital. They have fought out this question of servile labour in North Queensland and have defeated the capitalist group there; but the object lesson of such a huge monopoly as the Colonial Sugar Refining Company in Fiji is always before their eyes, and they are not going to open up the Northern Territory to dangers of that kind without a struggle.

To speak out what is in my mind, my great fear to-day is that the strong South African racial sentiment may affect Australia and New Zealand by direct contact, that the present opportunity of an *entente cordiale* between India and

on so large a scale is a matter for legislation, and lies outside may argument.

Meantime, by what methods can Indian reformers best counter the prevalent disorder of mind and spirit which pervades the home? How can they best secure to the infant life of to-day that robustness and sanity of development so vitally necessary to the generation which must solve in practical experience the problems and theories of to-day? For India is no longer helpless, passive, inert. The restless vigour of her new awakening has made trial of its forces in countless different experiments during the last decade or more; but the gradual rise of the spirit of nationality is now claiming all these energies for a single united purpose. Every department of life and thought is stirring to fresh activity; and the vitality of its promise is most surely proved by the spirit of devotion and self-sacrifice which the new creed everywhere arouses. The movement is alive, beyond all question; among its leaders and supporters are men of the widest range of thought and study advanced thinkers mentally at grips with problems and difficulties by which we of the West are never faced—men who take a passionate pride in their country and the great heritage of its past, who yet realise the obstacles it must surmount before it can become emancipated and play its part in active modern life.



the young freedom-loving nations in the South Pacific may be lost. The door is wide open now, but will it remain open long? Much will depend on the Peace Conference and the ensuing League of Nations. If the latter means simply a league of *European* nations, then the future will be ominous. But I cannot, for one moment, read President Wilson's pronouncements in that sense.

Shantiniketan,

Yours faithfully,  
C. F. ANDREWS.

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

## CONTENTS.

—:o:—

Sir M. Visvesvaraya.  
Madras and Mr. Patel's  
Hindu Intermarriage Bill.  
Mr. Basu's Bill and Mr.  
Patel's Bill.

An Indian Principal for the  
Forman College, Lahore.  
Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad  
Khan on Communal Pre-  
judices.

Mr. C. F. Andrews' Advice  
to Madras Labourers.  
A Madras Appreciation of  
Lord Willingdon.  
The Moplas of Malbar.  
A Great Governor.  
Child Education in India.  
The Epidemic.  
The All-India Nadwatul-  
Ulema Conference.

## NOTES.

—:o:—

Sir M. Visvesvaraya. In the face of Sir M. Visvesvaraya's emphatic disclaimer, we see no advantage in persisting in looking behind his virtual retirement from the Dewanship of Mysore for reasons other than those which have been publicly stated. The fact that the retirement was not expected by people outside the State, and that the retiring Dewan has not cared to allege any plea of health or want of rest, seem to be the sole grounds for the speculations indulged in in some quarters. We must confess that there is ample ground for the feeling that if Sir Visvesvaraya himself did not seek retirement, it would have been to the advantage of the State to have retained him at the head of the administration. There is precedent for keeping a Dewan in office for more than six years in Mysore. The late Sir Sesbadri Iyer was Dewan for something like twenty years, and it is generally agreed that it was this long tenure of office which enabled him to build up his policy of constructive development. All the world over hereditary monarchies are at a discount at present and the only hereditary monarchy which has emerged strengthened by the ordeal of the war is that of England. The reason is that the British throne rests on the will of the people. It was Sir Visvesvaraya's policy to build up in Mysore a strong public life which will be a bulwark to the Royal House, a barrier against the forces of reaction and revolution at the same time. He has sown the seed and it is a seed which in these days is bound to grow wherever sown at the present day. His Excellency the Viceroy sounded a note of timely warning at Bhartpur to Indian princes not to lean too much on the claims of ancestry. The spirit of the age is invincibly hostile to hereditary privileges, whether claimed by a caste like the Brahmins, or by an order of ruling Chiefs. The direct association of ruling chiefs, and their relatives, with the administration has been everywhere a source of weakness, and we can only regard the present arrangements in Mysore as tentative. His Highness the Maharaja is endowed with a wisdom and political sagacity far beyond his years, and we may be sure that whatever arrangement he has

in contemplation, will be devised with a single eye to those large ideals which inspired Sir Visvesvaraya's administration. For Sir Visvesvaraya himself, what is Mysore's loss is India's gain. With his energy, experience, and disinterested devotion to the public cause, he has, in the great days now opening for India, a splendid field of service.

**Madras and Mr. Patel's Hindu Intermarriage Bill:** A meeting convened by orthodox and reactionary Hindus to condemn Mr. Patel's Hindu Intermarriage Bill in the name of the citizens of Madras ended in confusion. What *Justice* calls one of the most successful public meetings held in that city, was that held under the presidentship of Rao Bahadur P. Theagaraya Chetti to support the Bill. The speakers included non-Brahmins as well as Brahmins. At the conclusion of the speeches in favour of the principal resolution, the President called upon any person in the audience who dissented from it, to come forward. He waited five minutes but none responded to the call. Thereupon the resolution was passed unanimously. It runs as follows:—"This public meeting of the Hindu citizens of Madras accords its warm and hearty support to the Bill introduced in the Imperial Legislative Council by the Hon'ble Mr. V. J. Patel for validating marriages between Hindus of different castes inasmuch as, if passed into law, it will tend to break down the barrier of caste, to create harmony and good feeling between communities which now look upon each other with distrust and suspicion, and to facilitate progress in every direction, political, social and economic, besides removing the stigma of unprogressive narrowness which now attaches to Hindu social and religious institutions."

**Mr. Basu's Bill and Mr. Patel's Bill:** In proposing that Mr. Theagaraya Chetti should take the chair, Mr. Kandaswami Chetti took occasion to refer to the fact that Mr. Theagaraya had opposed Mr. Basu's Bill. Mr. Theagaraya Chetti, however, would not admit that there was any inconsistency between his opposition to Mr. Basu's Bill and his support of Mr. Patel's Bill. The former, he said, "was to facilitate inter-marriages not only amongst the various classes of Hindus but between Hindus, Mohammedans, Christians and all other races in India. There is great difference between such a bill and Mr. Patel's Bill. This Bill is to permit inter-marriages amongst the various divisions of Hindus. I opposed Mr. Basu's Bill because I did not think the time had come for such a sudden change. Mr. Patel's Bill does not intend such a catastrophic change." Mr. Chetti forgets that the principle involved is the same, that of self-determination in respect of the most intimate personal and social relation in life. Moreover, the distinction comes with little grace from the President of an association which, for political purposes, professes to include in the category of non-Brahmins, every one who is not



a Brahman—Mahomedans, Christians, Parsis, Jews and so on. Mr. Patel's Bill, while facilitating intermarriage with the excluded Brahman, makes no provision whatever for intermarriages with the other included non-Hindu Brahmans. We support Mr. Patel's Bill subject to the conditions of an age-limit and monogamy being accepted, but we adhere to our view that Mr. Basu's Bill met all the needs of the situation. No civilised country can maintain a legal barrier to intermarriages among all the communities inhabiting it. Mr. Patel's Bill is a sectional Bill, when all is said.

**An Indian Principal for the Forman College, Lahore:** The *Tribune* writes: "We understand that the Board of Directors of the Forman Christian College, Lahore, have offered the office of Principal of the College to Dr. S. K. Datta who was formerly Professor of Biology in the College for many years. On the outbreak of the war Dr. Datta was among the first to volunteer his services for the work of the Young Men's Christian Association, and for most of the time he has been on duty as a Y. M. C. A. Secretary at the front doing splendid and highly useful work. On return he took up the travelling Secretaryship of the Association and he has now the offer of the highest office in the College. Dr. Datta has before him the shining example of Mr. S. K. Rudra, the worthy and devoted Indian Principal of the St. Stephen's College, Delhi, who has, during a long and distinguished career, abundantly justified the selection of the Cambridge Mission, Delhi, and the great confidence reposed in him by the appointment. The selection of Dr. Datta, if he accepts the offer made to him, will be equally creditable to the Board of Directors of the Forman College and the American Mission, and will afford him, like Mr. Rudra, an opportunity of fully justifying the selection made and the confidence reposed in him, as also like Mr. Rudra of creating a precedent for his countrymen in Christian colleges." It is strange that what is considered desirable and possible in Delhi and the Panjab should not be contemplated in Bombay and Madras. Are there no Indian Christian educationists worthy of presiding over the Wilson College here or the Christian College in Madras? The question is not one of race but of practical Christianity.

**Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan on Communal Prejudices:**—Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan, a member of the India Council, at present in India as a member of the Franchise Committee, made a striking speech at Lahore the other day. Speaking of constitutional reforms, he observed, "The foundations of self-Government rested on outward conditions and constant endeavour as had been done brought about by the great leaders who were in their midst. Their leaders were no doubt also trying in the same direction. In reality the British Government had pledged itself to grant self-government to India. They would give them, and they themselves were sure to obtain, self-government. It must be remembered, however, that those who looked into the reality of things, sought for the true foundations of self-government in the hearts and minds of the rising generation. They heard the talk of communal representation. That suggested that they did not place implicit reliance on one another. Was it not their duty, he asked, that they should give up once for all the foolish acts and beliefs which were imputed to them? Could they not, in the face of a sacred ideal like self-government even, give up their prejudices and passions? Could they not exercise that self-control, that self-discipline, that sacrifice of their narrow and selfish ideal for the sake of the future of their motherland—of which self-government was the prize, the reward?"

He assured them that when they attained to that condition, they would no longer stand in need of paper announcements for the attainment of self-government."

**Mr. C. F. Andrews' Advice to Madras Labourers.** Mr. C. F. Andrews who is on a short visit to Madras to enquire into the subject of the recruitment of labourers for the Malay States, addressed a meeting of the Madras Labour Union on the 10th instant. He gave the members the following advice from Mr. Gandhi whose ill-health prevented him from going to Madras: "Now the first thing that he would like me to tell you is this—that in this work you are doing you must be righteous, you must do nothing unfair, nothing unjust, nothing that will bring unrighteousness, to your great work. The second thing is this, you must be united, all of you together as one. And the third thing is this, you must not use any force or violence but rely only upon your soul force. There are two kinds of powers or forces in the world. One is the force of violence, the force of body, the force of blows which ends in death. Now Mahatma Gandhi's message to the whole world is this. You must not use that force to win your victory. He says there is another power, another force which is not the force of body but the force of soul, of spirit, of heart of man, the force of love, of righteousness of unity, and that is the force which does not lead to death but leads to life. And this is his message to you that if only you use that soul force, that soul power, the power of spirit, you are certain in the long run to win the victory if your cause is righteous and true. The work you are doing to-day in trying to unite together as labourers and to become one is a good and noble work if you do it without any violence but with only the force of spirit of love and righteousness and truth."

**A Madras Appreciation of Lord Willingdon:** *New India* writes: "It is rather quaint that the Bombay correspondent of *Capital* should write of the "Besantite campaign to blacken Lord Willingdon's face," because "the Pythia of Adyar" does not want him in Madras—quaint, because Mrs. Besant, on hearing that he was coming, wrote that he would be warmly welcomed here. She holds the view that his Extremist views on the question of Reform make his coming here a matter of rejoicing, and this view is strengthened by the contrast between his treatment of the *Bombay Chronicle* and Lord Pentland's treatment of *New India*. It is true that he treated the Home Rulers very badly in the War Meeting, and has generally been very unfair to them, but his other merits so greatly outweigh these defects, that she is very glad that he is coming to Madras. She has had no share whatever in the "Besantite campaign," and knew nothing of it he she saw it in the papers."

**Moplas of Malabar:**—The current number of *Educational Review* of Madras contains an interesting article on the educational awakening of the Mopla community by Mr. Kader Kutti Saheb Bahadur B. A., L. T., Headmaster Training School, Calicut. The writer opens with an account of the origin and present strength of the community. He computes that the Moplas in the Malabar Presidency and outside number no less than 16 lakhs of person, or nearly as many as the other Mahomedans in that Presidency. The Moplas are the descendants of the early Arab settlers and of the early converts made by them. While the origin of Moplas is thus from the Arabs direct, the origin of the Deccani Muslims is from the Afghan rulers and Pathan merchants who come by the way of the Punjab.



## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, DECEMBER, 15 1918.

## A GREAT GOVERNOR.

We much regret the unseemly opposition to a public memorial to Lord Willingdon at the meeting held in the Town Hall, last Wednesday. The Bombay Legislative Council, which has had the best means of knowing and appreciating a Governor's work and worth, passed a few days ago without dissent the following resolution:—"This Council places on record its high appreciation of the services rendered by His Excellency to this presidency and its regret at leaving it at this important crisis in its political future, and is keenly sensible of the very cordial relations that have always characterised his presidency with the Council during the last five years and a half." The resolution was proposed by the Hon. Mr. Gokuldas Kahandas Parekh who sits for the Local Boards of the Northern Division as their elected representative in the Legislative Council. Mr. Gokuldas, we believe, is the oldest member of that Council and has sat longest in it in a non-official capacity, and those who know anything of Bombay administration, need not be told that he has all along been an uncompromising critic of it especially in relation to its land revenue policy. In the course of his speech, Mr. Gokuldas made special reference to the Kaira episode which has been especially urged as a proof of the failure of Lord Willingdon. He admitted that he was dissatisfied with the attitude

Government upholding the orders of the stricts officials but, he went on to say: "Your Excellency had directed that the poor people could not be harassed. This order was followed by a certain amount of agitation conducted under the guidance of my friend Mr. Gandhi. It is here that the critics stop. They do not refer to the final solution of the difficulty and the last orders that were passed in the matter. The final order was that from those who were able to meet the demands of Government collection should be made, to those who were unable to meet the demands suspension should be given. In this manner a just and sympathetic solution was arrived at. Those who were able to pay, willingly paid their dues and Government had not to make any unnecessary sacrifice of revenue. The poor people were saved from plunging themselves in debts or alienating their holdings; no oppression was practised on innocent people and the agriculturists were confirmed in their faith in the justice of the British Government." The truth of the matter is that Lord Willingdon's position in this matter was a good deal hampered less by the injudicious precipitancy of the non-official leaders than by the perverse obstinacy of the local officials. A Governor has to work through the agency provided for him. We are sure none of us wish to have personal government with absolute freedom for the head of the administration to override everybody and everything. This is the system of most Indian States and nobody will claim that it works for the benefit of the people to a larger

extent than our system in British India, out of date as it has become. Lord Willingdon did not dismiss his Commissioners and Councillors but he did what was much more difficult: while upholding their authority, he very effectively ensured that there should be no hardship to those really unable to pay the Government dues. We do not wish to take up old controversies but this is exactly what we urged would be fair and equitable and we are glad that the Hon. Mr. Gokuldas Parekh acknowledged it to be so.

Lord Willingdon's action in the Kaira affair was typical of his conception of his position as Governor throughout his administration. And that, we think, is the only conception which, under existing conditions, can make a Governor's tenure of office fruitful of good to the people. The Governor of a Presidency has certain reserve powers of over-ruling his colleagues in the Council, but a Governor who depended upon these powers to carry on the government will come to grief in a few weeks. The position is certainly not one where a man with an aching to lead forlorn-hopes can ever be successful. The business of the Governor is primarily to strive to do the maximum good through and by means of the existing system. This he can best do by his personal influence. He is admittedly not an expert in Indian administration. For him to take upon himself the details of administration will be a foolish and futile task. There is abundant evidence for those who are not biassed by personal grievances, real or fancied, to be satisfied that Lord Willingdon's—and Lady Willingdon's—influence have been consistently thrown on them, for want of a more succinct phrase, may be called the popular side. Whenever any cases of irritation or friction came to his notice, the Governor has quietly and without fuss applied himself to smoothen matters. And few such cases failed to come to his notice, for Lord Willingdon has throughout his administration acted on the wise principle of "doors open to all" which Lawrence left as a legacy to Anglo-Indian administrators. We say, and say it deliberately, that Lord Willingdon has worked the antiquated and inelastic system which he found existing, to the maximum advantage in the interests of the people. If he had done nothing more, he would have still justified his title to have made a success of his tenure of office. As a matter of fact, however, he has done much more. He has thrown the whole weight of his position and personal influence on the side of necessary reforms in the existing system. In private and public he has been most outspoken in the expression of his views regarding the inadequacy of that system to meet the needs of the present time. And this is not all. What is most important of all, His Excellency has to a large extent succeeded in instilling a liberal feeling towards constitutional reform in the minds of a considerable number of, at any rate, the younger generation of members of the Indian Civil Service. While we have had complaints in other provinces of the opposition of the Indian Civil Service, in this Presidency there have been many proofs, not possibly known to the public, of a very different attitude



towards schemes of popular participation in the administration. This is Lord and Lady Willingdon's greatest service to the Presidency. There is need for similar service in Madras, and it is on that account, chiefly, that we welcome the prospect of their Excellencies' going to that Presidency. Lord Willingdon has worked an old system to its maximum capacity for the general good. He has paved the way for its reform, and has succeeded in enlisting on the side of reform many of the men who, in the natural order of things, would have been least disposed to it. He has thus been not merely a successful Governor; he has been a great Governor; and he has been greatly helped in that high mission by the unfailing co-operation in the social sphere of Lady Willingdon. We are sure that India, and Bombay particularly, can always count on Lord and Lady Willingdon's doing all they can for the good of the people.

### CHILD EDUCATION IN INDIA.

*(Continued from the last issue.)*

Above all, it is necessary to secure that continuity between past and future without which no effort can boast a stable foundation. The necessity for continuous growth and evolution has not always been recognised in Europe, but it has never been defied with impunity. In India the principle of growth from within is even more fundamentally important, by reason of her long antecedent civilisation and the strong instinct of conservatism in the life of every class. The New Renaissance of the East is a movement of the widest possible scope. Elements of the successive waves which came to Europe in the advent of the New Learning, the Reformation of the 16th century, and the national revival of the 19th, are all present in the quickening of Young India of to-day. The course which this movement will take is as yet undetermined; we only know that everything which India's past civilisation has accumulated of literature, art, music and spiritual culture, has felt the stimulus of new life, and will play its part in the moulding of New India out of the present turmoil.

The practical results of the modern Nationalist revival in Europe are now incarnated in the education of the child of this generation; and the lessons of national growth and evolution are thus secured to future generations by being implanted upon the child imagination during its most impressionable years. The influences of childhood are, without doubt, the most permanent and indelible. Even accidental impressions received at this period have a tendency to dominate subconscious thought and so to determine action, as modern psychology, confirming the old Jesuit adage, has recognised. The need, therefore, of a childhood training which shall embody the nation's ideals is clearly of the first necessity for India's future progress. This nurture and training of the child is normally the province of the home and properly the work of women. But, until the home is prepared to perform its part, devoted reformers can do much to enable

modern educational science to utilise the resources of India's national heritage for the mental and physical culture of young children. There are signs that such a change is already coming.

In recent years, and for the first time, a children's literature is slowly growing up in Bengal—a literature of Indian tales and legends illustrated with Indian pictures. But the beginnings are still small and local, and the need is national. This task must not be postponed to some more convenient season or relegated to the leisure moments of busy men, to be dealt with when the claims of public office and of affairs have been satisfied. The mind of the child is unceasingly active and receptive; his hunger for knowledge about the world he lives in is constant, and should be wisely fed. The world of history, literature and legend is full of incident and movement, adventure and romance. The stories they yield must be told with skill and sympathy, simply and with sincerity. The wonders of nature, the life of forest, plain and river, of bird and beast, of tree and flower, are the intimate comrades of childhood. Vision and understanding are needed to interpret even the outer meaning of these, to explain their forms and phases, their purpose and development, and their relation to human life. Colour and song—innate expressions of Indian aesthetic genius—and the rhythm of ordered movement as well as of sound, have been too long banished from so-called practical life. These must become considered agents in awakening and training the perceptions and faculties of childhood. All the elements, in short, which will take their share in the social reconstruction of the future, must be brought together in harmonious combination to form the environment of the child of today.

The narrow pedantry of the 19th century, which taught by rule and rote, by weary memorising of dead formulae, together with the Spencerian doctrines and materialistic codes of the period, have ceased to be a danger to us in the West. A wave of Hellenism, which always brings with it a return to nature and new life, have delivered us from that particular bondage. But a late outerop, transplanted by Macaulay and his early Victorian associates, still flourishes in India, in school and college, in the thought and conversation of the 'literate' classes. Deliverance must come to India through her own effort, by an ardent cultivation of the ancient arts, the ancient learning and wisdom, along the lines which modern educational and psychological science has discovered for our use, in such a way as to sow the seeds of a sturdy and self-reliant national growth in the fertile soil of childhood's training-ground.

By such means is it possible to awaken living interests, to appeal to inborn instincts and inherited associations, and thereby to train a character which shall discover both purpose and inspiration in the land of its birth. For each nation must inevitably find growth, direction and energy from within, before it can realise its true destiny, and bring to the common treasure-house of the world's civilisations the gift of its own particular and distinctive genius. For three generations, or more, under the



security of the 'Pox Britannica,' the national art of India has declined, education has been perverted, activity deflected from its normal course; thought has become atrophied, culture is suspended. The chastisement of our peace is upon them.

The civilisation of India has dwindled, during this period, to a memory, its cults and ceremonies to a lifeless observance; the motives and practice of daily life are sought from without. But for the jealous custody of their heritage by the women—at all times and in all countries the natural guardians of natural culture—even the memory might have taken its place with the history of the past, and the links of the chain have been served beyond all possibility of reunion. For the effort to revive a disused speech or an obsolete custom has never yet produced a national result; its utmost achievement is to stimulate interest and research among the learned, and to provide material for antiquarian discussion. India's civilisation, however, is not dead but dormant; and the spell of its long sleep is at last being broken. The renaissance of the present day seeks inspiration and guidance at its source. But with the reaction against the passive inertia of generations comes a certain danger from emotionalism—the mesmerism of bygone glories and the tendency to perpetuate past failings and ignorance because they form a part of sacred tradition. As it is the province of woman to guard and to preserve, so it must be the task of enlightened women to select that which is worthy of preservation and reject all that is no longer relevant. It is theirs to save and defend the vital element in tradition, the living heritage of faith and understanding, the special aspects of truth and beauty which finds separate embodiment in every people, grows with their growth and progresses with their progress.

With the awakening of a national consciousness, the motives for national reform have now become insistent. The outward expression of these motives—symptom of all pioneer work—remains hitherto isolated and spasmodic. The tendency to theories and debate, to discuss political actions and reactions, to deal with symptoms and externals, is still somewhat exaggerated. It is in the nurseries of to-day that the forces must be fostered and organised which will hereafter work out the regeneration of India in harmony and co-operation; and this child-nurture should be made the first and permanent charge upon the time, energy, and expenditure of all the reforming zeal which now seeks an outlet.

Finally, we must remember that, though the building up of India's future in the light of the present national revival must incontestably be planned and carried out by Indians and for Indians, the experience touches not India alone but all mankind. The world at large will be not only spectator but partaker of its results. When the light of Classic thought and Classic culture—the rediscovered treasures of Hellenic genius—dawned upon the darkened understanding of mediaeval Europe, the day of a new era was born, and modern civilisation came into being. So, to complete the cycle, the impulse of modern thought and modern progress was carried

in the last century to the Classic East. The normal effects of such a contact were, for the time being, delayed through artifice and experiment on the part of Anglo-Indian opinion. The 'Orientalists' would hear of no contamination of the new-found treasures of Eastern learning; the 'Anglicists' had no thought but to clean the slate and inscribe upon it the writing of the West. In the event, India has, to the outward eye, lain dormant under the imposition of an alien culture, substituted for her own, but never adapted to her needs. Yet the fruit of an unwilling union was maturing, in spite of conflict and reluctance; and the rebirth of today, however ardently national inform, owes its incentive to the direct influence of the West upon the East.

(To be continued.)

### THE EPIDEMIC:

Far o'er the breadth of the land  
Marches the Harvester grim  
Reaping the youngest and best,  
The fairest and fittest for life.  
Behind him is wailing and tears,  
Desolate homes, and the stench  
Of corpses unburied, unburnt,  
Fouling the sun and the streams.  
Thus by the million they die,  
Untended, deserted, forlorn.  
In palace and hovel the Death  
Stalks and destroys at its will.  
Behold in the fields how they lie—  
The fields that the forests fence round.—  
Shelterless, naked, unfed,  
Bare to the shivering stars,  
Tormented with fever and thirst,  
They wait not in vain for release  
In the fields, that are ruined and dry.  
See in the palace they die;  
No care and no wealth may forfend  
This Death from the halls of the great.  
In street and in forest the sounds  
Of their anguish rise up in the night—  
The wail of a continent's woe,  
Of a continent's anguish and death.

Who then shall save them, ah who,  
Shall rise in this anguish, and dare  
To strive and to spend for the weak  
Leisure and effort and life?  
India, who of thy sons  
Shall prove at this time his full worth,  
Giving his all to thy need?  
Clear-eyed and awake to the risk  
Who shall take up this grim gage  
Flung in our faces by death?  
Thank God there are some of thy sons  
That count not the cost and are bold,  
Tracking the fiend to its lairs,  
Wrestling a bout in the dark  
With a foe that is stronger than they.  
These, though they sicken and die,  
Worsted o'erthrown in the fray,  
These shall be loved and renowned  
As patriots perfect and true,  
Lovers of country, who died  
To win for the poor and the weak  
Life and assuagement of woe.

J. H.



The All-India Nadwatul-Ulema Conference. The eighteenth session of the All-India Nadwatul-Ulema conference will be held at Belgaum (Bombay Presidency) in the Easter holidays. The Reception Committee has already begun the work. The exact dates will be announced later.

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not  
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

## CONTENTS.

—:0:—

Indian Students and Australian Universities.

Separate Quarters for Mahars.

The League of Liberal Brahmans.

New Governor of Bombay.

Some Ancient Hindu Inter-marriages.

Shipbuilding at Porbandar.

The 2nd All-India Social Service Conference Delhi.

The Depressed Classes Mission, Mangalore.

Labour and Industries in India.

The Madras Hindu Social Reform Association.

Social Work in Mysore.

A Hall of all Religions at Benares.

## NOTES.

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**Indian Students and Australian Universities:** The *Mysore University Review* for November in supporting our suggestions regarding the encouragement of Indian students by means of state scholarships to proceed to Australian Universities, remarks that we expressed the view that the present is an opportune time for urging Australia to modify her attitude of exclusion to Indians. On the contrary, we had pointed out in the article to which our contemporary refers that the Commonwealth Government had communicated to the Government of India its decision to exempt Indian students, merchants and travellers, from the restrictions of their emigration laws, and we had expressed regret that the Indian public should have been allowed to remain in ignorance of this important concession for so many years. We quote the following observations from our contemporary: "It is a comparatively easy journey to Australia—a smooth quick passage of nine days from Colombo to Perth, and now that the new railway has been opened from Perth to Adelaide a few more days will bring the traveller to Melbourne and Sydney. Climatically, the Indian student would be in his element in a continent two-thirds of which lie within the tropics, where cloudless days are the rule in the part of Australia which is in the temperate zone, and where the so-called winter is like an English spring at its best. The Australian universities are by no means filled to overflowing, but they encourage research scholarship out of all proportion to their size. Page after page of their university calendars record the research work of their alumni, most of it having direct bearing on local conditions and the material development of the country. And India and Australia being so much more climatically akin than either to England, there are physical problems of common interest to the solution of which both could bring their knowledge and experience."

**Separate Quarters for Mahars:** The *Deccan Ryot* has some apt comments on the proposal to provide a separate "location" for Mahars in Bombay City. The correspondence between the Bombay Improvement Trust and Mr. A. A. Pais on behalf of the Mahars of Bombay with reference to the

necessity of utilising the locality known as the Agripada Estate for establishing there a colony of Mahars," writes our contemporary, "deserves to be calmly considered by those who, in their frenzy to see India a united nation, deprecate all attempts to treat the problems of separate communities on separate bases. Why allocate special separate localities to the Mahars? Why not allow them to rent the chawls in Girgaum or Grant Road? No, they can hope to have sanitary habitations only if they withdraw themselves to some unreclaimed locality. They must have their own Maharwada, their own Mahar Temple, their own Mahar Dharamshala and their Mahar Co-operative Society. Even when the turn to fight on the battle-field comes, the Mahars must have their own battalions; for no other Hindu soldiers would allow them to be members of their regiments. So they must have a separate battalion or there shall be no chance for them to be soldiers of the King. They must likewise have separate chawls to live in or they shall not be allowed to live in localities occupied by other Hindus. *National, united* life, however, peeps out as soon as the question of political rights is brought forward. *There* they must cast their lot with the whole Hindu community and be swallowed by it! We are, of course, glad that the Improvement Trust has offered facilities for the establishment of their colony." We have always held that the endeavours to elevate the depressed classes will not attain their full measure of success so long as they are based on the principle of dealing with them as a separate community. On the contrary, this policy is likely to accentuate their isolation. Moreover, the strongest influence on an individual or a community is the influence of environment, and the readiest way of raising the depressed classes is to bring them under the influence of the same environment as the rest of the community. For this reason, we have not been able to support movements to segregate fallen women in special "locations," instead of to bring to bear upon them and their patrons the force of a strong public opinion.

**The League of Liberal Brahmans.** We have received copies of some resolutions passed by the *Dharmika Brahmana Sangha*, or League of Liberal Brahmans, a Society formed in Madras, started, we are informed, in 1916, and having at present on its rolls, 120 members. Many of the members of the Executive Committee of the *Sangha* belong to the Theosophical Society. Mr. Justice Sadasiva Aiyar is the President, and among the names of members are those of Mrs. Sadasiva Aiyar, Mr. A. Mahadeva Sastry, and Mr. V. R. Karandikar. We have not received any publication defining the objects of the *Sangha*, but one of the resolutions sent to us is a recommendation from the Executive Committee to the General Council to the effect, that one of the objects shall be "to re-admit to Hinduism, with the social status, Brahmans who have been in this life converted to any religion other than Hinduism, so as



to be recognised as such by the members of the Sangha, on their fulfilling such conditions as to performance of *prayaschitta* (penitentiary rites), *punarupanayana* (renewal of the sacred thread worn by Brahmans), acquisition of qualifications &c., as may be resolved upon by the Executive Committee from time to time." The other resolutions communicated to us express the hearty sympathy of the Executive Committee with the Thiyyas (a caste of Malabar regarded as untouchable) in their struggle to gain full right to go through all public streets unmolested by other castes; enjoin on the members of the Sangha the duty of visiting "the temples built by the submerged classes for the worship of God or any of the Higher Deities, where animal sacrifices and liquor offerings do not form part of any ritual in the temple"; and request Mr. Mahadeva Sastry to prepare a pamphlet for propaganda work dealing with the question of "untouchability." We are glad to see these signs of awakening among the Brahmans of the Madras Presidency, but, we fear, the time for these 'half measures' is past. If converts from the Brahman caste to other religions are to be readmitted to that caste, why not non-Brahman Hindus who have remained faithful to their religion? The hereditary basis of caste must go and that is what the Sangha seems reluctant to let go.

**New Governor of Bombay:**—His Excellency Sir George Ambrose Lloyd arrived in Bombay on Monday morning. Lord Willingdon sailed for England and the new Governor assumed charge of his office the same evening.

**Some Ancient Hindu Intermarriages:** A correspondent writing in the *Searchlight* of Patna in support of Mr. Patel's Bill to validate intermarriages among Hindus of all castes, gives a few striking instances of such marriages in ancient times when, he maintains, such unions were held valid and their issue regarded as legitimate. Rishi Vashishtha married one Akshamala, a woman of low caste. Rishi Mandapala married Sharangi, also a low caste woman. Rishi Jamadagni married Renuka, a Kshatriya princess, and begot the illustrious Parasurama upon her. Rishi Vaishravana married one Kaikasi, the daughter of a Rakshasa named Sumali and begot upon her the celebrated Ravana, the King of Lanka, Kumbhakarna and Vibhishana. Rishi Goutama married the beautiful Ahalya who was a daughter of a Kshatriya king named Mudgala. Shatnanda, the family priest of King Janak, was born out of this wedlock. King Dushyanta married Shakuntala, only a half Kshatriya girl begotten by the sage Vishvamitra upon Menaka, a nymph. King Bharata, after whom India has been named Bharatavarsha, was the issue of this marriage. Lord Rama Chandra, married Sita, "a foundling of unknown parentage, whom King Janaka had adopted as his daughter." The fact that she was the daughter of Earth or that she was born of a pitcher filled with the blood of Rishis, the correspondent holds, justifies him in holding that she had no caste at all. King Yayati, the famous King of the Lunar Dynasty, had two wives, namely, Devayani and Sharmistha, both of different castes from himself and as well as from each other. Devayani was a Brahmin and Sharmistha was a Daitya by caste. Lord Shri Krishna was a descendant of this King Yayati through his Brahmin wife Devayani. King Shantanu, the common ancestor of the famous Kauravas and Pandavas, married Satyawati, the daughter of a fisherman and the progeny of this matrimony were held lawful successors to the throne of Hastinapur. The correspondent goes on to say: "Many will be amazed to hear that the foremost of the Hindu Rishis, namely, Vashista, Narada, Parasara, Vyasa, and Baradvaja, whose work in Litera-

ture, Science, Art and Philosophy are still the objects of wonder to foreigners, were born of parents as widely apart from each other in the scale of the Hindu Society as the two poles asunder. Vajrasuchyupanishad, attached to the Sama Veda, says that Vashishtha was the son of a woman of very low social position; Parasara, of a Chandali; Narada, of a maidservant; Vyasa, the famous author of the Mahabharat, of a fisher-woman and Bhardwaja, of a Shudri. As, according to the Scriptures, the true criterion of a man's caste is his action and not his birth it matters very little to whatever castes his parents belong. But if we take birth as the criterion of a man's respectability, the most revered Rishis of the Hindus would be hurled down to the lowest depth."

**Shipbuilding at Porbandar:** The following note regarding the success achieved in shipbuilding at Porbandar, without any encouragement other than the present high freights, is published by the Government of Bombay for general information. During the period from 1st March 1917 to the end of October 1918, 52 vessels of a total registered tonnage 7,460 were built, the capacity of the individual vessels varying from 37 to 303 tons. Twelve more vessels of an approximate tonnage of 1,630 have been launched while 11 more of a total approximate tonnage of 1,715 are under construction. The last includes a vessel of 500 tons which is the largest ship ever built at Porbandar. This was expected to be launched by the beginning of the last month. The timber for the ships had to be brought from Malabar, and it was not necessary for the State to make any concession to the builders. The construction of ships aggregating close upon 11,000 tons was entirely due to the most creditable enterprise of the builders and the seafaring class of the Porbandar population. The vessels will be of much use in relieving the shortage of tonnage in the coastal trade. What will be the fate of this incipient industry when freights return to their normal level. Is it sound statesmanship to let it be killed out by outside competition? We hope the Government of India will adopt a positive attitude in matters of this kind.

**The 2nd All-India Social Service Conference Delhi** It will be in the recollection of our readers that an All-India Social Service Conference was held last year at Calcutta under the Presidentship of Mr. Gandhi. The Indraprastha Sewak Mandli, Delhi, has invited the All-India Social Service Conference to hold its second session in Delhi which will be held there in the afternoon of the 27th December in the Indian National Congress Pandal. A representative Reception Committee has been formed with R. S. L. Kedar Nath, M. A., Retired District Judge as Chairman, Principal S. K. Rudra, Mr. Sri Ram and Mr. Asaf Ali, as Vice-chairmen, and Mr. D. M. Jaini and Pandit I. C. Vedalankar as Joint-Secretaries and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu has kindly accepted the presidentship of the Conference. The Social Service movement offers a common platform for men and women of all sects and castes and of all shades of political opinion. We wish the Conference every success. The Office of the Conference is at Katra Dhulia, Chandni Chowk, Delhi.

**The Depressed Classes Mission, Mangalore.** The late Mr. G. C. Whitworth who died in London in December 1917, has by his will left a legacy of Rs. 500 to the Depressed Classes Mission, Mangalore. Mr. H. R. Morgan of Mangalore, in appreciation of the work the Mission is doing, has raised his subscription from Rs. 60 to 100 a year.



## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, DECEMBER, 22 1918.

## LABOUR AND INDUSTRIES IN INDIA.

We are glad that the disputes in the Carnatic and Buckingham Mills between the workmen and employers have been amicably settled. There had been cases of assault between the workers and the supervisors, and the Agents declared a lock-out. The Madras Labour Union of which Mr. B. P. Wadia is the moving spirit endeavoured to bring about a settlement, but failed. At this stage, Mr. C. F. Andrews came to Madras, and it is to his intervention that the present friendly settlement is largely due. In a speech made at a public meeting held to secure support for the workers, Mr. Andrews bore testimony to the great consideration which Sir Clement Simpson, the head of the firm of Agents, had shown in his representations, and also to the efforts of Mr. B. P. Wadia to induce the workers to submit their case to arbitration. The points of difference were of a petty character, and the Agents of the Mills as well as the workers have shown much good sense in coming to an amicable understanding. Mr. Andrews proposes to stay on at Madras, to live on the spot in order to be near the labourers and watch their conditions of life and work. Sir Clement Simpson has been good enough to give him access to the mills at all hours, and promised to consider any question which Mr. Andrews might bring forward on behalf of the men. The lock-out is at an end and the mills have admitted some thousands of labourers to work. There has been some little trouble between Messrs. John Wallace and Co. of the Burma Oil Company and their employees in Madras, and that also has been promptly settled by Mr. Andrews' intervention. The Carnatic and Buckingham Mills have a high reputation for their enlightened treatment of their work people. Certainly there are mills in Bombay and Ahmedabad where the well-being of the labourer is far less a concern of the employer. It is strange, therefore, at the beginnings of an organised labour movement that should originate in connection with the Madras Mills. Some people are inclined to attribute this wholly to the presence of Mrs. Besant and her co-workers at Adyar. There may be some truth in that, but it is far from being the whole truth. Some persons regard the Madras movement as having its origin in antipathy to British employers. We do not know how far this is true but, undoubtedly, there is an unconscious tendency when such troubles arise to animadvert on the non-Indian character of the employer. This was illustrated by a little incident at the public meeting referred to above. Mr. Wadia, in the course of his speech, contrasted the courtesy shown to the workmen's representatives by himself by giving them chairs when they (the representatives) came to interview him at Adyar, while he suggested that the eighteen representatives who went to see Sir Clement Simpson with Mr. Andrews had to stand "when the European staff headed by Sir Clement Simpson were seated in chairs." Mr. Andrews promptly corrected him and mentioned to

the meeting that through the whole of the interview all parties were standing. We are sure that Mr. Wadia was misinformed and that he had no intention of raising a racial issue. But we refer to the incident as illustrating an unconscious tendency when the parties to a dispute are Englishmen and Indians. These, however, are minor points. Our own view is that the fact that the labour movement has first started in Madras is a testimony and a tribute to the more enlightened treatment of the workers by employers in the mills concerned. Where the worker is utterly ground down by the employer, he has no spirit left to protect himself. Where, on the other hand, he is treated with consideration, he is apt to make a grievance sometimes of what may seem trifles to the less well-treated labourer.

When all is said, however, the factory system cannot be entirely dissociated from certain grave evils. And the question for us really is how to promote industrial development without a wholesale adoption of this system which, originally founded on a total disregard of the human rights of the workers, can never, by any means, be emancipated from certain incidents which are inimical to social and moral life. The question is well dealt with in an able article which Mr. P. G. Shah contributes on the need for developing cottage industries in India, to the current number of the *Bombay Co-operative Quarterly*. He points out that already there are signs of over-crowding, congestion, low vitality and ill-health in the cities, as the concomitant of the few factory industries established during the last half a century in this country. There is also visible a growing antagonism between capital and labour as evidenced by recent labour strikes among factory operatives in Bombay, Ahmedabad, Madras and other places. Mr. Shah further points out that the exploitation of female and child labour in the factories is throwing an additional heavy burden on the diminishing vitality of the people. "Instead of first creating undersirable conditions, and then trying to seek relief by programmes of social uplift," he aptly observes, "it would be going more rationally to the root of things, if we avoided as far as possible the poisonous atmosphere of large scale production." He recognises that certain industries can only be maintained on the factory scale, but he pleads for minimising these to the "key industries" where large scale production is necessitated by industrial and economic conditions, and in encouraging the growth of cottage industries, wherever possible, in rural and urban areas. In spite of unrestricted competition, the old cottage industries of India still show considerable vitality. Only 6 per cent of Indian industrial workers work in factories. The Indian Industrial Commission observe: "A general review of the evidence tendered to us, supplemented by numerous inspections in the towns and villages that we have visited confirms us in the conclusion that cottage industries are a very important feature in the industrial life of India; that they are by no means primitive as they are usually depicted; and that there is no real ground for belief that they are generally in a decadent condition. We have been unable to obtain accurate statistics re-



garding the actual number of workers in the various cottage industries, but in every town they still form a large percentage of the population, and they are to be found in almost every village, so that their numbers are still vastly larger than those of the operatives employed in organised industries." Mr. Shah points out that the increasing use of electric power in many towns and cities should make available a cheap and handy source of energy to the cottage worker, and should provide a new impetus to production on a small scale. He concludes his very able article by reminding us that in all schemes of cottage industries, the central idea should be the emancipation of the workman from the blighting monotony of factory life. "Whatever be the details of the schemes for the rehabilitation of old cottage industries and the starting of new ones," he observes, "the main object should be the liberation of the workman from the tyranny of the village money-lender, on the one hand, and from the traps of factory-slums in the cities, on the other. To prevent such schemes from degrading into mere profiteering and exploitation, it is necessary that they should conform to all or some of the following requirements. First, the work must be on a small scale so that the workman produces more or less a complete thing and is able to bring his individuality to bear upon his work. Secondly, the artisan should be able to own (either as a joint or single owner) the implements he uses. Thirdly, he should be able to work in his own home or live in a house over which he should possess rights of joint or complete ownership. Fourthly, the fullest scope should be given in his daily work for the development of the communal instinct to which he is already familiar in his caste or village panchayat. Fifthly, the machinery used should be, though as efficient as possible, such as can be easily repaired, if not made, in the neighbourhood." We commend Mr. Shah's article to the perusal of our readers.

#### THE MADRAS HINDU SOCIAL REFORM ASSOCIATION.

The Madras Hindu Social Reform Association celebrated its silver jubilee on the 15th instant. From the full report of the proceedings given in *Justice*, we see that the occasion drew together a large gathering of Brahmans and non-Brahmans. The President of the Association, the Hon. Mr. Sreenivasa Iyengar, was in the chair and delivered a thoughtful address. He referred to the difficulties which faced the founders of the Association twenty-five years ago. "At that time" said Mr. Iyengar, "the work of one who put himself forward as a social reformer was particularly difficult. He had to encounter opposition not only from his family and from his caste but from even members of other communities. The general sense of the Hindu communities was against any intervention in social matters. The result was that one who started as a social reformer had not only not the sympathy of his relations or fellow castemen, but he did not get the sympathy of any appreciable section of the Hindu communities. The difficulties were by no means academic or theoretical; they were

very practical difficulties. Not only that he did not receive appreciation but he was inviting for himself excommunication; boycott, the terrible boycott of the caste system as it used to exist, was applied to him mercilessly. That was the position of affairs when a little band of enthusiastic men who thought that they would be serving their country best by looking a few years ahead, ventured to start a social reform propaganda in perhaps the most backward of the Indian provinces. Orthodoxy as the term was understood in those days—because it has little or no meaning in these days—orthodoxy as it was then understood, was certainly used for the purpose of creating a very strong and tumultuous opposition against reform work. The reformer got no civil hearing and motives were attributed to him. They said that he was working against the great civilization, that he was against his ancestors, he was against the Vedas, he was against *sastras*, he was against God."

As one of those associated with the founders of the Association, we can bear out what Mr. Iyengar said as to the obstacles in the path of social reform when the Association was first started. But against these, there were certain advantages. In the first place, the founders had plenty of enthusiasm. And, in the next place, there was among them a complete absence of the estrangement between Brahmans and non-Brahmans which is now such a sad feature of Madras public life. Brahman and non-Brahman members of the Association felt like brothers toward one another. We are sure that if the social reform movement had not been thrust into the background in the Madras Presidency by a combination of Theosophists and orthodox persons, the political life of the province would have developed on sounder and more harmonious lines than it has done. Mr. Sreenivasa Iyengar rightly said that a Hindu of the social reform movement could not be either a Brahman or a non-Brahman. He has no caste. He is merely a Hindu. He ceases to be a Brahman or a non-Brahman.

Reviewing the quarter of a century during which the Association has been in existence, Mr. Sreenivasa Iyengar concluded that the seed which the pioneers of the Association had sown had borne good fruit. The caste system had lost its rigidity. Opposition to education of woman, widow remarriage, foreign travel, late marriages and intermarriages has appreciably diminished. Two features of the early activities of the Madras Hindu Social Reform Association were the powerful stand which it made for temperance and social purity. In both these directions there has been a notable advance in public opinion. The educated drunkard has practically disappeared. Total abstinence is now recognised as the only right attitude of every rational Indian. Then, the anti-Nautch movement has been an unqualified success. Nautch parties are now no longer given in honour of officials, and few educated men care to have the form of entertainment on festive occasions in their households. But the best proof of the success of the work of the Association was afforded by the dinner which followed the public meeting. Our contemporary gives a full list which includes several Brahman and



non-Brahman names. We earnestly trust that the Association will continue to exert an ever increasing influence on the public life of Madras. Experience shows that social reform and social service are the main uniting factors in Indian life to-day. If the Madras Hindu Social Reform Association were more active, there will be less need for the activities of sectional and communal movements. The Chairman's remarks regarding the non-Brahman movements will be echoed by all thoughtful men in Madras whether Brahmans or non-Brahmans. He said that the Hindu civilization was not merely the work of the Brahman but of the non-Brahman also. He believed that the non-Brahman communities were bound to fill in the future a far greater place in the national life than in the past. Why was it so in the past? Was it due to the lack of intelligence, or lack of patriotism? What was it they were lacking in? They were perhaps lacking in education. There was nothing more than that. One generation or a half will remedy it. He pointed out the instance of the Andhra movement and how the bitterness towards the Tamil was going away. The non-Brahmans have achieved substantial victories. They have opened the eyes of the Brahman communities: that was the purpose of the non-Brahman movement. The Brahmans have realised they could not do anything unless they carried the non-Brahman communities with them.

#### SOCIAL WORK IN MYSORE.

(From our Correspondent.)

Influenza among other things, did not allow me to continue my letters to the *Reformer* for the past two months. I am glad that the epidemic has completely ceased with the exception of stray cases here and there. Both in the City and in the Civil and Military station, the epidemic has done great havoc, not to say in the mofussil areas in the province, where the mortality from the epidemic, due largely to economic distress, was, I am afraid, greater than many other mofussil areas in the country. The economic activities in Mysore have not contributed to the welfare of the ryot or the labouring classes and on the other hand if private reports of well-informed officials and non-officials, are to be relied, it would appear that the economic activities are making their lot miserable. A medical officer in the early days of the epidemic casually observed that the administration should thank themselves for the death rate because it was due to nothing but starvation among the people. That starvation existed among the people of Mysore where any amount of money was freely spent was amply testified to by Prof. Radhakamal Mukerji of the Calcutta University who in his lecture at Bangalore two days ago said that in a family in the Mysore city the oven had not been fire for *three days*! This is incredible when one reads newspaper reports of Mysore activities, yet it appears to be a fact. That in the capital of the State, when much money is being spent by Government for social work and economic purposes, such a thing exists shows a state of things for which the authorities should be held morally responsible. General remarks based on a solitary instance may be characterised as unwarranted. But that such a state of things existed in Mysore, the Head-quarters of the Social Service association, for the maintenance of which the public

money is freely spent, makes one think that there is something very rotten with regard to Government social and economic activities in the State.

It is extremely creditable to the younger generation of Bangalore that they rose to the occasion when the needs of social workers were made known to them in connection with influenza relief work. Students and young men of various communities took part in carrying medicines and food to the patients. Some good work among the depressed classes in this connection was also done and a band of workers from that community organised by Mr. Shinde's assistant, who has been sent down to organise depressed classes work in Bangalore, worked in depressed classes areas in the Bangalore Cantonment and the neighbouring villages. In Mysore, I am informed, among those who worked among the depressed classes, is Mrs. Vanajamma, a Brahmin lady, who deserves great credit, for she seems to be the only lady to come forward to undertake the work.

#### THE LATE MR. VARADACHAR.

Influenza has taken away many good and useful men from among us. I along with others mourn their loss; but to me and to the "social reform" world of Bangalore there was no greater loss than that of Mr. M. G. Varadachar, a young and promising advocate, a cultured and refined gentleman, and an ardent social reformer, and one who took a great interest in all movements for the good of the people. Fitting tribute were paid to his memory at a recent public meeting which was addressed by Messrs. C. R. Reddy, L. P. Larsen, D. V. Gundappa and others, and various reminiscences were related on the occasion. The one tribute I have to pay him as a social reformer is that he was "Sincere" in what he said and did, a thing absolutely impossible to find in this place where many care for cheap popularity from public or fawn on official circles. An incident which made an impression on me with regard to Mr. Varadachar was in connection with the recent Raja Ram Mohan Roy anniversary meeting. Many of the *Great Men* who were approached by the organisers, on one excuse or other, were not enthusiastic either about the necessity for holding the meeting or of the importance of the Raja Ram Mohan Roy example at this time. But approached at the last moment Mr. Varadachar willingly came forward to take part on the occasion; and what was more, he influenced his sister Srimathi Srirangamma B. A. to speak on the occasion on behalf of the women of India—I have had many interesting "talks" with Mr. Varadachar on questions connected with social reform and he always spoke to me encouragingly and assured me active support to hold public inter-caste dinners, about the use of which we were discussing at the last time we met. A Good soul, he is gone; but his death is still more unbearable when I think that his marriage two or three months ago was a "Social reform" marriage, in as much as the bride was from a different section of the Brahmin community to which he belonged and was an educated young lady, and it was a post puberty marriage.

#### FIRST MYSORE LADIES CONFERENCE.

During the Dusserah festivities in Mysore the first Mysore Ladies Conference was held in the Maharani's College Hall in Mysore. The conference was brought about through the exertions of Mrs. K. D. Rukmani Amma B. A., Superintendent of the Maharani's College, and was presided over by Mrs. K. S. Chandra-Sekhara Iyer. Many well-known ladies of Bangalore could not attend the Conference owing to the prevalence of influenza—some interesting resolutions relating to female education, post-puberty marriage etc., were passed and the Conference was a success.



**A Hall of All Religions at Benares:**— We have received a printed circular letter from the Maharaja of Durbhanga, as General President of the Sri Bharat Dharma Mahamandal, in which he suggests the setting up in Benares of what he calls a Hall of All Religions. The Hall proper will be available to members of all religions, and there will be a Library, places of worship for the several creeds, and quarters for Ministers and priests of the several denominations and students of comparative theology attached to the Hall. The idea is an excellent one.

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not  
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

## CONTENTS.

—:o:—

The Hindu Missionary  
Society.  
Constitutional Reform in  
French India.  
The Late Dewan of Pith-  
apuram.  
Burma and Constitutional  
Reform.  
A Christian Sadhu.  
Excess Profits Tax and the  
Alternative.

Depressed Classes Mission,  
Banglore.  
What are we Coming to.  
Indians at the civil Service.  
Hospitals under Moslem  
Rule.  
A Famine Relief Proposal.  
The First Mysore Ladies  
Conference.

## NOTES.

—:o:—

**The Hindu Missionary Society:** We have noticed in these columns the activities from time to time of the Hindu Missionary Society founded by Mr. G. B. Vaidya. An account of its latest and most notable missionary effort has been furnished to us. We are requested to announce that Miss Ubagaram Francis Munaswamy Pilli, a Roman Catholic Christian lady, embraced Hinduism, and was duly initiated into it with sacred thread by the Hindu Missionary Society of Bombay on Friday the 20th of December 1918. She assumed the Hindu name Sharadabai. She was subsequently married by the Hindu religious rites to Mr. K. Raghavendra Rao B. A., a Brahman gentleman. At the ceremonies G. B. Vaidya B. A. and Mrs. Kamalabai Vaidya officiated as priests. Before the ceremonies the bride and the bridegroom appeared before the Registrar and had their marriage duly solemnised and registered under the Special Marriage Act. If we may venture to make a comment on this marriage, it is as regards the anomaly of converting a Christian to Hinduism, and of celebrating her marriage with a Hindu, according to the Vedic rites, and in the same breath requiring them to declare under the Special Marriage Act, that they do not profess Christianity, Hinduism or any other of half a dozen religions known to the framers of the law. The responsibility for the anomaly, however, is not that of the Hindu Missionary Society, but of the Indian legislative which, in this twentieth century, makes this inquisitorial demand of those who wish to be united in a civil marriage!

**Constitutional Reform in French India.** A Pondicherry telegram dated December 24th states as follows:— It is officially announced that M. Martineau, ex-Governor of French India, is nominated Director of the Ministry of the Colonies, Asiatic Service. M. Germanie is semi-officially confirmed to have been appointed Governor of French India. It is reported that M. Gaebler, M. Major, and M. Gnanadigam, Advocate, are starting for France as representatives of French India, the object being to bring about some constitutional change concerning, principally, the enlargement of Pondicherry.

**The Late Dewan of Pithapuram.** We are requested to state that the members of the Prayer Samaj, Rajahmundry, at a special meeting held in the Prayer Hall, on the 22nd instant, under the presidency of Rao Bohadur K. Viresalingam Pantulu, passed a resolution expressing their deep-felt sorrow at the premature death of Mr. M. Subbarayudu, the Dewan of Pithapuram who was a tower of strength to the social reform and theistic movements in the Telugu districts of the Madras Presidency. We associate ourselves with this resolution of appreciation of the career of the late Mr. Subbarayudu.

**Burma and Constitutional Reform:** The Government of Burma have drafted and published a scheme of "constitutional reform" which, we are told, has not been submitted to the Government of India. We trust that when it comes before them the Government of India will deal with it faithfully. The central idea of Sir Reginald Craddock's scheme is that the Government of Burma should be separated from that of India. It does not suit Burma to have the separation effected immediately, and, therefore, she will condescend for the present to remain with India until the time seems ripe for her to separate. Considering the enormous sacrifices India has made for Burma, the proposal is a cool one. And even so, we should not refuse to consider it, were we sure that it represented the actual sentiments of the Burmese people. In order to secure the support of the latter to this fantastic proposal, the scheme holds out the promise of some high-paid appointments to the Burmans. The whole thing is preposterous and we are astonished at the temerity of Sir Reginald Craddock's Government in launching these proposals, under the guise of constitutional reform, on the public without the knowledge of the Government of India. An Anglo-Indian correspondent of a contemporary speaks of the unpopularity of the Indian with the Burmese people. The Indian was not always unpopular in Burma. His unpopularity originated from the fact that it was he that helped the British to overthrow the native Burman rule. It has been so in Burma, and it will be so in Mesopotamia and East Africa. The role of the Indian hitherto under British rule, it must be admitted, has not been such as to make him popular or respected in any country least of all in those which he has helped to add to the Empire. And it is a bitter irony that English exploiters should urge his unpopularity on that account as a justification for cutting him out of these territories which without his continued help, financial and military, cannot be held under British rule. The Montagu-Chelmsford report has expressly deprecated the raising of the question of the future of the provinces of India, which the authors rightly thought, would be better decided under a system of responsible Government. Why has Sir Reginald raised it now?



# INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, DECEMBER, 29 1918.

## A CHRISTIAN SADHU.\*

In his notable book "Is India Civilized?" which we reviewed recently, Sir John Woodroffe severely criticises the foreign Christian Missions in India. Many instances might be given, he says, of the exploitation of Christianity in support of political interests. He quotes the author of "Conflict of Colour" who writes that those "who still believed that, as it will be in our day impossible to bar out the hordes of Asia and Africa, the only safeguard for Europe and the white man still lies today as in the past in Christianity; and that the impossibility of allying themselves with other creeds is perhaps the reason why instinctively the great movement towards Christianising the coloured world is growing stronger and stronger in Anglo-Saxon countries as a sort of forlorn hope launched to capture an almost impregnable position." The same author is referred to as holding that "the part which the white man is politically called upon to play in Africa is the part of Delilah and no other" for, "if," he says, the black man "is Christianised, his destructive strength is stripped from him, as was Samson's when his locks were cut." The Japanese who are so adept in fighting the West with her own weapons, have not lost sight of this aspect of religious missions. [A Japanese author, Dr. Enryo Inuye, in a recent article, wrote: "Religion has always paved the way for extension of Western nations overseas, and why should it not do the same for Japan? In Africa, India, China and the Islands of the South Pacific, Christianity always preceded the flag and opened a way for the developments of the nations preaching the new religion. We have imitated the occidentals in other ways; why not in this way? While Christianity is losing force in the home lands of its propagandists, it is gaining force and influence in the countries overseas. It looks as if it were the policy of Western countries to take away from the forces of Christianity at home and apply the extra force to lands abroad to make way for the greater influence of the countries represented; and this is especially true in the Orient." Dr. Inuye accordingly advocates that the Japanese people should give every attention to the propagation of Buddhism in foreign lands "to prepare the way for our national influence and as the first step for the future enrichment." So far as we know there is no Christian Missionary who regards himself as doing the work which is here imputed to him. And when in his book on "Indian Unrest" Sir Valentine Chirol said something of the political value of the conversion of the depressed classes in India to Christianity, there were loud protests from several eminent Missionaries. But there can be no doubt that at the back of the opposition to Christianity in this country there is the sub-conscious fear, among large numbers of Indians, that the effect if

not the motive of Christian Missions is that avowed by the author of "Conflict of Colour." The feeling towards Christ and His teachings among Indians, is rightly described by Sir John Woodroffe. "Such universal truths as were taught by Jesus will, when rightly interpreted," he writes, "find ready acceptance in India which also proclaims them. Acceptance of the Christian religion will (if at all) the more speedily come when Christianity is no longer associated with the notion that it is the religion of a ruling western people and when its doctrines receive an independent interpretation by the Indian mind. This country will honour only the Christian San-yasi whether living in or withdrawn from the world."

That the idea that Christian Missions are designed to pave the way for the extension of the political and commercial influence of western nations, finds no acceptance among Christian Missionaries, is proved by the wide welcome which has been accorded by them to Sadhu Sundar Singh, the Christian San-yasi, a sketch of whose life by Mrs. Arthur Parker of Trivandrum is published by the Christian Literature Society of India. The earlier generation of Christian Missionaries acted in the belief that the more utterly the life of the Christian convert was severed from that of his non-Christian fellows, the better will it be for him and for the cause of Christianity in this country. We remember not many years ago a serious discussion in an important Christian Missionary organ as to whether the Indian convert should or should not be permitted to retain the lock of hair which all Hindus wear. This school has almost totally disappeared. If any representative of it exists to-day, he would be horrified by the appearance of Sadhu Sundar Singh as an apostle of Christ. For the Sadhu scrupulously adheres to the ways of life and even to the garb prescribed by immemorial Indian tradition to the man who has renounced the world at the call of religion. On October 6 1905, just thirty three years after his baptism, Sadhu Sundar Singh adopted the saffron robe. With bare feet and no visible means of support, but with his New Testament in his hand he has travelled all over India and has visited Tibet. At Mount Kailas, on the banks of the lake Mansarowar, he came across a Maharshi who is a devotee of Christ. The account of this meeting is worth reproduction. Sadhu Sundar Singh had fainted near a cave on the side of Mount Kailas, and when he came to: "The sight that met his eyes was so appalling that Sundar closed them and almost fainted. Little by little he ventured to make an inspection of the object before him, and then discovered that he was looking at a living human being, but so old and clothed, with long hair as to appear at first glance like an animal, Sundar realized that thus unexpectedly he had succeeded in his search after a holy man, and as soon as he could command his voice he spoke to the aged saint. Recalled from his meditation the saint opened his eyes and cast a piercing glance upon the Sadhu, and amazed him by saying "Let us kneel and pray." Then followed a most earnest Christian prayer ending in the name of Jesus. This over, the Maharshi produced a ponderous copy of

\* The Christian Literature Society of India. Price annas ten only.



the Gospels in Greek and read some verses from the fifth chapter of Mathew." When the Sadhu first met the Maharshi he was chilled to the bone by the bitter cold. The Maharshi gave him the leaves of a certain plant to eat, which having eaten he immediately felt a comfortable glow steal over his body. Sadhu Sundar Singh has visited the Maharshi on three occasions, and is willing that any one desirous of seeing him shall accompany him when he goes—as he hopes to do next year—to Kailas and Tibet.

The Maharshi is not a solitary example of an Indian Christian devotee. There is, we are told, a Sanyasi Mission, a secret organization numbering 24,000 members, scattered all over India. Sadhu Sundar Singh met some of the members dressed as Sannyasis in 1912 at Saranath. The Maharshi is a member of this Mission. Of this Mission Mrs. Parker writes: "The Bible is read and expounded and Christian papers are circulated. Eastern methods are sedulously followed, such as complete prostration of the body in prayer. The belief is held by them that, if men prayed in perfect faith they would have constant visions of the Master Himself. Belonging to this secret Christian Brotherhood are various Sadhus and hermits of recognized holiness and a large number of the members are educated and wealthy men of the upper classes, who freely subscribe towards the maintenance of the organization. The Sadhu has often been present at their services, and has several times been mistaken for one of themselves. He has very earnestly begged that they would openly confess Christ, and their promise is that when the right moment comes they have every intention of doing so." Those who know of the secret Mahomedan sects in Gujarat and Rajputana will not find it difficult to believe in the existence of a secret order of Christian Sanyasis. Some of Sadhu Sunder Singh's sayings are very striking. In justification of his mode of life he explains in the form of a parable that a Hindu will not drink water from a foreign vessel even when dying of thirst, but if that same water be offered to him in his own brass vessel he will accept it. This parable, like other parables, only presents one side of truth. The distinction between the message and the manner of its presentation is never so sharp as that between the water and the vessel. Another pregnant saying of the Sadhus is that the Cross bears those who bear the Cross. We commend this little book, so profoundly suggestive to every religious thinker, to the attention of our readers.

#### EXCESS PROFITS TAX AND THE ALTERNATIVE.

We need not be surprised at the protests which are being made against the proposed Excess Profits Duty. The money will be coming out of the pockets of the very richest and the complaints will be proportionately loud. Our only regret is that with the experience of England at their disposal the Government of India should have shrunk from levying the duty much earlier in the day, because had they done so there is little doubt that the rampant speculation which merchants dealing in a

variety of goods indulged in would have been automatically restricted, and it would in fact have acted as a sort of "control" measure. The certainty that eight annas in every rupee of extra profits would be snatched away by Government while the risk of the venture if any would be entirely their own, would have acted as a very powerful brake. But the biggest war profits have been made during this year, and we see no reason for abandoning the just claim of the public exchequer to this share it needs out of them. No body, of course, expects merchants or manufacturers of jute, or cotton, or anything else to be more than human to welcome the measure with alacrity on the score of its justice, and a certain Calcutta correspondent went even so far as to say that "chicanery" was written broad across the whole measure; but the only arguments worth considering which have been advanced against it so far are scarcely convincing. The objection of practical difficulty in arriving at a strictly equitable assessment in every case such as will ensure an ideal uniformity of burden is one that can be urged with equal force against the Income Tax, or for that matter any other measures of taxation or administration in force; and if any one suggested their abrogation on the same ground until some perfect measure was framed he would have no chance of being heard.

The protestors against the duty on excess profits have no better case in this respect. Are the Government of India going to repeal the provision in the Income Tax Act about the submission of returns of income by merchants, owing to the uproar it has created throughout the country? On the contrary, the innumerable returns that have been sent up are said to have been a perfect revelation to the Income Tax Department and in its light a practical way will doubtless be found of equitably dealing with those who have not returned their incomes. If the very wide discretion proposed to be vested in the Collector both as regards assessment and payment, and the provision of Boards of Referees, are not helpful to the powerful interests which alone are concerned with the Excess Profits Duty, then they can have no case for relief. The allegation too that the duty will seriously affect the financial and industrial situation in the country, will be found on strict examination to require more proof than has been adduced to support it. The President of the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau observed to the Hon. Sir James Meston: "It is also doubtful whether the tax is likely to bring in any considerable amount of money and commercial opinion is unanimous that for such a doubtful benefit it is not worth while to cripple industries and to further disturb a market which is already in a bad state." This strikes us as a contradiction in terms. If the amount withdrawn in the shape of duties is only inconsiderable, why should it cripple industries or disturb the money market? We venture to suggest that the true cause of disturbance is not so much the Excess Profits Duty—even if it be considerable—as the various measures of control—of cloth, of food



staffs &c.,—combined with the expected reduction in replacement costs that have led to the fall in prices which in their turn must affect credit and create a feeling of want of confidence. We should like to know whether any body is going to recommend the abolition of these control measures, or contrive to keep up replacement costs at the top level at which merchants have operated. If these are impracticable then there is no way of obviating the anticipated evils by merely abandoning the duty.

We are somewhat astonished that a man of affairs of the Hon. Mr. Mehta's standing went before the Finance Minister without a well-thought out alternative to the duty he did not want, and could suggest on the spur of the moment nothing better than a loan. It seems to us that this is too light-hearted a way of dealing with the question. Loan after loan at high interest may be a nice investment for capitalists; but it is the poor who have in the end to repay it with their labour; and we should not at all be surprised if this method of transferring the burden to other shoulders is taken up by Indian and European capitalists alike in this instance. If Government accede to this alternative, they will in our deliberate opinion be guilty of a grave dereliction of duty. The war loans already raised have heavily encumbered future generations. Much necessary progress will be arrested or hampered on account of the interest charges imposed on the revenue for many years to come. If India is to take a step in the direction of responsible Government, those who will have to be responsible for her finances and administration hereafter, will not be grateful to the Government which had mortgaged the resources of the country by anticipation to loans for purposes, which ought, according to every canon of finance and consideration of equity, be paid for by contributions from excess profits made by capitalists as a result of the war. Mr. C. V. Mehta who, in all probability, will be one of our future Ministers, and, as such, will have to bear his share of responsibility, does not seem to have looked at the question from this point of view. The Indian people of the middle and poorer classes have suffered much, and it will be heartless on the part of Government to load them with further burdens which will affect their children and their children's children. The concern for the masses professed by officials and politicians will be a hollow pretence if the alternative of a loan is to be accepted in lieu of the excess profits tax to which Government obtained the sanction of the Indian Legislative Council at its last session. The temptation to Sir James Meston to inaugurate his Finance Membership by an easy sacrifice of principle which will make him popular with the moneyed classes is great. We earnestly trust that he will be strong enough to resist and overcome it. His reply to Mr. C. V. Mehta's speech has created much misgiving by its detached and hesitating phraseology. We trust also that His Excellency the Viceroy will see to it that the poor of present and future generations are not victimised in the interests of the rich and powerful in the land.

**Depressed Classes Mission, Bangalore.** In 1915, a local Committee of two members, Mr. K. N. Dewal and Dr. P. Venkatarangum, has been working for promoting education among the children of the depressed classes of Bangalore. They had started in all five schools, two day and three night schools. The Committee had an accession of a third member in Mr. V. K. Nair early this year. In September last, when the schools were handed over to the Depressed Classes Mission Society of India, there were 150 scholars attending these schools. The annual prize distribution to the successful scholars was held on the 9th December with Mr. Tasker I. C. S., the Collector, in the chair. Mr. Nair read the annual report which showed gratifying progress. Mr. Shinde, General Secretary of the Mission, appealed for Rs. 5000 for the Bangalore Branch, and Rs. 1000 was subscribed at the meeting in response to his appeal.

**What are we Coming to?** The onlooker sometimes sees more of a game than the players. Referring to the claim that the obstructionist methods displayed at the Willingdon Memorial meeting, were a triumph for democracy, the *Hitavada* of Nagpur observes; "If it be so we can only deplore it. The scenes enacted put us in mind of what took place in Nagpur on an ever-to-be-remembered occasion and was afterwards repeated on a much larger scale and in a more important theatre in Surat. If the example set is a foretaste of what is to be expected in the future when we have larger powers and greater responsibilities, then we say that we have no reason to congratulate ourselves. For it is a complete negation of the principle of "self-determination," of which so much is now heard and which is being exploited for all it is worth by our friends in condemning the reform scheme and refusing to accept it as a first definite step towards responsible government."

**Indians at the civil Service.** The successful candidates in the Indian Civil Service examination for August include Mr. C. D. Deshmukh of the Bombay University, Mr. S. K. Sinha. Oxford and Cambridge, Mr. K. C. Chunder. Calcutt, Mr. S. G. Sengodaiyan, Madras, Mr. S. Lall, Calcutta Mr. R. N. Banerjee, Calcutta, Mr. V. N. Bhide, Bombay, Mr. M. S. A. Hydari, Bombay and Mr. W. Hussain, Calcutta.

**Hospitals under Moslem Rule:** With the spread of civilization the art of medicine made steady progress and physicians and surgeons became legion in the land. They set up private businesses as hospitals were yet unknown. Walid bin Abdul Malik—the third king of the Bani Umayya dynasty was the founder of this institution. He had got a taste for works of public utility and many of the initial steps in this department were taken by Walid, who also laid down the lines on which subsequent progress was to take place. It was he who laid the foundation of a "public guest house." A list of all the blind paralytic persons in the kingdom was prepared. A fixed allowance and one personal attendant was granted to each of these persons. The lepers also had a daily allowance and were not allowed to stir out of their houses. The first hospital was founded in connection with this organization. It was completed in the 88th Hijra and many physicians and surgeons were placed on its staff. The chief advantage of the medical department was the admission of a large number of Jewish and Christian doctors into the Royal Court. This opened the way for closer acquaintance with Greek science and art. Up to this time all the medical classics were in Greek, and no progress in treatment and pharmacy could be made without the assistance of the translations of these works.



## A FAMINE RELIEF PROPOSAL.

The Editor, The *Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

Will you be so good as to allow me space for a suggestion which is likely to be helpful at the present crisis when the outlook in India, through a threatening famine, is very grave.

At the time of the terrible famine in 1897, I published an article entitled 'The Famine in India—Its Cause and Cure' and among other suggestions, one was, that wells be excavated all over the famine stricken districts, as part of famine relief work, and as a permanent protection against a water famine wherever such wells may be provided. The idea was taken up by the Dewan of a certain Indian State, and a provision made in the annual budget of that State for excavation of 400 wells a year. This was started many years ago, and I recently noticed that the wise decision then made is still being continued with excellent results.

At the meeting held in the Town Hall last Friday to inaugurate a Famine Relief Fund, one of the speakers said that efforts should be made to keep famine stricken people from wandering away from their villages, in an aimless manner, to probably meet worse starvation elsewhere. It will be readily seen that one of the most effective ways of preventing such migration would be, by having in every village, relief works of its own, and what better relief works could be established than the excavation of wells in the various villages of famine stricken areas, where, for want of an adequate and reliable water supply, the villagers of such districts suffer terribly whenever the monsoons fail? In the very worst year, there is always some rain throughout India, and a considerable portion of such rain percolates into the ground. Hence, when the surface is perfectly dry, there is invariably water in the substrata. Now it is evident that if the water of such substrata could be located, and wells dug, through which to lift it for use to the surface again, whenever required, the anxiety regarding these frequently recurring famines in India would be greatly removed.

The principal consideration in this proposal is, where to find the most suitable sites for the excavation of wells.

Knowledge in this matter is obtained mainly by observation and comparison, and I have no doubt that those persons who have had practical experience in this matter, will be only too glad to place such experience at the disposal of those appointed to organize famine relief works. Personally, I shall be most happy to place such deductions as I have arrived at from my own experience in the excavation of several wells, at the disposal of whoever may require help in this matter, whether in British India or in the Indian States. I believe, were the public requested to provide money for the excavation of such wells, there would be a very hearty response, and to what better cause could philanthropical people give their money, than to provide a good water supply for poor people? I know of a village containing about 400 inhabitants, which depends solely for its water supply on the philanthropy of a Parsi gentleman who, more than two decades ago, provided this village with a good well, which probably cost him Rs. 2000, and which provides an ample water supply, not only to the villagers but also for all their cattle.

I trust the above suggestion, which has produced such good results in at least one Indian State, will be yet more extensively accepted at present, and result in affording much relief to the poor suffering public.

Standard Building,  
Hornby Road, Fort,  
BOMBAY.

Yours etc.,  
E. W. FRITCHLEY.

## THE FIRST MYSORE LADIES CONFERENCE.

The third and last Resolution, as to the desirability of encouraging post-puberty marriages, was moved by Mrs. Venkoba Rao and seconded by Mrs. C. Venkata Rao.

Before putting the resolution to vote, the President pointed out that, except among the one caste of Brahmanas, the marriage of girls among Hindus was generally performed after the full attainment of puberty, so that the question affected the Brahmana caste more than the rest. Brahmanas had always emphasised their position as members of the highest caste by reference to their cultivation of the intellect, their restraint of the senses, and their pursuit of spirituality; but the joining in matrimony of mere boys and girls yet immature in body and mind was hardly consistent with these ideals. Some people feared lapses from virtue as a possible result of post-puberty marriages; but this was a baseless apprehension, and could not be thought of among people in whom the instinct of *indriya nighraha* (the restraint of the senses) was so deeply rooted. Neither was it a true thing to say that women could not learn to love their husbands if they were educated and left unmarried till after puberty. The experience of the rest of the world disproved this assertion; and among the manifold individual instances to the contrary that might be mentioned she would merely allude to the well known fact of Queen Victoria's intense love for her husband and the depth of her grief when death snatched him away in his prime. Love was a matter of human nature and individual temperament; each person remained good or went to the bad according to his or her disposition, and it was not right to attribute to marriage reform every evil that individuals might do. There were other practical reasons why the times called for a postponement of matrimony. Many of our young men went to England and other foreign countries in order to undergo higher education and advanced training, and came back when they were 30 or more years of age; they then looked out for grown-up brides but finding none in their own castes they were obliged to seek them among other communities, the result being that young men of high promise were often definitely lost to the caste. Again the search for eligible bridegrooms had even in ordinary circumstances become a task of much difficulty; and they all knew of cases where girls had attained age by the time the search could be completed, but the fact was attempted to be kept hidden from the knowledge of others. It was far better that we should resolve to recognise the practice openly as a lawful thing than that we should merely wink at its concealed existence. It was their duty to encourage those who had sufficient boldness and determination to adopt a wholesome reform, instead of criticising and speaking ill of them; those who had not the courage to do likewise ought at least to refrain from placing obstacles in the way of those who had. The President hoped, finally, that her sisters, all who were there present would agree to the resolution that had been moved.

The Resolution was unanimously carried.

At the close of the proceedings the President made a few observations as to the importance of the Resolutions that had been passed at the conference. In accordance with a Tamil saying which meant "Build with prudence and live in comfort," they had begun their work on a modest scale, but she had every hope that the conference would grow in usefulness and importance and that it would in the years to come take up various other matters affecting the welfare of the people. It was largely due to the efforts and the



enthusiasm of Mrs. Rukminiamma that the conference had proved to be the success that it was in spite of the fact that the prevalence of the cruel influenza epidemic had kept away several who would otherwise have been present. In conclusion she prayed that Mysore might by God's grace become increasingly prosperous and lead the other parts of India in the matter of general enlightenment and progress.

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not  
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

## CONTENTS.

—:0:—

The late Metropolitan.  
Dr. M. A.  
Christian Missions and  
Government Grants.  
Burma and Constitutional  
Reform.  
The Excess Profits Duty  
and the Alternative Loan.  
The Bank of India.

Education of Mahomedans.  
Indian Journalists in  
England.  
The Hindu Intermarriage  
Validating Bill.  
The Second Maratha Political  
Conference Nasik.  
Social Purity in the  
Nizam's Dominions.

## NOTES.

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The late Metropolitan. We have only time today for a short expression of the deep regret at the death of Bishop Letroy of Calcutta. He was for many years a constant reader of this paper and an exceedingly kind friend. He occasionally found time in the midst of his heavy duties to write to us and his observations were always penetrated by deep insight into and sympathy for India and her people. It will be remembered that in the very critical year 1908, Lord Morley who was then the Secretary of State for India wrote to Lord Minto, after an interview with Bishop Letroy then of Lahore, as follows: "The Bishop of Lahore (Letroy) called—one of the most attractive men I ever met. In the midst of a rather heavy day he not only interested but excited me and carried me for a while into the upper ether. Why did you not recommend him to be Lt. Governor of the Punjab? There's an experiment for you! His ideas delighted me." By his death India loses a true friend and mediator. Personally he was the very embodiment of the Christian spirit in his humility and good will towards all men.

Dr. M. A. Ansari's Address at the All-India Moslim League. The address delivered by Dr. Ansari, Chairman of the Reception Committee at the 11th Session of the All-India Moslim League held at Delhi was almost entirely devoted to the position of Turkey with reference to the forth coming Peace Conference Dr. Ansari demands that not only the integrity and independence of the present Moslim states should be maintained intact but the wrong done to the Arab of North Africa and the Tartars and Turks of Central Asia should be redressed and all these peoples be given a free chance of determining their own form of Government. He denied the right of the Shareef of Mecca to declare himself an independent Sovereign and regarded that act as transgressing the law of Islam. His position seems to be that the Holy places of Islam are irrevocably committed to the care of the Sultan of Turkey who alone is and can be the true Khalifa of Islam. These Holy places, according to him, are not only Mecca

and Medina in Arabia but also Jerusalem, and Palestine and Nedjeff and Karbela in Persia and also Baghdad. With reference to the proposal to create a Jewish State in Palestine, Dr. Ansari tells us that it is about as reasonable a proposal would be to hand over the Government of the United States to the head of some forgotten Red Indian tribe or of the European Colonies to the native aboriginals of those territories on a revival of the Bhil and Gond Empire in India. While we ourselves regard the creation of a Jewish State in Palestine as a chimerical scheme we cannot even empliedly accede to Dr. Ansari's comparison of the Jews, one of the most spiritually gifted of the human races, to some forgotten Red Indian tribe or to the aboriginals of Australia or South Africa. We may add that the ultimate destiny of the Moslim states like that of all other states should be determined not by academic doctrines but by their actual effect on their subjects.

Christian Missions and Government Grants. The growing influence of the best American thought on the world's affairs, is one of the most auspicious signs of the times. This is because the best American thought is totally free from the tenderness to vested interests and the sneaking regard for ancient wrongs merely because they are ancient, which characterise much of the mentality of the Old World. The current number of the *Baptist Missionary Review* prints and comments on a letter from the Rev. F. L. Anderson, a leader of christian thought in the United States on the subject of grants-in-aid from the State. Mr. Anderson writes: "The State which compels any man to pay one cent for the maintenance or teaching of a religion which he does not believe, is guilty of infringing his religious liberty. I believe this with all my heart. How it applies to your grants-in-aid I cannot say, as I do not know all the facts of the case in India. As to *compulsory attendance* at any kind of religious service, or *any kind of compulsory religion whatever*, I am entirely opposed to it. The very essence of religion is its voluntariness, and this is a fundamental Baptist principle. Such compulsion must inevitably react unfavorably on the cause which exercises it." The italics are Mr Anderson's own.

The *Baptist Missionary Review*, commenting on this letter with full knowledge of Indian conditions, observes that Professor Anderson's contention that there is no religious value in coerced religious instruction, is sound. Our contemporary says that it is equally sound to hold, as he does, that to compel any man to pay for the maintenance of a religion in which he does not believe is to infringe his religious liberty. It goes on to observe: That it infringes one of our fundamental baptist positions we are even now dimly seeing. Expediency will cease to hold us as we progress in our thought and discussion,



and the farther development of Indian nationalism toward home-rule shows clearly that what is involved is a matter of principle. And it is also inexpedient if we look ahead. Government school, such as Municipal High schools, are now usually called Hindu schools, and their staffs are often actively anti-Christian. In only few cases are they open to our Christian children. The few "panchama board schools" established and managed by Government for the education of our Christians here and there, as a sort of sop to conscience, are closed in some instances against Hindu or Muhammadan children who have wished to come. These are practical steps toward the day of Hinduism and Muhammadanism becoming under "home-rule" the national religions "as by the law established." It is too much to hope that the strict impartiality of the British administration will be maintained intact without a struggle. Even the legal safeguards proposed for missions in the Montague Reforms Report will not leave the situation as it is. *The longer we shall have partaken of Government grants for schools, hospitals, criminal settlements and the like activities which further our propaganda, the weaker will be our protest when farther steps in the union of religion with the state are contemplated.* Till other adequate state provision is made for the education and other help of Christians, grants for that end alone violate no principle. But grants for propaganda weaken us within and without. The modern tendency in all Europe and America is toward the Baptist position in this matter and our leadership there has been definite and effective. Whence will come leadership for India? Can we doubt that our slowness to see the issue has lulled to rest some of our Protestant brethren here, whose home constituency has accepted fully the Baptist point of view? In these new days of reconstruction, of re-examination as to where we stand as a world and as a religion, may this question also receive its due share of attention. The italics are ours. We are not sure that our contemporary's statement that Municipal Schools are known as Hindu Schools, and that Indian Christian children are not admitted to them, can be sustained as a proposition applicable to a considerable number of cases. As for the staffs of such schools being anti-Christian, it can only be in the sense that Christian staffs of schools are anti-Hindu and anti-Mahomedan. Whatever may be the outcome of the establishment of Home Rule in India, penalising of any religion as such will certainly not be one, as the past history of India and the example of several Indian States show. The Syrian Christians, the Jews, the Parsis, are bring testimony to the broad tolerance which has been the national attitude towards other religions in India since the days of the illustrious Asoka. Mahomedanism, too, in India, has with rare exceptions, been modified in its attitude towards other religions by its environment.

**Burma and Constitutional Reform.** The *Hindu* of Madras strongly condemns the scheme of constitutional reform which Sir Reginald Craddock has drafted for Burma. Our contemporary recalls the controversy which was raised in the Imperial Legislative Council in 1911 over the question of Burma's dependance and the notable contribution made by the late Mr. Gokhale to it. Mr. Gokhale moved a resolution early that year regarding the growth of public expenditure and the official representative from Burma described the Bombay budget as a bloated budget. In retorting to this remark Mr. Gokhale pointed out that if the Bombay budget was a bloated one, in any case, Bombay had paid every penny of it and that when Upper Burma which had lived for nearly 20 years on other provinces re-funded to the Government of India what it had drawn from other provinces, then it would be time

for the representative of Burma to speak of other people's bloated budgets. At the next opportunity he went in detail into the question and summed up as follows: "For more than 40 years the whole of Burma was not paying its way; and as a result we find that Burma is indebted to-day to India to the tune of about 62 crores of rupees. The other day I pointed out that the unproductive debt of India is 37 millions or about 55 or 56 crores of rupees. If Burma had not been with us, we should have had no unproductive debt to-day and have been 6 or 7 crores to the good." After pointing out how India has born the responsibility for every penny of the debt raised on her behalf, he proceeded: "If Burma wants to be considered separately, then Burma must also be prepared to undergo the same treatment." The *Servant of India* regards the attempt made to secure the separation of Burma from India, the most retrograde and reactionary feature of the scheme, and enters a most emphatic protest against it.

**The Excess Profits Duty and the Alternative Loan.** Professor Kale of the Fergusson College writing in the *Servant of India* takes the view that if a new tax has got to be imposed, there is no alternative to the Excess Profits Tax. He observes: The alternative of a big loan has been suggested, but it will only help the wealthy who have reaped huge profits during the war to escape and place a comparatively heavy burden upon the shoulders of the poor taxpayer. The landed and commercial interests in the country are vocal and powerful. Even the strength of Sir William Meyer quailed before the opposition of the landlords and their friends, when it was proposed by him to take their agricultural incomes into account in determining the rate at which they should be taxed with respect to their non-agricultural income. The same fate seems to threaten the excess profits tax, and Sir James Meston will require all his strength and firmness in deciding the course to be taken."

**The Bank of India.** The Bank of India Limited, sends us the report of their working, which points to a successful year. The profit of the Bank for the year ended 31st December 1918, including the sum of Rs. 35,878-9-6 brought forward, amounts to over Rs. 10½ lakhs. Provision for Income Tax, Super-Tax and Excess Profits Tax for the current year will absorb Rs. 2, 31, 422, and the payment of an ad-interim dividend at the rate of 10% per annum, made on the 30th June 1918, absorbed a further sum of Rs. 2, 50,000. The balance now available for distribution is Rs. 5,70,007-11-11. The directors propose:—To pay a final dividend, for the half year ended 31st December 1918, at the rate of 10% per annum on the paid up capital of 50 lacs, and to give a bonus to shareholders of Re. 1. per share equal to a further 2% per annum, making 12% for the year. These payments will be free from Income Tax, and will absorb Rs. 3,50,000. To place Rs. 1,11,315 to the Reserve Fund, and to carry forward to the next account the balance Rs. 1,08,692-11-11 subject to a substantial donation to the Bank's Provident Fund and the payment of a bonus to the staff of the Bank. In addition to the above there is a sum of Rs. 1,88,685 being the surplus sale proceeds of a portion of the Bank's landed property, which amount, together with the sum of Rs. 1,11,315 previously referred to, will be placed to the Reserve Fund raising that fund from Rs. 12 lacs to 15 lacs. The audited Balance Sheet which will shortly be published will disclose, as usual, an exceedingly strong and satisfactory financial position, the cash in hand and with Bankers amounting to Rs. 119 lacs, whilst the Bank's Investments in Treasury Bills and Government Securities amount to about Rs. 60 lacs.



# INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, JANUARY, 5 1919.

## EDUCATION OF MAHOMEDANS.

The thirty-second All-India Mahomedan Educational Conference met in Surat during Christmas week under the presidency of Sir Ibrahim Rahimatulla. There was a good master of delegates and Visitors, and the proceedings were characterised by much enthusiasm. During the nearly one-third of a century that it has been in existence, the Conference has done one admirable service in stimulating the Indian Mahomedan Community to high educational endeavour. Sir Ibrahim in his presidential address gave some figures which showed that the number of Mahomedan scholars in the several stages of instruction had greatly increased during the thirty-two years. But considerable as this increase has been, it has just kept pace with the growth of the Mahomedan population, with the result that the proportion of illiterates continued to be almost the same as before the starting of the Conference. Sir Ibrahim traced the backwardness of Mahomedan education to two causes. The first was the belief among a large section of the community that modern education will undermine faith in Islam. Sir Ibrahim convincingly showed that this fear was entirely groundless. The other cause to which he attributed the slow progress of education among the co-religionists, is their poverty, as a community. To meet this difficulty, Sir Ibrahim suggested the utilisation of a part of the charitable endowments now remaining unused for the founding of schools and colleges, the endowment of scholarships for poor students, and the self dedication by young Mussulman graduates to the profession of teaching at a small salary, as in the Deccan Education Society. All these are excellent suggestions and if carried out, are sure to go a long way to solve the educational problem among our Mahomedan brethren. We may at the same time point out that communal institutions are costly and wasteful, and their efficiency is not commensurate with the money spent on them. The Aligarh College is itself a proof of this proposition. The Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Surat Conference courageously declared that he did not believe in communal educational institutions as in them the students were deprived of the stimulus of rubbing shoulders with young men of all creeds. In the last annual review of the Government of India of the educational progress of the country, it was pointed out that denominational institutions were becoming unpopular with the educated classes of the Mahomedan community. This is a healthy and hopeful sign of the times. We wish an increasing number of Mahomedan leaders of thought took up the cause and made by Mr. Barodewalla, the chairman of the Reception Committee of the Surat Conference.

While we have no doubt that the causes mentioned by Sir Ibrahim Rahimatulla contribute to be back-

wardness of Mahomedan education, an analysis of the conditions prevailing in the different provinces reveals a remarkable fact. In all the provinces where Mahomedans are in a minority, they have a higher proportion of literates than in those where they are a majority. The Bombay Presidency affords a striking proof of this fact. In Sind where the Mahomedans form two-thirds of the population, the proportion of literate males is 24 in 1,000, while the Hindu proportion is 233. Conversely in the Presidency proper where the Mahomedans are a minority, they have a much higher proportion of literates than the Hindus. In Gujarat the literate Mahomedans, number 270 in 1,000 as against 177 Hindu literates; in the Konkan the proportions are 94 for Hindus and 174 for Mahomedans; and in the Deccan 79 and 131. The Karnatak is a seeming exception to the rule; but an analysis by districts reveals the fact that in Belgaum, Mahomedans have a higher proportion of literates, and that in Bijapur and Dharwar alone does the Mahomedan proportion fall below the Hindu. In passing, we may point out the anomaly of reserving 4 out of 6 Government scholarships for secondary education in each district of the Presidency proper exclusively to Mahomedans whose proportion of literates, as we have seen is much higher than that of the Hindus. An investigation of the conditions of each province is likely to yield more fruitful results than wide generalisations as to the state of Mahomedan education and economic condition throughout the whole country. A singular omission in the Sir Ibrahim's address which has been generally commented upon, is the absence of all reference to the important question of women's education. Illiteracy in the case of Mahomedan women is a specially grievous deprivation owing to the fact that they are secluded behind the *purdah* and are thus without the opportunity imbibing knowledge by means of direct observation of the world around them. The Mahomedan educationist should first direct his attention to the question of women's education, because where women are educated, men are not likely to hug ignorance to their bosoms.

## INDIAN JOURNALISTS IN ENGLAND.

MR. G. K. DEVADHAR WRITES TO US.

I believe I have already written to you that our voyage over here lasted for 45 days, having left Bombay on the 26th of August 1918. We reached here on the 10th of October. On our way to London we passed through Egypt, Italy and France, and visited Cairo, Rome and Paris, respectively, the great capitals of these three important countries. At these places we saw many places of interest. Since our arrival in London, we have been very busy. I do not know if *Reuter* has kept you in India informed of our movements.

But I will try to give you a brief idea of what we have been doing. During the first week of our stay in London, we were shown the London Docks and the warehouses of the London Port Authority; we



were taken over London in a big Handley-Page machine and flew to the height of 3200 ft. going at the rate of 60 miles per hour. On the 19th of October we were individually given an audience by both the King and the Queen at the Buckingham Palace. During this period, we were shown the Illustrated London News Press, the Stamp Department and the printing of Government Currency Notes.

On the 20th of October we left London on a provincial tour, visiting Edinburgh, Glasgow, Carlisle, Chester (Port Sunlight), Manchester and Birmingham. While at Edinburgh, among other things, we were shown a considerable portion of the Grand Fleet, lying near the First-of-Forth; at Glasgow we were shown on the Clyde, the ship-building operations for the Government by the John Brown Co., airship and munition factories at George Town; the Corporation showed us the several important Municipal departments; at Carlisle we were shown the work of the Board of Liquor Control; near Chester we were shown the model labour conditions put into operations by the Lever Bros. on their huge soap works at Port Sunlight; at Manchester the Ship Canal Co. showed us the big canal and their warehouses and other activities. Among other things, we were shown a model spinning mill, shell factory, the Royal Exchange, and the wholesale Co-operative Society's operations; and at Birmingham we were shown workshops of the Metropolitan Carriage Co. at present engaged in making the Handley-Page machines and the tanks. We were given the opportunity of going in a tank.

We returned to London on the 30th of October. After a couple of days' stay here, we were taken to the Western front; where we received the hospitality of military officers. We spent six days in seeing the ruins of several Belgian and French towns and villages, visiting most of the important places, where battles were fought in that area. During this brief stay we travelled over 900 miles in motor cars. It was very cold there. We were shown three prominent theatres of War, where our troops fought most gallantly, for which the British Army officers and the public have expressed their admiration and gratitude. We saw most dreadful scenes of devastation and desolation, complete ruin of beautiful agricultural land and forests; we were shown an actual battle front, where the guns were firing at the Germans, Huns as they are universally called here who were at the distance of three miles. Our visit to this place has left a deep impression on my mind.

On our return to London, we saw, on the 9th of November, the Lord Mayor's show one of the grandest held, in which troops from all Allied countries except India (because there were no Indian troops at that time in England) and the different War activities of the nation were marshalled. We saw also the great crowds, buoyant and maddening, of people—men and women in all public places in London on the day when the news of the signing of the Armistice flashed over the whole country.

In London itself we were the guests of several institutions and public bodies at lunch or dinner;

besides many important gentlemen treated us at luncheons; moreover several receptions were arranged to honour us, the Secretary of States being one of them. Among other places of interest, we paid a visit to Hampton Court, Windsor Castle, and 6 Oxford Colleges.

At most of these places, generous sentiments were expressed in appreciation of India's contribution in men and money to the Empire during the War and we were asked to respond to the toasts of welcome. There seems to be a universal feeling of gratitude for what India has done and I feel sure that this has materially contributed to the desirable change in the angle of vision of the Britishers towards her. If India will persist in her demand, on right lines, she is sure to succeed. There is great need for work here.

The programme prepared by the Ministry of Information here for the party of Indian editors came to a close on the 20th of this month. We were then staying as the guests of the Ministry of Information at the Hyde Park Hotel and arrangements are now being made for the return of the party to India. For this purpose it may have to be split up into two or three batches. While some members of the party are anxious to return soon, others like myself are equally anxious to stay behind for some months at their own cost to see something of the social and political life of England. In addition to that I am keen about inquiring into the conditions of industrial and agricultural labour in this country and in Scotland, Ireland and in Denmark, visiting educational, municipal and social service institutions making acquaintance of men and women connected with them and political parties, and studying in my humble way the English methods of work and organisation in the fields of labour, co-operation and charity. I am trying to collect as much useful information and literature relating to the above mentioned activities as I can. All this, of course will have to be done very hurriedly.

I am endeavouring to secure the necessary permission and facilities for our prolonged stay—say for three months—and so far as I can judge there will not be much difficulty in getting these. I and Mr. Ambekar, my assistant, may return to India by the middle of March 1919, leaving England by the end of February.

During my stay in London, I shall be speaking on different subjects, relating to our work in India, under the auspices of several clubs, leagues, and associations and hope to do some useful work with the help of friends here, to promote the objects of some of our institutions in India. I am meeting several Indian and English friends, who are genuinely interested in Indian affairs, in London and other towns.

Since the 21st of this month, both of us have removed to 36, Drayton Gardens, S. W. 10, London and are now staying at our cost. This is a fair, nice and comfortable place, quite suited to our requirements here. We are keeping very good health, and thank God, are finding the cold climate of England bearable.



## THE HINDU INTERMARRIAGE VALIDATING BILL.

### I. SIR RABINDRA NATH TAGORE'S OPINION.

Mr. R. G. Pradhan, Editor of the *Bharata Sevaka*, of Nasik, had invited opinions on the Hon. Mr. Patel's inter-caste Marriage Bill for publication in his magazine the *Bharata Sevaka*. He has just received Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore's opinion. As there is some time for the publication of the next issue of the *Bharata Sevaka*, he has kindly sent us a copy of Sir Rabindranath Tagore's opinion for publication.

"Is it too much to hope" writes Mr. Pradhan, "that the considered opinion of such a thoughtful and distinguished personage as Sir Rabindranath Tagore will have some weight with those who seem to take devilish delight in opposing the Hon. Mr. Patel's Bill and in causing disturbance in every public meeting held in support of the bill? I appeal in particular to the young men of India to give their most earnest thought to what Sir Rabindranath Tagore has to say on the bill."

Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore writes: "In answer to your letter dated the 3rd December I hasten to answer that the Hon. Mr. Patel's Bill has my heartiest support. It is humiliating to find that some of our countrymen are opposing this Bill under the notion that it will injure the Hindu society if it is passed. They do not seem to consider that those who are already willing to accept social martyrdom should not have any further coercion passive or active, from any governing power, to oblige them to observe against their will such conventions as are not based upon the foundation of moral laws. To say that Hindu Society cannot exist unless it has victims who are forcibly compelled to live the life of falsehood and cowardice, is tantamount to saying that it should not exist at all. Moreover, such an implication is a libel against the spirit of Hinduism, which all through its history has been accommodating differences of creeds and customs, allowing mixture of castes and making new social adjustments from the time of Mahabharat until now when an alien government has already succeeded in petrifying our social body with its rigid laws, depriving life's flexibility and thus hastening its fatal stage of sensibility. No doubt society everywhere looks upon with suspicion and treats with hostility those men who choose to think and act for themselves, who have an invincible love for intellectual and moral freedom. But the community which goes beyond all limits of endurance, which takes every step to make it impossible for such men to live within its pale, the men who have the courage and honesty of their conviction and are therefore the best-fitted to fight for truth and righteousness, is doomed to breed interminable generations of slaves. Where the society is terribly effective in its weapons of persecution it is shameful to appeal to a foreign government to stiffen by its sanction a social tyranny, to rob people of their right to the freedom of conscience, and in the next moment to ask from the same government a wider political emancipation. Those who feel no compunction in invoking the organized power of the State to compel by its connivance or help a weak minority to submit to the worst form of social slavery, can certainly not be held as fit to claim a large share of such power."

### II. THE DEV SAMAJA'S VIEWS.

The Secretary of the Deva Samaj, Lahore sends us the following resolution unanimously passed by the general body

of the Dev Samaja, Lahore, on the 17th December, 1918. Resolved: that owing to the reasons:—

(1) That the rigid and the artificial caste-restrictions not only disintegrate the Hindu race into smallest and antipathetic sections, but coerce the individuals to limit the choice of their matrimony within the extremely narrow subdivisions, even of the same caste.

(2) That the present Law which pronounces inter-caste marriages among Hindus as illegal, is not only defective, but most unsound in principle, as it practically upholds the social coercion by the orthodox and puts down the right liberty of the Hindus who exercise the choice of marriage from other Hindu castes and who thereby do nothing against public policy or public morality,

(3) That since even apostasy from Hindu faith does not affect the rights of inheritance and succession to property, it appears a paradox and anomaly that mere marriage from another caste of Hindus should have that effect; and more so when those who take that step do so with a conviction that they are doing that in consonance with the religious texts: and already Hindu Native States like Baroda and Indore have legalized such marriages.

(4) That the present Bill is merely a validating one which removes a defect of Law and does not force inter-caste marriages.

About 700 members and sympathisers of the Dev Samaj assembled at Lahore from nearly 100 stations of the Punjab, N. W. F. Province, Imperial Province Delhi, United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, Bombay, Sindh and Baluchistan to celebrate the 68th Birthday Anniversary of their most worshipful master Shri Dev Gurn Bhagwan, most emphatically support the inter-caste marriage Bill introduced into the Imperial Legislative Council by the Hon'ble Mr. V. J. Patel and approach the Government with a request to lend its weight to the Bill and pass it into an act and thus remove a great and standing wrong against the progressive portion of Hindus.

### THE SECOND MARATHA POLITICAL CONFERENCE NASIK.

This Conference will meet on the 29th December Sunday from 12 o'clock in the morning till 7 o'clock in the evening in the Vijayananda Theatre under the Presidentship of Rao Bahadur B. V. Jadhav M.A., LL.B. Volunteers will be posted at the Nasik Road station to receive delegates from the Bombay Presidency and Berar from the 28th instant. Resolutions assuring loyalty to British rule, praying for communal representation through separate electorates, expressing strong feelings of dissatisfaction at the non-inclusion of non-Brahmins in the Franchise Committee, according an enthusiastic support to the Honorable Mr. Patel's Hindu Inter-Caste Marriage Bill, supporting the expedition led by Mr. Nair in England, requesting the Rt. Honourable Mr. Henderson M. P. the leader of the labour party in England to lend his weighty support to Dr. Nair for securing communal representation for the Marathas and the Backward Classes in Bombay and Madras and exhorting the Hindu public of India to remove the bar of untouchability from the lower or depressed classes, will be moved before the Conference.

Delegates and spectators to whom tickets of admission will be issued are cordially invited to attend.

Nasik, } R. B. THORAT,  
21st December, 1918. } Chairman, Reception Committee.



**Social Purity in the Nizam's Dominions:** We welcome the following Press Note, issued by His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Government, over the signature of the Judicial Secretary, Mr. A. Hydari, himself an ardent worker in the cause of social and moral progress: "Until recently it was customary at some Durgahs to engage the services of dancing girls at the annual Uruses held in honour of saints buried in the Durgahs. The practice was stopped under the orders of His Exalted Highness' Government. His Exalted Highness has now been graciously pleased to order also the immediate discontinuance of the payment of *Mamuls* to dancing girls, which used to be paid to them from various Durgahs."

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not  
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

## CONTENTS.

—:0:—

he Social Service Con- ference.	Political Parties in India.
he Madras Mail on Social Reform.	Swami Vivekananda as a Journalist.
r P. C. Ray's Writings and Speeches.	Bank of Baroda.
agadgurus, Real and Titu- lar.	Hindu Marriage and Act III of 1872.
he Hindu Intercaste Mar- riage Bill.	The Asaf Ali Trial.
ate Regulation of Vice in India.	Potato Cultivation in Western India.
Hindu Eugenics.	A Plea for the Encourage- ment of Indigenous Medical Systems.
he Bombay Prarthana Samaj and Famine Relief.	

## NOTES.

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**The Social Service Conference.** No session of the National Social Conference was held at Delhi last December, an ominous sign of the absorbing preoccupations of politics. But the second session of the Social Service Conference met under the presidency of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. We welcome the spirit of social service, but, we are afraid, with some people the phrase "social service" is merely a way of evading the personal effort and sacrifices involved in practical social reform. We have received a copy of Mrs. Naidu's eloquent presidential address from the *unjabee* Office, and we take the following from it: "I say to you that social service is not a thing separate from your life. It is not like a council where men gather, it is not the mosque where many go on Fridays to pray and not the temple where they gather at the proper time. Social service is that which is always with you, it is a thing which you carry with you, when the opportunities are there, when the will is there, and every moment of your life you are awake are all the moments of social service in your life; for like religion it is that which is within you and not that which is outside you. It is a part of your daily life, it is the enthusiastic dedication of yourself to the service of humanity which one makes you a man."

**The Madras Mail on Social Reform:** "In order to avoid the reproach of being reactionaries," the *Madras Mail* thinks it desirable that it should make its position clear in regard to "what is called social reform" in this country. "The position of the Government, and to a less degree, because it does not directly concern them, of the European community, whose views we may not unjustly claim to voice," observes our contemporary, "is a delicate one in this matter. Nor is this to be wondered at. The meeting of two alien civilizations must necessarily be productive of difficulties. While everyone's sympathies must naturally go out to that small body of Indians who are fighting—whose forebears in the days of Ram Mohan Roy and Shub Chunder Sen fought—against what they honestly believe to be wrong and destructive social customs, it is difficult for Government to lend them

any direct aid or countenance in their campaign, except where such customs are directly criminal or anti-social, as judged by the standards of the civilised nations of the world. Thus, though they had to encounter an enormous volume of opposition, the duty of the Government was clear in regard to the suppression of *sati*, as clear as it was in regard to the putting down of infanticide or Thuggism. There are, however, other Hindu socio-religious customs, hardly less repugnant to the Western mind, in regard to which the position of a Government definitely pledged to religious neutrality cannot be otherwise than strictly neutral. We allude to child marriages, restrictions on foreign travel, caste restrictions, the position of widows, the treatment of the depressed classes and a hundred kindred Indian social problems. In such matters, Government, as a legislator, cannot act otherwise than as a recorder of the bulk of Indian opinion, and any question of active—or even indirect—support of the reformers is out of the question." The attitude of the European community is not of material importance, though it is strange to read it avowed that their indifference is due to their having no concern with social questions. Their concern apparently is only with economic questions. May we suggest that so long as this view represents the real position of the European community, so long it cannot successfully rebut the charge that its concern in this country is mainly that of exploitation? The best Europeans, we know, are much more interested in Indian social reform than the *Madras Mail* thinks. As for Government, the strongest reason why it should cease to be a reflection of the European community as represented by our contemporary, is that it is powerless to deal with the vast social problems which its presence in India has raised and is raising. The Montagu-Chelmsford report recognises this and provides what the authors think will be a remedy to some extent.

**Sir. P. C. Ray's Writings and Speeches.** Messrs. Natesan and Co. of Madras have brought out a volume of Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ray's essays and discourses. Dr. Ray is as eminent as a scientist as he is as a social reformer and patriot. The present volume, we are glad to see, includes his remarkable presidential address to the National Social Conference at Calcutta in 1917. The powerful appeal with which he concluded his address, may be quoted here: "Thanks to the cumulative effect of centuries of social inequalities and oppression, of the degradation of the condition of women and of large sections of the people, and the walls of differences raised between man and man by custom and tradition, India now lies at the feet of nations—powerless and helpless. The blood that flows from her heart and goes to her brain does no longer reach the lower limbs of the body politic. As the consequence of this abnormal condition, India finds these parts of her organism practically paralysed and atrophied. So long as the blood does not begin to reflow and vitalise the



limbs which now remain palsied, there is no chance for India to get back a place in the sun. I appeal to my fellow-countrymen, high and low, rich and poor, Brahmin and non-Brahmin, orthodox and heterodox, to forget the pride and vanity of place and birth, and begin ministering to the limbs the neglect of which now drags us down to a life of humiliation and makes the name of the Motherland a bye-word of contempt and reproach in the civilized world." The book is priced Rs. three.

**Jagadgurus, Real and Titular:** The *Hindu Missionary* of Bombay aptly observes with reference to the opposition led by some of the present day Sankaracharyas, against the Hindu Inter-marriage Bill: "Our readers know that nowadays there are so many persons who bear the great name of Sankaracharya. The *addy* (first) Sankaracharya indeed was a great being, a great personage, and we salute him even although he may not be today in our midst. He has done a great work for Hinduism and placed its basic teachings on a high throne where they are honoured and revered by thoughtful men of East and West. He bore another significant title, that of Jagadguru or Teacher-of-the-world. He finished his work at the age of 32 and left behind him a philosophy that may command respect from the whole world. At present we find Sankaracharyas caring for their property and doing next to nothing by way of teaching the great philosophy of the *One*, the One without a second. If they open their mouths to speak at all, they do so to defend the current beliefs and practices of orthodoxy. They talk of caste and caste and caste, and nothing else. They talk of social matters and call that Dharma or Religion! They are not on the side of Progress; they do not produce any great works on philosophy or religion proper. They do not help the world or humanity in any way. And yet they call themselves Jagadgurus or world teachers!"

**The Hindu Intercaste Marriage Bill.** The Aryan Brotherhood Conference, Meerut, passed at an emergent general meeting held on the 8th December, 1918, several resolutions strongly supporting Mr. Patel's Hindu Inter-marriage Bill, which has been introduced into the Indian Legislative Council, and calling upon all patriotic Indians to see that the bigoted opposition to this measure is frustrated.

**State Regulation of Vice in India.** We have received a copy of the third annual report of the Association for Moral and Social Hygiene, the British Branch of the Internationalist Abolitionist Federation, with which is incorporated the Ladies' National Association for the Abolition of State Regulation of Vice and for the Promotion of Social Purity, both of which organizations were founded by the late Mrs. Josephine Butler. Our revered leader, the late Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, was one of the Vice-Presidents of the Association for many years. The report before us devotes a paragraph to work in India. Mrs. Dixon, who is the wife of a Church of England chaplain in India, returned last summer from England to Murree, and immediately organised and addressed fortnightly meetings for women on the evils of the Regulation system. These meetings were mainly attended by the wives and relatives of army officers and civil servants in the district, in whom knowledge of actual conditions under the cantonments system aroused great indignation. The Association for Moral and Social Hygiene made a special grant to Mrs. Dixon for the publication and circulation of her lectures in pamphlet form. She and her husband were invited by the Y.M.C.A. to make an extensive tour in the autumn and address meetings for soldiers. This tour was undertaken

with remarkable results. A form of petition to the Government against the tolerated "chaklas" was prepared, and signed by many Englishwomen in India. After Mrs. Dixon's meeting at Mian Mir the soldiers present rose in a body and signed the petition; equal success followed her other meetings, and quantities of the literature of the Association were distributed and eagerly taken. The late Metropolitan of India associated himself with her work, and himself put the matter before the Viceroy. The Association is of opinion that future work in India must be directed towards the total abolition of tolerated brothels and segregated areas, and the establishment of centres for free treatment for venereally diseased Indians, on the lines laid down in the Report of the British Royal Commission on venereal diseases. The Association has also been in correspondence with the newly established League for Combating Venereal Disease, Bombay, and with Rev. Herbert Anderson with regard to moral conditions in Calcutta.

**Hindu Eugenics.** Some weeks ago we gave a summary of the principal points in the essay on Hindu Eugenics by Mr. N. D. Mehta, a Deputy Collector in the Bombay Provincial Service, and Chief officer of the Bandra Municipality. This scholarly and thoughtful paper has, we are glad to see, been issued in the form of a small booklet. Mr. Mehta has made a valuable contribution to the study of Hindu sociology. In an appendix, Mr. Mehta shows how the Tantrikas, in spite of degeneracy in culture and independent spirit of investigation, made two important improvements in the Hindu social fabric. They raised the status of woman, and they loosened the fetters of caste restrictions. The first was involved in the worship of God as the Divine Mother, and the second was accomplished by the institution of a new form of marriage called *Saiva-Vivaha* in addition to the eight forms of marriage instituted by the *Smritis*, the Hindu sacred laws. The *Saiva* form of marriage, as ordained in the Tantras, does not recognise caste restrictions. The only prohibitions are that the parties should not be *sapindas* (blood relations of six degrees including the wives of the males, and the bride should not have a husband living). Mr. Mehta points out that this development was a logical consequence of the raising of the status of woman. He suggests that social reformers can and should meet the orthodox on their own *Sastric* ground by adopting the *Saiva* form of marriage. Another social reform effected by the Tantrikas is the sanction given to the remarriage of Hindu widows. The booklet is priced 12 annas, and can be had from the author at Bandra.

**The Bombay Prarthana Samaj and Famine Relief.** The Bombay Prarthana Samaj has issued an appeal for Rs. 15,000 to carry on relief work in some centres during the present famine. Its Missionary worker, Mr. S. C. Bannerjee, who has previous experience of Famine Relief Work, lately visited Ahmedabad and Nadiad and discussed the situation with local leaders like R. B. Ramanbhai Mahipatram Nilkanth, Shet Ambalal Sarabhai and Mr. Motibhai Amin. He reported to the Managing Committee of the Bombay Prarthana Samaj the necessity of starting poor houses early in February at Ahmedabad and Anand. The Managing Committee have also heard of a similar necessity in Ahmednagar. They have therefore resolved to send out workers under the superintendence of Mr. Bannerjee in these three places early next month to help the poor people with food and the bare necessities of life as also to save cattle as far as possible. We hope the appeal will meet with generous response.



## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, JANUARY, 12 1919.

## POLITICAL PARTIES IN INDIA.

The re-entry of the Hon. Mr. Srinivasa Sastry, President of the Servants of India Society, into the Indian National Congress at Delhi, after his abstention in conjunction with other Moderate leaders from the Special Session held a few months ago in Bombay, has not had any effect. The President's special appeal to give the returned prodigal a courteous hearing, was complied with by the audience, but it was in no mood to kill the fatted calf to celebrate his home-coming. On the contrary, the facile charity of Mr. Sastry would seem to have encouraged the extremer spirits to go a step further than at the special Session in Bombay where the concerted abstention of the Moderates operated as a restraining influence. The *Servant of India*, evidently voicing Mr. Sastry's experience, ruefully observes of the proceedings of the Delhi Congress: "The Congress really placed itself on the 29th December in the hands of those who think that the most uncompromising opinion is the opinion of the country, that the newest idea is also the wisest idea, and that the greatest political organisation of the country, which after thirty years came to be recognised as representing the statesmanship and the political wisdom of the land should now change its character and figure as the exponent of the unbalanced judgments, the incoherent utopias and the thoughtless extravagances of youth." Those who hailed the decision of Mr. Sastry to attend the Delhi Congress as proof of the highest statesmanship, will find it difficult to digest that verdict. The other Moderate leaders, with knowledge born of long experience, did not tempt the ardent spirits of the Congress. If they had done so, there is no saying how much farther they would have gone. *New India* of Madras offers an explanation of the temper of the Delhi Congress. "The huge mass of Panjabi delegates," it says, "infuriated by living under Sir Michael O'Dwyer's ruthless despotism, voted *en bloc* for the most sweeping resolutions, and against all attempts to modify them. He is responsible for the antagonism manifested by them against everything in the least moderate. All appeals to preserve the unity reached at Bombay fell on deaf ears, and the Subjects Committee resolution insisting that members of the Deputation must advocate and press the line adopted at that Congress, was carried against the amendment moved by one of the new Secretaries, giving a slight latitude." The huge mass of Panjabi delegates might have voted against everything in the least moderate, but so far as the published proceedings show the lead came from Bengal and Madras delegates. Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Iyer's statement of the reasons which led him to decline to be re-elected a General Secretary of the National Congress throws some more light on the temper of the last Session of that body.

There are now three political parties in India. There are the Moderates who, we see, propose to hold

a second conference in Calcutta in Easter week; there is the party which adheres to what has been called the "compromise" effected at the Special Session, though who the parties to it were, is not clear; there is the party of intransigents who carried everything before them at the Delhi Conference. In impressing on its readers the necessity of sending a Home Rule League Deputation to England, *New India* makes some observations which indicate the dividing line between the two latter parties. "Else," writes our contemporary, "the Moderate Deputation will have all the negotiation in their hands, and they will accept the Bill unchanged, if the Government insist on it. The threat of open independence is being made in Ireland, in consequence of the delay of the British Government in granting Home Rule. We, who maintain that the continued connection with Great Britain, when India obtains Home Rule, will benefit both countries, shall be hard put to it to maintain our position in face of the passionate resentment which will follow any "whittling down" of the proposed reforms.' The Moderates so far as we know, never advocated or supported "the whittling down" of the proposed reforms. They are not likely to accept the Reform Bill if there is any "whittling down." They will share the resentment which any such "whittling down" may evoke in India. *New India* itself quotes at the beginning of its article a remarkably accurate statement of the position of the Moderates, made by the Bombay Correspondent of the *London Times*. He wrote: "Parliament must treat the question of Indian reform as urgent. I say with the full responsibility of one who has been long in the country, in touch with all elements in the population, that if Parliament dallies with this issue, if it allows the essential features of the scheme to be whittled down, if it assumes a hostile or illiberal attitude to the cause of constitutional reform in India and its steady progress towards self-government, it will drive all the moderate men either out of public life or into the ranks of extremists, and create a situation in India entirely beyond its control." The Moderates will be no party to any "whittling down" of the scheme of reform. *New India's* assumption is wholly gratuitous. There is no need for a Home Rule League Deputation to avert this imaginary danger. Mrs. Besant writing in her own name in the same issue of *New India*, says that she would have been glad if "the division into parties, inevitable thereafter," had been put off until the Reform Bill had "with whatever modifications," become law. We do not undertake to solve the puzzle of *New India* speaking with two voices, but what we should like to know is, against whom is the insinuation directed, which is implied in the asseveration that Home Rule Leaguers believe that the continued connection with Great Britain will benefit both countries. Before concluding, we should like to say a word to the Moderate party. It is absolutely no use passing resolutions solely about the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme at its next Conference. What, in our opinion, is most important, is that a programme should



be laid down of the measures which the party propose to take in hand if the scheme is passed. The country is tired of vapid arguments for and against the proposals contained in it. What do we want to do, and how are we going to use the new opportunity? The Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya promised this writer several years ago in the presence of a valued friend that in the course of three years he would bring in a Bill to prevent infant marriages. Perhaps he has forgotten all about it. We mention this only to show how the best of us are apt to forget the ends in our ardour about the means, and not as an omission to be rectified by the Moderate party. What are the ends for which the Moderate party stands? As we understand them, they are those of progress all round. We should then have our platform of progress. Moderation in itself is not an end, and even as a means, its value entirely depends on the ends. If a house is burning, no sane man would advise moderation in extinguishing it. The essence, as we take it, of moderation in politics, is the maintenance of a measure of continuity between things as they are and things as they have to become, as a guarantee against sudden shocks to the body politic. It is thus a method and not an end.

**Swami Vivekananda as a Journalist.** The current issue of the *Prabuddha Bharata* or *Awakened India*, the excellent monthly published by the Ramakrishna Mission at Mayavati, continues the series of conversations and dialogues of the late Swami Vivekananda. In January 1899, the Swami projected a monthly magazine, named *Udbodhan*, to popularise the teachings of his Master, Sri Ramakrishna. In the course of one of his evening talks, the Swami spoke to the editor of the new monthly of how it should be conducted. He said: "In the *Udbodhan* we must give the public only positive ideals. Negative thoughts weaken men. Do you not find that where parents are constantly taxing their sons to read and write, telling them they will never learn anything, and calling them fools and so forth, the latter do actually turn out to be so in many cases? If you speak kind words to boys, and encourage them, they are bound to improve in time. What holds good of children, also holds good of children in the region of higher thoughts. If you can give them positive ideas, people will grow up to be men and learn to stand on their own legs. In language and literature, in poetry and the arts, in everything we must point out not the mistakes that people are making in their thoughts and actions, but the way in which they will gradually be able to do these things better. Pointing out mistakes wounds a man's feelings. Of Sri Ramakrishna we have seen how he would encourage even those whom we considered as worthless, and change the very course of their lives! His very method of teaching was a unique phenomenon!"

**Bank of Baroda.** We are requested to state that the net profit of the Bank of Baroda, Ltd. for the year ended 31st December 1918 subject to audit, including the sum of Rs. 54,402 brought forward, amounts to Rs. 4,04,045. An ad interim dividend at the rate of 10% per annum was paid for the half year ended 30th June 1918 which absorbed Rs. 55,772. The Directors now propose to pay a final dividend for the half year ended 31st December 1918 at the rate of 10% per annum and a bonus of 2% (making in all 11% for the year) and to transfer to Reserve Fund Rs. 1,50,000 increasing that Fund to Rs. 12,50,000.

## HINDU MARRIAGE AND ACT III OF 1872.

(BY MR. KOPARGAM RAMAMURTY BERAHAMPORE.)

The recent marriage in Bombay of Miss Upakaram Francis and Mr. Raghavendra Rao, reported in the "Hindu Missionary" of 23rd December 1918, is unique in more respects than one. Permit me to congratulate the Hindu Missionary Society from the bottom of my heart on the momentous and happy event which has crowned their strenuous labours in the cause of Hindu religion and social reform. It is indubitable proof, if proof were needed, that the Society came into existence not a day too soon in the history of our people.

The problem which confronted the Society was no easy one. A Brahman gentleman who had stannell faith in the Hindu religion and insisted upon being married with Vedic rites, had to be united in lawful wedlock with a Christian girl of non-Brahman birth who wished to re-adopt the Hindu faith. There was no exact precedent to this situation, and the law applicable to it was by no means clear or satisfactory. An Arya-Samajist would have simply ignored the legal difficulty and been content with the Vedic ritual. A Brahmo-Samajist would have readily given the go by to what is called Hindu Religion and its Vedic ritual, holding them different from and no quite so good as Brahmoism and its purely theistic ritual, and thereby secured for the marriage indubitable legal validity under Act III of 1872. But to the Hindu Missionary Society it was not open to cut the gordian knot in either of these ways exclusively. They had to propitiate and secure the law and at the same time conserve the Hindu Religion and the Vedic rites. They therefore bestowed much anxious thought on the problem and, as we learn from the "Hindu Missionary," after careful study of the legal point involved in the case, advised and helped the parties to adopt a *via media* or composite procedure which seemed to hit off the situation nicely. The marriage was first solemnised under Act III of 1872 before the Registrar of Marriages, the bride and bridegroom declaring that they did not profess either the Hindu or the Christian or any other named religion; and a few hours later they were both taken back into Hinduism by an Initiation ceremony and married again with Vedic rites. As the "Hindu Missionary" finely puts it, the function at the Registrar's office was as sacred as the subsequent religious ceremony. We should perhaps say it was even more sacred; for "God Vishnu is the witness there," while "at the ceremonial marriage the witness is Fire." The matter has thus been happily closed so far as the worthy couple are concerned and there remains nothing more to be said about it except that we heartily wish them good luck and a long and prosperous married life.

There are, however, certain principles involved in this matter which require to be thoroughly discussed, understood and decided upon once for all for our future guidance. And if perchance I, of all the admirers of the Hindu Missionary Society, happen to



be the first to strike a discordant note, I am sure it will be generously recognised that I do so in a sincere spirit of inquiry. I have read and re-read with acute personal interest the explanation given in the "Hindu Missionary" of the considerations which reconciled the Hindu Missionary Society to the declaration required by Act III of 1872. For I am one of those who have always held the impression, amounting almost to an obsession, that no person who believed in Hinduism and had no wish to disown it, could conscientiously avail himself of its provisions. But in view of the deplorable impasse created on the one hand by the stubborn opposition of the die-hards of orthodox Hinduism to a repeal of that declaration, and on the other by the diplomatic reluctance, to say the least, of the British Government to help those who want reform, I shall be sincerely happy to be persuaded that the declaration really means nothing after all. The statement, "I do not profess the Hindu religion," means, it is said, only "that they (the contracting parties) are not Hindus believing in caste; that they do not belong to the present form of Hinduism." If that be the true meaning of the declaration as regards Hindus, and if, by the same token, the other portions of it relating to Muhammadans, Parsis, Jews etc., means only that they on their part do not believe in the matrimonial exclusiveness insisted upon by their respective religions in their present form why, surely, we have already got all that we have ever wanted by way of a perfect civil marriage Act for all India, and there is never any need for Mr. Basu's bill. But unfortunately such a declaration by a Hindu does "look like the renouncing of Hinduism"; not only "apparently" as the *Hindu Missionary* seems to think, but, I am afraid, in grim reality as well. There is nothing in the expression "Hindu Religion" used in the declaration, to justify the narrow interpretation sought to be put upon it, and what is more vital, no court of law perhaps can go against the clear meaning of the words and support such a contention. The legislature has nowhere, either in this Act or outside it, for any purpose made a distinction between "Hinduism in its present form" and Hinduism in any other form and the term "Hindu religion" is wide enough to include every form of religion which wishes to glory in the appellation of "Hindu."

Nor can we draw any private consolation or moral support from the intentions of the authors of the Special Marriage Act. The history of this legislation and the reported speeches of its sponsors in the Legislative Council preclude any self-delusion on this point. Sir Henry Sumner Maine, when he first undertook it at the request of the Progressive Brahmos headed by Keshav Chandra Sen who wanted a legal non-idolatrous form of marriage for themselves, framed a liberal measure which was in substance a general Civil Marriage bill. But he offered its benefits only to those who were prepared to declare that they objected to be married in accordance with the rites of the Hindu religion etc. Even this safeguard did not satisfy the orthodox and the measure was so violently opposed on all sides that Sir Henry Maine's successor,

Mr. Fitz-James Stephen, found himself obliged to make the safeguard more stringent and to narrow down the measure to a Bill confined to persons who had renounced or had been excluded from or did not profess the Hindu Religion. He accordingly set forth to give relief only to those who did not ask the Government to undertake the impossible task of constructing some compromise between Hinduism and non-Hinduism, but took the trouble of knowing their own minds and "chose to leave the Hindu religion." And in fact it was after the express declaration of the Progressive Brahmos that the term 'Hindu' does not include the Brahmos who deny the authority of the Vedas" etc., etc., and also the assurance of the Sanatana Dharma Rakshini Sabha that the bill as revised was "not likely to affect the Hindus or their religion," that Mr. Fitz-James Stephen felt emboldened to press for its enactment. Judging therefore from the original intentions of Kesav Chandra Sen or Sir Henry Maine, the Special Marriage Act cannot be said to have been meant for those who want the Vedic ritual of marriage performed before the Holy fire. If we took into account Mr. Fitz-James Stephen's intentions, it is abundantly clear that he alone is entitled to make use of Act III of 1872 who can without any mental reservation say that he and Hindu religion have parted company altogether, and that, whatever religion he may still possess, it has no particular ambition to be known as Hinduism.

**The Asaf Ali Trial.** We have received a copy of the full proceedings, in book form, of the trial under the Defence of India Act of Mr. M. Asaf Ali and Pandit Neki Ram Sharma, who were ordered by the Chief Commissioner of Delhi to refrain from addressing any public meeting in the Delhi Province. They were charged with a violation of this order, in addressing a meeting of the Home Rule League. The defence was that the meeting was not a "public meeting" in the accepted sense of the term. The Magistrate who tried the case took the view that the words "public meeting" denote a meeting which any person is at liberty to attend, in opposition to meetings to which only members of a given league, association or class are admitted, and acquitted the accused. The attempt of the prosecution to make out that a meeting of the latter kind can become legally a "public meeting," was based on flimsy grounds as shown by the Additional District Magistrate, Mr. Spence, in his able judgment. We are astonished that an officer of the position of Chief Commissioner should issue an order in restraint of the liberty of a subject of His Majesty on such grounds. The book is priced Re. one, and can be had of Mr. S. M. Rauf Ali, Bar-at-Law, Delhi, or at the office of the *Bombay Chronicle*.

**Potato Cultivation in Western India.** We have received an illustrated booklet by Dr. Harold Mann describing what has been done during the last few years in Western India through the agency of the Potato Works to improve and extend the cultivation of this valuable tuber in Poona and the adjacent districts. The nett result is, writes Dr. Mann, that we have been able to produce seed potatoes better than any hitherto on the market locally, and as good as those obtained from Italy. The principal difficulties which had to be overcome related to the maintenance of the quality of seed potatoes, the prevalence of certain diseases affecting the plant, the storage of potatoes without injury from moth and rot, and the smallness of the yield. All these, except the last, have been met, and the last too, will as a result be favourably affected. I see no reason, says Dr. Mann, why potato cultivation should not extend widely in Western India.



**A Plea for the Encouragement of Indigenous Medical Systems:** We have received an able and well-written pamphlet, published by the Board of Trustees of the Ayurvedic and Unani Tibbi College, Delhi. It makes some practical suggestions which deserve sympathetic attention. It suggests that Government should recognise well-established schools and colleges which teach the indigenous systems. They should provide for the affiliation of these institutions to Universities. Recognising the fact that the vast majority of the people still resort to Hakims and Vaidas, Government should establish state-aided Ayurvedic and Unani dispensaries. This is done in Hyderabad, Mysore and other Indian States, and we do not see why it should present insuperable difficulties in British India.

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard." WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

## CONTENTS.

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The First Indian Under Secretary of State for India.	Home Rule and Social Reform.
The Bombay Strikes.	A Sanitary Exhibition.
Burma Rice and the Indian Famine.	The Tata Industrial Bank, Limited.
Anglo-Indian Opposition to Constitutional Reform.	The Hindu intercaste Marriage Bill.
The Indian Civil Service and Constitutional Reforms.	Hindu Marriage and Act III of 1872.
The Hassan Imam Clayton Case.	The Hard Tasks.

## NOTES.

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**The First Indian Under Secretary of State for India.** The announcement made this week that the Rt. Hon'ble Sir S. P. Sinha has been included in the new Lloyd George Ministry as Under-Secretary of State for India is, it is no exaggeration to say, the most encouraging political happening in the history of British Rule in India for many a long year. Compared to this the appointment of Indians to the Executive Councils of the Viceroy and the Provincial Governors is of secondary importance. The Indian Under-Secretary of State will state the case for India in open Parliament whereas the members of the Executive Councils are parts of a machine and as such have no individual existence so far as the public are concerned. It is in the fitness of things that Sir S. P. Sinha who, as the first Indian member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, was instrumental in removing the misgivings felt even by such friends of India as the late Marquis of Ripon and the late King Edward to the innovation, should be the first Indian to be entrusted with Parliamentary responsibility for Indian affairs. Sir S. P. Sinha has lately added to his high reputation by his work at three successive Imperial War Conferences and Cabinets. His presidential address to the Congress in 1915 was a remarkable pronouncement. Sir S. P. Sinha's nomination to the Under-Secretaryship with Mr. Montagu for his chief is about the most emphatic assurance that Mr. Lloyd George could give of the determination of his Ministry to press forward the cause of Indian Constitutional Reform with all the force of their large majority in the new Parliament. Sir S. P. Sinha, not being a member of the House of Commons will probably be raised to the peerage so that there may be an Indian representative in the other House of Parliament. The Under-Secretary of State for India, it may be mentioned, draws a salary of only £1500 a year so that the acceptance of that office by Sir S. P. Sinha who is now a member of the Executive Council of the Governor of Bengal with a salary of £4000, is from the pecuniary point of view a real sacrifice. The effect of this appointment in

India will be to accelerate greatly the reaction in favour of sober and steady counsels in Indian politics, which has been stimulated by the proceedings of the Special Congress in Bombay, and even more, of the Congress session at Delhi last month. It should also have the effect of convincing the more reactionary type of Englishmen in India of the futility of endeavouring to maintain the old and discredited attitude of supercilious disregard of the legitimate aspirations of the Indian people as represented by the best Indians among the English-educated classes.

**The Bombay Strikes.** The strike of Mill-hands numbering over a lakh of persons which began ten days ago, is still in progress. Meanwhile, it has extended to the employes in the cloth-market and at the Government Dockyard. The G. I. P. Railway Parel Workshop had to stop work for about an hour on Friday owing to the reluctance of about 3000 of their hands to resume work after the midday interval for meals. Unrest prevails throughout the city and rumours of further extensions of the trouble are in the air. We think the matter has passed the stage of a private affair between employers and workmen, and there is a wide-spread feeling that Government should intervene at once. A Commission should be appointed to enquire into the whole question of the position of workmen as affected by the general and heavy rise in prices, and how far the rise in wages has kept pace with it. Some immediate relief should be granted, contingent on the conclusions of the Commission. We are sure that the employers will gladly meet Government more than half-way in any measures they may adopt to bring the present dangerous state of affairs to a speedy termination.

**Burma Rice and the Indian Famine.** In a recent communication to the press, Dr. P. J. Mehta of Rangoon complained of the heavy freight charged for Burma rice imported to India. He observed: "The freight some time before the war used to range from Rs. 6 to Rs. 8 per ton. This year it is Rs. 55 per ton, the highest imaginable. So for every ton of rice the Government ships, or allows merchants to ship to Bombay, according to newspaper reports, it makes a profit of about Rs. 45 and that out of the miseries of the starving poor. It is often indignant at some of the petty profiteering that sometimes goes on in some trades in the country and takes remedial measures to put an end to it. But is not the profiteering in other trades such as jute, coffee, tea, indigo, freight, etc. The Government should set a good example in this respect." We are glad to see from a Press Note issued by the War Purposes Board that the Agent in India to the Shipping Controller has agreed to a reduction of the freight. The rate to Bombay from Rangoon will now be Rs. 40. Even this is high and having regard to the famine conditions at present existing, we hope a still further reduction will be announced soon.



**Anglo-Indian Opposition to Constitutional Reform.** The European community in India is evidently being sought to be organised in opposition to constitutional Reform. We refer in another paragraph to the Indian Civil Service Associations of Behar and Madras. Part of the policy of this opposition is to launch a press campaign in India of a character which cannot but prove provocative to Indians of all shades of opinion. The *Madras Times*, a journal of long-standing but of no particular importance as an organ of political opinion, has been acquired and converted into an organ of aggressive opposition to Indian constitutional reform. In Bombay, the *Advocate of India* seems to have taken upon itself the same role. But our contemporary's affectation of omniscience in regard to Indian affairs must be better justified than in its recent article entitled "Facts and Dogmatists," if it is not to become the laughing-stock of people who are really well-informed. In that article, our contemporary while expressing profound contempt for the knowledge and the competence of another journal to express an opinion on Indian affairs, solemnly assures its readers that "Sir Narayan Chandavarkar never really commanded the respect of any political body. His metier was that of the High Priest of the Arya Samaj, in which character he could indulge his favourite pastime—loose and sonorous rhetoric every Sunday, or as the one great Indian exponent of English literature, to the Students' Brotherhood." Sir Narayan was one of the Indian Delegates sent to England by the National Congress in 1885. In 1896 he was elected President of the Bombay Provincial Conference held at Karachi. In 1901 he was elected President of the Indian National Congress held at Lahore. Last year he was elected Chairman of the Provincial Congress Committee in Bombay. He was one of the ten leading Congressmen who presented a memorandum of Reforms to Mr. Montagu last year, and he took a large share in the organisation of the All-India Moderate Conference. Judging by the vituperation showered on him by the Radical press in Bombay, it at any rate seems to regard Sir Narayan as its most effective counterpoise in Indian politics. The *Advocate of India* may choose to think that Sir Narayan is not a political leader, but the facts stated above speak for themselves. Even more idiotic is the ill-mannered reference to Sir Narayan's religious position. To begin with, the Arya Samaj has no high priests and does not believe in them. Then again, Sir Narayan does not belong to the Arya Samaj but to the Prarthana Samaj, the difference between the two being as wide as between orthodox Mohamedanism and Babism. A publicist who does not know the difference between the Arya Samaj on the one hand, and on the other the Brahmo Samaj and the Prarthana Samaj, must possess extreme hardihood to pose as an authority on Indian affairs.

**The Indian Civil Service and Constitutional Reforms.** The English members of the Indian Civil Service in Bihar and Orissa, and Madras, have formed themselves into Associations. They have sent representations to the Government of India condemning the Montagu Chelmsford reform scheme and, indeed, the pledge to put India on the way to responsible Government, and demanding that their interest as regards salaries and pensions should be guaranteed by the British Parliament if the reform should be introduced. We have always believed that Government officials were forbidden to organise themselves into Associations on the principle of trades-unions, and the action of the Indian Civil Service in the two provinces, strikes us as being exceedingly out of order. If they can combine to oppose the reforms to-day, they can combine for any other purpose another time. That, however, is a question for the Government to consider. We

cannot admit any vested interests on the part of the Services in the present system of administration. And if a change has to be made in it for weighty reasons, it is insubordinate on the part of the Services to throw themselves in the way. Then, again, we maintain that the present system has been a lamentable failure so far as constructive national legislation is concerned, as proved conclusively by the miserable position of education, sanitation, and Indian social and economic development.

**The Hassan Imam Clayton Case:** It is a pity that a member of the Indian Civil Service is guilty of such rudeness to Indian gentlemen who travel in the same railway compartment with themselves. Mr. Clayton to Mr. Hasan Iman. At the Special Congress held in Bombay, Mr. Clayton has had to tender a complete apology and to throw himself on the generosity of the victim of his discourtesy in the suit which the latter brought against him for damages. It is but fair to say that cases of this kind are of rare occurrence so far as members of the Indian Civil Service are concerned. We hope they will continue to be so.

**Home Rule and Social Reform.** That a Home Ruler should be opposed to such a innocuous and permissive measure as Mr. Patel's Hindu Intermarriage Bill, is unthinkable. But a correspondent sends us a translation of an interview which the editor of the *Vaishnava Dharma Pataka* had with Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas, one of the Bombay leaders of the Home Rule movement, on his attitude to some social reform questions, and which was published in the *Gujarati* of the 5th inst. Mr. Jamnadas questioned as to his moving a resolution in support of Mr. Patel's Bill at the Nadiad Political Conference is reported to have said: "As the Subjects Committee had decided upon the resolution I had to move it in the Conference. I do not attach the meaning which Mr. Patel makes out of the Bill, that *antayajas* may marry among the Brahmin &c. and Brahmins &c. may marry among *antayajas*. This is why, at the time of moving that resolution, I clearly said, 'The institution of four castes may remain permanently and intermarriages among the sub-castes, which have gone out of practice, may begin again.'" Then the interviewer says he questioned Mr. Jamnadas as to the publication of articles in favour of the Bill in his *Young India*. He replied "I only write leading articles in that paper, and I mostly write on political subjects. The article supporting the Patel Bill was not written by me." Comment is superfluous.

**A Sanitary Exhibition.** We are glad that with a view to giving a stimulus to the local manufacture of such chemicals as are required for medical and sanitary purposes, it is proposed to hold at Patna a sanitary Exhibition (including indigenous drugs.) The Press Bureau attached to the Government of Behar and Orissa are organising it. It is hoped that medical men in the country and particularly in the Province (including private practitioners) will communicate with the Press Bureau on the subject.

**The Tata Industrial Bank, Limited.** We are informed that subject to audit the net profits of the Tata Industrial Bank, Limited, amount to Rs. 4,59,000, or after providing for Income-tax, to Rs. 4,32,000. This latter figure represents a return of 6.18 per cent on the Bank's paid-up capital for nine months since it opened for business, equivalent to a return of 8.23 per cent per annum.



## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, JANUARY, 19 1919.

## THE HINDU INTERCASTE MARRIAGE BILL.

While expressing sympathy with the object of the Bill which the Hon. Mr. Patel has introduced in the Indian Legislative Council to validate intermarriages among Hindus, we have from the first insisted that it is absolutely necessary to introduce provisions in the Bill making it inapplicable in the case of minors and persons who have a wife or husband living, and also for divorce in cases where a marriage under the Bill turns out a failure. Sir B. K. Bose in a supplementary note on the Bill published in the *Hitavada* of Nagpur, has also suggested similar provisions. The *Indian Messenger* of Calcutta, which is also in entire sympathy with the object of Mr. Patel's Bill, cites the experience of the late Pandit Isvar Chandra Vidyasagar, the great pioneer of Indian social reform, in regard to the Widow re-marriage Act, as a warning against passing the Bill as it stands. We entirely agree with our contemporary. The *Indian Messenger* observes:

"Vidyasagar stood up for two reforms in the Hindu Society, one the re-marriage of widows, and the other the interdiction of polygamy. For the former he succeeded in securing a legislative enactment, while the latter did not go beyond the stage of exegetical discussion with the Pandits. Even in getting that permissive measure passed he had to concede that no remarried widow should have any right to her former husband's property. The re-marriage of Hindu widows was no doubt made legal, but how fared it in practice? Men came, married widows, then deserted them and married virgins again. Vidyasagar was burdened with the support of these wronged and deserted women. The evil grew to such dimensions that in his latter days Vidyasagar sent the parties to his Brahmo friends to get them married under Act III of 1872. The following from Chandicharan Banerji's Life of Vidyasagar will acquaint us with the reformer's bitter experience as to the working of the defective Act XV of 1856 validating widow re-marriage among Hindus.

Even in the matter of re-marriage of widows not a few played him false. Vidyasagar was a sworn enemy of polygamy; but, in the name of re-marriage of widows, designing men would often approach him and obtain his assistance in marrying more than one wife. How bitterly such conduct grieved him and what amount of anxious thought he gave to the prevention of such fraudulent practices, are hard to describe. We give below extracts from a letter and a deed of contract written on a stamped paper.

"Next day" Jadunath came and took me to a room where there was none else. He remained silent for a while and then with tears in his eyes and in a most pitiful manner cried out: "I am guilty of a most wicked deed. You must pardon me." He continued weeping bitterly and again and again begged to be pardoned. I could not understand what he meant and wanted him to explain. He thereupon cried out: "I married in Agrahyan last one more widow." I heard from him all about this second marriage and finding

him really repentant of what he had done I said: "You have undoubtedly committed a most hateful offence, but the pity is, there is no way out of what you have done."

Little did Vidyasagar dream that those forward in the path of social reform could ever dupe him and seek to gain their own vile ends. He had, however, his disillusionment. Latterly, in many cases of re-marriage of widows, he made it a rule to obtain from the bridegroom a deed of agreement. A portion of a document of this nature runs thus: Knowing that re-marriage of widows is sanctioned by the Shastras and the law of the land I marry you of my own free will and according to the Shastric rites. From to-day we are tied to each other in holy wedlock, meaning thereby that you are my wife and I am your husband. And I vow before God that I will faithfully discharge by you the duties of a husband, that is to say, I will keep you all through your life in peace and happiness to the best of my power, I will never neglect you or be wanting in love and kindness to you. I further vow never again to marry so long as you are alive. If, led by evil propensities or counsel, I marry again during your life time, I do hereby promise to pay you Rs. 1000 as damage. If, again, for my taking another wife or for any other conduct of mine, you choose to live separately, you will be free to do so, and for your maintenance I undertake to pay you regularly in the beginning of every month Rs. 10. After my death you and your children shall inherit all my property. If to deprive you and your children of my property, I leave it to any other person by will, such will shall be null and void. I execute this deed of my own free will and accord, and in the full enjoyment of health and consciousness.

Not long before his death Vidyasagar sent for Babu Chandicharan Banerji through whom he sent word to Pandit Sivanath Sastri, Mr. A. M. Bose and other Brahmo leaders regarding the amendment of Act III of 1872 which was then being talked of. We quote Vidyasagar's own words as given by the biographer.

"I understand Act III of 1872 is going to be amended and altered"? I replied: "Government has enquired of the leaders of the Brahmo Samaj about the working of the Act and whether they desire any change in it." Vidyasagar said: "That is why I sent for you. Please see Sivanath and Anandamohan Babu and ask them in my name to consider if it may be possible to get the Act so amended as to be of advantage not only to the Brahmos but also to those who want re-marriage of Hindu widows. That Act prevents polygamy. I, therefore, like it heartily. There is something queer about it, however; if that is remedied, I may be saved a lot of deception".

We have given enough of Vidyasagar's experience of the working of the permissive measure passed at his instance along Shastric lines. To remedy the glaring defect of the Act he had to resort to something like a *kabin* which is intended among Mussalmans to give protection to a Moslem wife against an easy divorce. The *Ekrarnama* was only a make-shift and could never serve the purpose of a protective law. He was therefore looking forward to an amendment of Act III of 1872 believing that if relief were to come it could come from that comprehensive measure with the offensive declaration left out. If Vidyasagar were living to-day and were consulted, by the well-intentioned introducer of the Inter-caste Marriage Bill he would certainly have related his experiences and



cautioned Mr. Patel against the risk of proceeding solely along Shastric lines. As a wise legislator Mr. Patel is bound to see that evil-minded people do not take advantage of the reform measure and defeat the very end of this piece of legislation for social relief.

The Bill as it stands only declares the legitimacy of the issue of the marriage. So did the Act of 1856 with this exception that the re-married widow had to renounce her right to her former husband's property. The legalisation of widow re-marriage was not enough protection to make the reform a success. It was discredited. Many of the re-married couples took shelter in the Brahmo Samaj. It is a fact that though Vidyasagar introduced the reform, it was taken up by the Brahmo Samaj. More marriages took place under its auspices than that of the reformer himself. What was the secret of it? It was that a marriage under Act III gave an all-round protection to the widow. Vidyasagar himself knew it and was eager to see the Act so amended as to be applicable to the re-marrying Hindu widows also. The legal protection is only a part of the protection needed. The public opinion of the caste will not lend its protection to the inter-marrying girl. It will be easy for the husband to send her away on the merest pretext and have a second marriage contracted within the wrong-doer's own caste. All possible encouragement will be forthcoming from the relatives and caste-men in favour of such desertion. The Bill if passed into law can secure to the inter-marrying girl the rights of a Hindu wife, which amount to maintenance in her own case and inheritance of paternal property in that of her issue. But that is not the only thing needed for successfully carrying a great reform through. Other safeguards are necessary. In a society which has long ceased to keep pace with the times and whose growth has been arrested, you cannot effect a change without making other corresponding changes. Otherwise the change would not be for the better. The Bill as it is framed shows how solicitous Mr. Patel is to keep to the line of least resistance. Let all other things—child marriage and polygamy for instance—remain as they are, only declare what is valid in the caste is also valid outside of it. Mr. Patel counts without his hosts. Juxtaposition of stagnation and progress is fraught with risks to the latter. And these risks are no vain imaginings, but verified facts in the experience of a great pioneer of Hindu Social Reform. We would ask Mr. Patel to walk in the light of Vidyasagar's experience and so amend his Bill as to make it an all-round measure of protection for the party of progress. The line of least resistance which he has proposed to himself will, we are afraid, prove in the end a most roundabout way to reform leading more often to confusion than to progress."

#### HINDU MARRIAGE AND ACT III OF 1872.

(By MR. KOPARGAM RAMAMURTY BERHAMPORE.)

(Continued from the last issue.)

There is a recorded instance in which the parties sought to solve their conscience by adding a postscriptum to the declaration to the effect that by the term "Hindu religion" they meant only the ortho-

dox variety of it. The Registrar who solemnised the marriage thought he could allow it. The *Indian Social Reformer* wondered if such an interpolation was permissible and if the marriage thus performed could be said to have satisfied the legal requirements of the Act. The Inspector General of Registration soon cleared the doubt. He took the Marriage Registrar to task for having allowed the interpolation and warned every Registrar of matrimonial and practice. This instance and the other instance now under consideration only show to what straits and desperate shifts the freed and conscientious Hindu subjects of His Majesty are driven by the culpable indifference of the British Government to the changing needs of the community and their almost too ready subservience to the unfair clamour of the orthodoxy. Failing therefore any early prospect of persuading the Government to repeal the declaration in Act III of 1872, may we not do something to compel the Government, as we are justly entitled to do, to be at least so fair and equitable as to define the term "Hindu Religion" for the purpose of this Act, if not for other purposes? I do not know if it is good form to quote from one's own former utterance. But I cannot help re-iterating here what I said in the course of my presidential address to the Godaveri District Social Conference of 1913, for the words are as true to-day as they were six years ago. So long as the Government withhold that legal definition, they leave us in a quandary, at the mercy of the numerous tentative definitions and gratuitous speculations regarding the essentials of Hinduisim, which recently deluged the public press."

The legal consequences also of an insincere or careless declaration under this Act seem to be very grave. I cannot in this connection do better than quote the learned words of Mr. (now Hon'ble Mr.) S. Srinivasa Iyengar. Writing to the "*Indian Review*" in support of the Civil Marriage Bill in May 1911, he gave the following luminous exposition of the whole matter:—

"The declaration is not made conclusive evidence against the profession of the Hindu or any of the other religions. If the declaration is, in fact, false, it is at least open to considerable doubt whether having regard to the provisions of Section 2 of the Act, the marriage will be valid. Indeed, it is almost certain that it will not be. Section 2 enables only persons to marry who do not profess the Hindu or the other religions. Whether a particular person professes the Hindu religion or not, is a question of fact. The declaration is only made a further condition of the solemnization of the marriage. Disproof of the truth of the declaration is perfectly admissible and entails liability to be convicted under Section 199 of the Indian Penal Code. Not only therefore would the marriage be invalid and the children illegitimate; but there is also the risk of conviction and punishment. It is not easy to define what is meant by profession of the Hindu religion. The fact that, before the marriage and after, the life of the parties was generally governed by the Hindu mode may suffice



show that the declaration was false. There being all recognised articles of the Hindu creed, it would be difficult to say that a departure from some orthodox practices, the dropping of one or two ceremonies, or the introduction of one or two doctrines would make the Hindn cease to be a Hindn. It is only by departing from *all*, not only from some, of the important doctrines and practices that a person can be heard to say that he does not profess the Hindn religion. The fact that certain sections of the Brahmos have availed themselves of the provisions of the Act will not enable every one to do so with impunity merely by saying that he does not profess the Hindn religion. Even if the good sense of the police and the Magistrate could minimise prosecutions, it is not to be supposed for a moment that if increasing resort be made to the provisions of Act III of 1872, the appetite of collateral heirs of reversioners will not lack the validity of many a marriage and the legitimacy of many a child."

It is noteworthy in the present case that one of the parties to the marriage, namely the bride, was a Christian. I wonder if the Hindu Missionary Society gave due consideration to the possibilities of the Indian Christian Marriage Act (XV of 1872) as an instrument suited to their purpose. In 1911, when we were engaged in discussing the anomaly of orthodox Hindu opposition to Mr. Basu's Bill, I ventured to point out that the Indian Christian Marriage Act provided a Civil form of marriage whereby a Hindu might marry a Christian without ceasing to profess the Hindu religion. The Act stipulates only that one of the parties shall be Christian in faith (Sec. 4) and takes absolutely no cognisance of the religion of the other party when the marriage is solemnised before a Registrar under Part V of the Act. Such mixed marriages have been often taking place, and the parties thereto and the Christian public in general, including the Missionaries, and the courts too, at any rate in the mofussil, have always unquestioningly regarded them as valid and binding. The only provision in the Act which seems to throw doubt on this point is Sec. 88, which runs as follows: "Nothing in this Act shall be deemed to validate any marriage which the personal law applicable to either of the parties forbids him or her to enter into." This wording of the section, if strictly considered, seems capable of invalidating Hindu-Christian marriages on account of the personal law of the Hindu, which precludes him from contracting a marriage outside his caste and religion. But in a marginal note, "Non-validation within prohibited degrees", appended to the Section by the authors of the Act shows that they had in mind only the personal law which relates to the prohibited degrees of consanguinity. If a marginal note is of any value as an explanatory of the enacted word of the Section, it would follow that Section 88 is but an analogue of clause (4) of Act III of 1872, which says that parties must not be related to each other in any degree of consanguinity or affinity which would bring them within any law to which either of them is

subject, render a marriage between them illegal. Therefore in view of the importance of the question, especially in its bearing on Mr. Basu's Bill, I thought it my duty to appeal for an expression of opinion by competent lawyers (vide: I. S. R. July to September 1911.) But no one responded, save a few Christian missionaries and laymen who said they had always thought that such marriages were valid. Certain observations, however, of the Lord President of the Probate Division of the High Court of England in *Chetti (Venugopal) Vs. Chetti (Venugopal)* (1909 P. 67) which subsequently came to my notice, and the observations of the Full Bench of the Madras High Court in 1917 in a case reported in 33 Madras Law Journal at page 113, have considerably shaken my faith in the correctness of this belief. But, as against these, there is the great inexplicable fact that the Marriage Registrars appointed under Act XV of 1872, on whom the Act distinctly lays the duty of satisfying themselves that there is no legal impediment of any kind for the marriages which they are called upon to solemnise, have been as a matter of course solemnising Hindu-Christian marriages without a protest from the enlightened Christian public and unchecked by the higher authorities whose obvious duty it is to see that the Act is used only for lawful and valid purposes and not allowed to operate as a snare for the ignorant and the unwary. May I therefore appeal again to eminent lawyers and leaders of reform, like Sir, Narayan Chandavarkar, Hon. Mr. S. Srinivasa Aiyengar and Mr. M. R. Jayakar to make a definite pronouncement on this question for the guidance of their followers?

There is but one more point which I wish to touch before I close. Both the bride and the bridegroom in the present case belong, it is said, to Hingoli in the Nizam's State. Presumably they are both the subjects of H. E. H. the Nizam. I do not know if the law courts of Hyderabad which administer Hindu Family law to the Nizam's Hindu subjects would recognise the validity of an intercommunal marriage solemnised in British India under Act III of 1872. But supposing that they would, it is most likely that they would be equally ready to uphold the validity of a similar marriage solemnised in the fellow Native State of His Highness the Maharajah Holkar, under the Indore Civil Marriage Act (I of 1916). That Act is practically the same as Act III of 1872 with the obnoxious declaration left out. Mr. Justice D. V. Kirtane assures us in the *Mallar & Martanda Vijaya*, "it can be taken advantage of by persons of all castes and creeds even though resident in British India or in foreign states". (vide I. S. R. of 6th May 1917 Vol. XXVII No. 36 Page 427.) I wonder if the Hindu Missionary Society had fully investigated the claims thus put forth for the Indore Civil Marriage Act as an All-India measure by Mr. Justice Kirtane, before they honored by their acceptance a notoriously non-Hindu and, except in its application to the Brahmos, irreligious Act which is shunned by many pious people and deplored by all as a blot on British Indian legislation.



## THE HARD TASKS.

(FROM THE *Indian Temperance Record*.)

Give me hard tasks, with strength that shall not fail;

Conflict, with courage that shall never die!

Better the hill-path, climbing toward the sky,  
Than languid air and smooth sward of the vale!

Better to dare the wild wrath of the gale

Than with furled sails in port for ever lie!

Give me hard tasks, with strength that shall not fail;

Conflict, with courage that shall never die!

Not for a light load fitting shoulders frail

Not for an unearned victory I sigh;

Strong is the struggle that wins triumph high,  
Not without loss the hero shall prevail;

Give me hard tasks, with strength that shall not fail!

—Effie Smith.

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not  
hesitate, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

## CONTENTS.

—:o:—

America's Glorious Example.	A Distinguished Indian Sanskrit Scholar.
Punjab Excise Administration.	The Panchama.
The First Convocation of the Benares Hindu University.	The two Bills.
Temperance Education or Miseducation.	Neo-Orthodox Opposition to the Hindu Inter-marriage Bill.
The Biter Bit.	Proposed new College in Salsette.
Home Rule and Social Reform.	Hindu Intercaste Marriage Bill.
Pre-Buddhist Remains in India.	Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji's Portrait.

## NOTES.

—:o:—

**America's Glorious Example:** Foremost in all movements for the benefit of humanity, the United States have at last incorporated an article making the total prohibition of alcohol a part of the Constitution. An amendment in the Constitution has to be proposed by two-thirds of both the Houses of Congress, and must be ratified by three-fourths of the State Legislatures. The last condition was fulfilled on the 6th instant when Nebraska ratified the Prohibition amendment. The amendment makes the manufacture, sale, exportation and importation of alcoholic beverages illegal throughout the United States. The Federal States Government, we are told, will lose enormous revenues by this epoch-making step. This will, no doubt, be the immediate effect but, in the long run, even from the revenue point of view, the measure now adopted is sure to prove most advantageous. The moral gain to mankind, of course, is incalculable. Under the amendment, prohibition begins in one year's time, but actually it will become effective as a war measure from July 1st. We are glad to be assured that there is no fear that the efforts of liquor interests to have the decision of the State legislatures declared illegal will be successful. We congratulate the United States on the glorious example they have set to the nations of the world, and we most earnestly pray that it will be widely followed. More particularly, we trust that it will not be lost on the Government and the people of this country.

**Punjab Excise Administration.** There was a large increase in the excise revenue of the Punjab in 1917-18, the total being the record sum of Rs. 85 lakhs. This is about Rs. 9½ lakhs over the revenue of the preceding year and about Rs. 15 lakhs above pre-war figures. The Financial Commissioner attributes the increase in the case of country spirits to "prosperity of agricultural classes due to good harvests and high prices, and also to the receipts of large remittances from men on military service; the increased spending power of the labouring and penial classes due to good employment and high wages; an increase in the number of weddings; a

decrease in illicit distillation and illegal imports from Native States, and a considerable rise in the price of imported liquor, which stimulated the use of country spirit." In the Government review, comfort is sought to be derived from the fact that "some of these causes are doubtless exceptional and due to present war conditions." We are not disposed to agree with His Honour the Lieutenant Governor that, therefore, there is no need "to regard with serious alarm the year's increase." Habits contracted under exceptional conditions are only too apt to persist long after those conditions have passed away, and we agree with the *Punjabee* in regretting that all that is proposed to cope with the drink evil is such half-measures and poor remedies as the system of selling liquor in sealed bottles, the adoption of restrictive measures such as the removal of shops from crowded centres, the abolition of shops in certain places and the closing of shops on occasions of religious fairs. There is little evidence, adds our contemporary, of any vigorous pursuit of any drastic remedy, such as has been suggested in the temperance resolutions passed in various Conferences and also moved in Legislative Councils. One of the first duties of a responsible Government in India will be to repair this grievous failure of the present administration.

**The First Convocation of the Benares Hindu University:** The first Convocation of the Benares Hindu University was held on the 17th instant, the Sankranti day which marks the end of the winter solstice according to the Hindu ceremonial calendar. The graduates numbered 38, including one lady, Miss Brij Kumari. The men wore mauve gowns with yellow border, and large light green turbans. The Vice Chancellor, Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar, administered the responsions in the Sanskrit language. The Chancellor, His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, delivered the opening address in which he conveyed a timely and needed warning to the alumni of the University against the spirit of exclusiveness which denominational institutions are especially prone to engender. His Highness laid stress on the folly of confounding patriotism with a feeling of repugnance for everything modern and foreign. In a striking passage, he exhorted the graduates to cultivate a broad outlook. "No nation," observed His Highness, "is imperished by commerce with other nations; no civilisation can suffer by intercourse with other civilisations and by an intelligent assimilation of the principles, ideas and practices that have proved to be beneficial to other peoples and countries. I trust that the Benares University will gather the fruit of all ages and countries, will keep abreast of modern progress and will bring up her children to become healthy and strong and well fitted to mould the destinies of India on the same progressive lines and should develop a culture in its widest sense as embodiment of a new and united India."



**Over-Education or Miseducation?** His Highness controverted the view that India was becoming over-educated because of the large number of students seeking admission into different universities and of the glut that there is in the market of their services. The Maharaja of Mysore was himself disposed to think that the real trouble was not over-education but mis-education, by which he meant the wrong kind of education. We are strongly of opinion that it is neither over-education nor mis-education which India is suffering from, but *under-education and too little even of that*. In the first place, we emphatically repudiate the test of the service market as a gauge of the educational requirements of a nation. On the contrary, it is only when there is such a number of educated men that, not finding a "market" for their services, they have perforce to turn their educated heads and hands to the work of doing the daily round of common tasks intelligently and with a high purpose, that the nation gets within itself a real and living stimulus to aspire greatly and achieve worthily. No doubt, before and when they do this they will interrogate their surroundings and investigate all vested interests. But this also is a need of a living society. We are far from reaching this stage yet. In a country where the average annual income is about Rs. 30, a class which earns Rs. 240 a year, cannot be said to be over-crowded even from the market point of view. Apart from it, we do not know if any one is prepared to maintain (with the exception of poets and mahatmas and Sydenhamites and other "sun-treaders") that the country would have been better without such education as we have had than with it. There is a close correspondence between the policy of British rule in regard to education and its attitude towards Indian States. It is not a mere coincidence that about the same time as the Indian Universities were established, the policy of annexing Indian States was discarded.

**The Biter Bit.** The *Hindustan Review* published in a recent issue a signed article on the Rowlatt Committee's Report from a contributor. In the course of that article, the writer had observed: "Treason, however heinous it may appear to the eye of a government, cannot according to the general sense of mankind be classed under infamous actions and be classed as a disgraceful crime as it proceeds from a mistaken sense of patriotism, and the only way to eradicate it is to win the hearts of the people." The *Pioneer* quoted this without the italicised portion of the sentence, and proceeded to throw mud at the editor of the *Review* in which the article appeared, and Indian politicians in general. Mr. S. Sinha, the editor of the *Hindustan Review*, replied by a letter to the *Pioneer* recalling its applause of the murderer of an approver in the Alipore Jail ten years ago, and comparing the two murderers to Harmodion and Aristogeiton. The *Pioneer* wrote:—"Murder though it has only one punishment, has many degrees of blackness. And on any fair view this Alipore crime approaches the hue of grey as much as any action of this kind can do. The informer to save his own skin had decided to do his best to destroy his fellows. Two of them resolved to make away with him before he could appear to tell his tale before the sessions court. This is murder but it is also self-devotion. If we use such words as 'callous' 'cowardly' and 'foul' of the Alipore crime, what is to be said of those who murder young women for lust or bed-ridden old women for the sake of their savings? If the Bengalees like to enthrone these two young men hereafter in popular remembrance as another Harmodius and Aristogeiton it is not easy to see how any one would justly object to the selection." The *Pioneer* has not, for obvious reasons, cared to publish Mr. Sinha's letter, and he has, therefore, sent it round in a printed form to several other newspapers, one of these being

ourselves. It is hardly necessary to point out the absurdity of the *Pioneer*, with this paragraph to its credit, criticising another journal. By the way, the Rowlatt Committee itself has offered grounds for concluding that they (the outrages) were *all* the outcome of a widespread but essentially single movement of *perverted religion and equally perverted patriotism*. The italics are ours. The writer in the *Hindustan Review* had merely paraphrased this sentiment. Assuming that the *Pioneer's* indignation was genuine it should have been directed against the Committee in the first place.

**Home Rule and Social Reform:** The following paragraph appeared in the *Bombay Chronicle* on Monday the 20th instant. "We are authorised to state that the alleged interview with Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas published in the "Gujerati" of the 5th instant which has given rise to some comment, was unauthorised and does not give a correct representation of Mr. Jamnadas's views on Mr. Patel's Hindu intermarriage Bill or his views on caste. The "interview" is a garbled version of a private conversation. We are glad to have this contradiction, notwithstanding that it is vague and belated. We trust that Mr. Jamnadas will take an early opportunity of giving to the public the correct version of the statement imputed to him in the interview not only in the passages quoted by us last week, but also in the other which we did not quote.

**Pre-Buddhist Remains in India:** In the course of a speech delivered at Lahore recently, Raja Bahadur Lala Daya Ram Sahni, Superintendent Archaeological Survey, Northern India, referred to the fact that so far the energies and activities of the Department of Archaeology had been directed mainly to the unearthing of secrets of the past from Buddhist monuments. But that complaint of the historian was about to be removed, as the Department was now engaged in excavating the pre-Buddhist remains. The excavations at Harappa in Montgomery District had unearthed tablets in script which had yet to be deciphered. There was a vast field to be explored in the Punjab where there were bound to be remains of pre-Buddhist times to much larger extent than in any other province, for instance in Rohtak, Shorkot and other places. Further excavations discovered more tablets of the kind found at Harappa, it would be possible to find key to the script disclosed and might lead to important knowledge concerning the pre-Buddhist time.

**A Distinguished Indian Sanskrit Scholar.** Dr. Prasanna Kumar Acharya, who was for a short time Principal of the Rishikul at Hardwar, received some time ago the Doctorate of Philology at the University of Leyden, Holland. He was the first non-Dutchman to obtain that distinction and his achievements were acclaimed by the Dutch Press and the precedent, observes the London correspondent of a contemporary, will probably redound to the advantage of future Indian students. Recently the University of London conferred upon Dr. Acharya the degree of D. Lit. in respect of his dictionary of Sanskrit architectural terms, a work which runs to something like 1,000 pages. The Government of Madras have offered an appointment to Dr. Acharya for editing and translating in English some valuable architectural manuscripts now in their possession.

**The Panchama:** We are pleased to get the first number of a monthly journal in the English language named the *Panchama*, devoted to the uplift of the depressed classes of India. The journal is published at Hyderabad Deccan and the annual subscription Re-1-8-0. We wish our contemporary a successful and prosperous career.



# INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, JANUARY, 26 1919.

## THE TWO BILLS.

A *Gazette of India* dated the 18th instant prints two draft Bills to give effect to the recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee in their report on revolutionary conspiracies in India. We wish at the outset to deprecate most earnestly the introduction of these Bills in the Legislature at this juncture. An open-minded and dispassionate consideration shows that revolutionary crime in India as elsewhere is the outcome of political and administrative stagnation. As we wrote four months ago, by her contact with British rule, India has been drawn into the vortex of European politics and the new awakening of political life in the country has permeated and will continue to permeate our schools and colleges. "As long, therefore, as the political advancement of the people is slow, and does not keep pace with the times by only recognising and giving effect to the legitimate aspirations of the people in general and the educated classes in particular, revolutionary crime is bound to raise its head from time to time and disturb the peace of the country. It will not do to meet such situations by means of repressive laws. Remove in time the standing political grievances of the land and you remove the mischief which brings the secret conspiracies of revolutionary organisations into existence. Remove the mischief and you remove the causes which necessitate the passing of repressive laws or preventing revolutionary crime." These words were written after a close study of the reports of the Rowlatt and Chandavarkar Committees. They embody convictions based on exceptional opportunities to know the true inwardness of revolutionary crime in this country. They are entitled to the serious consideration of Government which, unfortunately, does not seem to have been given to them. If Government had done so they would have realised that the right course is to introduce, first, the constitutional reforms in the direction of responsible government which have been promised, and, then, if after a sufficient interval it is found that revolutionary crime shows signs of recrudescence, to ask for extra powers to supplant the ordinary criminal law, as the principal Bill proposes to do. What the Government seek to do is to meet revolutionary crime by revolutionary legislation abrogating the elementary rights of citizenship in a civilized country. Our feeling towards these revolutionary proposals are scarcely less repugnant than those to the revolutionary crime they are intended to put down. We can hardly believe that Government do not wish to give a fair trial to constitutional reform; that their object is to confuse the issues, and make appear that the pacificatory results of reform are the outcome of repressive measures. The situation at present is one which demands sympathetic and soothing measures. High prices, epidemics, famine, are bearing heavily upon the people. They ask for bread, and not for the stone

of repressive laws. No Government which is not entirely out of touch with the actual state of things in the country, will proceed with such proposals at such a time.

The Rowlatt Committee did not, as we understand their words, intend that their recommendations regarding exceptional legislation should be given effect to under any and all circumstances. Referring to the difficulties, that had arisen in dealing with the conspiracies, and to their suggestions as to the legislation "if any" necessary to enable Government to deal effectively with them, they observe: "These difficulties have, however, been circumvented for the time being by special temporary legislation (the Defence of India Act) and they have not been in operation at the time of our inquiry. When this legislation lapses, circumstances may have altered and the position may be better or worse. We do not think it is for us to speculate nicely on these matters. We must of course keep in view that the present war will have come to an end, but we cannot say with what result or with what ulterior consequential effects or possibilities of consequential effects upon the situation. On the other hand, the persons interned under the Defence of India Act will be due for release and the terms of imprisonment of many dangerous convicts will be coming to an end. Further, there will, especially in the Punjab, be a large number of disbanded soldiers, among whom it may be possible to stir up discontent. Nevertheless, if we thought it clear that the measures taken against the revolutionary movement under the Defence of India Act had so broken it that the possibility of the conspiracies being revived could be safely disregarded, we should say so. That is not our view and it is on this footing that we report." The Rowlatt Committee, appointed in December 1917, assembled in Calcutta in January, 1918, and their report was sent to the Government of India on the 15th April 1918. The interval between August 20, 1917, when the momentous declaration was made pledging British rule to adopt measures leading India to responsible Government, and the time of their investigations, was hardly sufficient to enable the Committee to estimate its effect on the Indian political situation; and they evidently did not attempt to do so. The Secretary of State visited India and met men of all shades of opinion about the same time as the sittings of the Committee; but the scheme which he drew up in conjunction with the Viceroy, and which the best Indian opinion has accepted as a genuine and courageous effort to give effect to the declaration of August 1917, was published after the Committee had finished their labours. Then, the War has ended triumphantly for the British Empire, which is today the greatest military and naval power in the world. The Indians take as much pride in this result as any other of the component peoples of the Empire. The representation of India by Indians at the Peace Conference, and the appointment of Lord Sinha as Under Secretary of State for India have also contributed very greatly to stimulate the hopes and to confirm the confidence of the Indian



people as an integral part of the Empire. We say that all these events individually and cumulatively have brought about a state of things in India which the Rowlatt Committee did not contemplate and could not possibly have contemplated. There is now an almost total subsidence of political crime in the country. The Government of India have no excuse now to launch these Bills which were designed to meet an altogether different condition of affairs. We do not wish at present to go into the provisions of the two Bills. We object altogether to their being brought in at the present time. The excessive accumulation of penal powers by a Government is as provocative of mischief as the accumulation of excessive armaments by a State.

### NEO-ORTHODOX OPPOSITION TO THE HINDU INTERMARRIAGE BILL.

These are two kinds of orthodox Hinduism. One is the normal and unconscious orthodoxy of the *purohīts* or officiating domestic chaplains of the Hindu community, and the other is the modern, conscious, aggressive orthodoxy of the English-educated Hindu. There is very little in common between the two. The former is content to be let alone, while the latter is anxious to impose his views on those who wish to adopt changes in social life suitable to the changed and changing conditions of the time. Mr. C. V. Vaidya M. A. LL. B. is a gentleman of the latter type of orthodoxy, and he has produced a pamphlet opposing Mr. Patel's Hindu Intermarriage Bill, a copy of which he has kindly sent to us. We have read it with the interest and care due to its learned author. The contention, which he elaborately maintains, that all previous social legislation of the British Indian Legislature, including the Widow Remarriage Act and the Outcastes' Relief Act, was not a violation of what he takes to be the prerogatives of the Hindu religious law in the same sense as Mr. Patel's Bill is, is a palpable piece of special pleading. The real argument which seems to weigh most with him is to be found in the following sentences: "Mahomedanism allows four legal wives while Christianity enjoins monogamy. If the Hon. Mr. Jinnah, convinced of the benefits of monogamy, propose a piece of legislation, *notwithstanding anything contained in the Koran*, the marriage of a Mahomedan to more than one wife as illegal, he would be disavowed the next day by Mahomedans. Indeed, the attitude of every religion which believes in a revelation cannot but be so." This is a tissue of fallacies. Christianity and Mahomedanism are historical and personal religions: that is to say, they were founded by one great Personality whose injunctions are obligatory on all those who profess those creeds. (We overlook for the occasion the inaccuracy of making monogamy a tenet of the Christian religion and of polygamy of the Mahomedan religion.) Hinduism is a national religion which recognises, no doubt, the Vedas as revealed, but which also recognises and is, in fact, built up of innumerable customs which for the castes and tribes following them have the force of religion. Christianity, and even more Mahomedanism, are kingdoms while Hinduism is an Empire like the British Empire with numerous component parts each autonomous

in its own affairs. The process of assimilating these parts in an organic whole has been interrupted, but we are now in a favourable position to take up the work where our ancestors left it. Mr. Patel's Bill is actuated by this laudable motive. As regards Mr. Jinnah's hypothetical Bill, the true parallel to Mr. Patel's Bill will be one to provide a permissive form of declaring that a Mahomedan renounces his right, under the Koran, of marrying more than one wife. Most Mahomedans, even among the non-English educated classes, marry only one wife nevertheless they do not cease to be Mahomedans. But there is always the possibility of their marrying more than one wife and an educated lady may well desire that her husband should definitely renounce for himself such a possibility. Indeed, some Lahore Mahomedan ladies made such a suggestion not long ago as regards persons to whom their daughters are to be given in marriage. Mr. Jinnah may well take up the matter, and we are sure thousands of educated Mahomedans will hail the introduction of such a Bill with pleasure.

### PROPOSED NEW COLLEGE IN SALSETTE.

For some time past proposals were being made to Life Members of the Deccan Education Society to extend the scope of their activities to Bombay. I was represented to them that there was great congestion in the educational institutions of Bombay and that no relief would be obtained unless institutions like the Fergusson College and the New English School were established in Bombay and were conducted there on the same principles. The question was considered by the Life Members in the monsoon of 1917 and the idea underlying the proposal was approved. Since then some of the Life Members approached some leading citizens of Bombay, gentlemen of influence and position, who all of them enthusiastically welcomed the scheme and promised their hearty support and co-operation. The general features of the scheme are given below:—

It is proposed to create a genuine educational atmosphere for the institutions. As any extensive grounds are both scarce and costly in Bombay it is proposed to locate the College on the Island of Salsette somewhere between Bandra and Anheri or its immediate neighbourhood. About 100 acres of land would be acquired but 50 acres would be the least that could be thought of. Efforts would be made to secure a site which would not be more than five minutes' walk from a convenient station on the B. B. & C. I. Railway so that even students resident in Bombay would be able to attend the College or the School and derive benefit from its free atmosphere.

The College and the School would provide accommodation for about 500 students each. It is intended to provide hostel accommodation for as many of the students as possible. Those who do not reside on the premises will reap the fullest advantage of the situation of the College in as much as they can do their lectures or their class work, take part



all the open air games and plays organised for the students and return to their homes in the evening.

It is proposed to provide residential accommodation to the whole staff of the College and the school on the premises and, in fact, to make residence on the premises a condition of employment if possible. This will enable the teachers and Professors to supervise the work of the students, to take part whole-heartedly in all their activities and to exercise their proper influence on their life and character which is the great desideratum of the present day.

The institutions would be started by the Deccan Education Society, Poona, and would be managed and controlled by it. The great work that the Society has done during about 35 years, is before the public. and it is hoped it would be a sufficient guarantee to the public to state that these new institutions will maintain the old traditions and endeavour to reach a high standard in the older institutions.

Although the two institutions would be established simultaneously and side by side, their work will not be mixed up together. The principal buildings and the hostels belonging to the College and the school will be each separate in themselves in different parts of the same ground, and the management will be in the hands of two separate Heads. Thus the work of the one will not interfere with the work of the other, while the higher influence of the College will lead to the improvement of the tone of the school.

The total cost of the scheme works out at about 20 lakhs. This will be enough to provide the initial outlay on buildings and equipment and will also leave a decent endowment fund for current expenditure.

It will be seen that this is a comprehensive scheme which does not look merely to the immediate needs of to-day but has in it the elements of growth and progress for the future. Two things are necessary for the success of such a scheme—men and money. The Society is strong in men. Its Life Members have made the institutions of the Society what they are to-day. They are prepared to face difficulties and try to surmount them. They will suffer hardships, but try to make the institutions a complete success. What the Society has not is money, and for this the Society appeals to the public and more particularly to the generous public of Bombay. The amount of 20 Lakhs of rupees is a large amount, but it is not an impossible amount for a few millions of Bombay to raise among themselves, and with the promises of hearty sympathy and support that the Life Members have received so far, they feel confident that the scheme will not take long to materialise. They have, however, decided not to begin work till they have secured promises of at least 10 lakhs of rupees, after which they will immediately begin their preliminary operations of selecting sites and buying lands. Those who are interested in this scheme are, therefore, requested to intimate to the able Mr. R. P. Paranjpye or Prof. H. G. Limaye, the Secretary of the Deccan Education Society, Poona, what support they would extend to this scheme.

## HINDU INTERCASTE MARRIAGE BILL,

The Editor, The *Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

Your article and quotation from the *Indian Messenger* of Calcutta on the advisability of introducing monogamy as a necessary section of Mr. Patel's Bill throws a lurid light on the history of widow marriage in Bengal. I have nothing to do with Patel's bill, for I happen to hold quite contrary views to Mr. Patel's Bill, but one may fairly trust the *Indian Messenger* on the character of remarried men in Bengal. The *Indian Messenger* says 6 men came, married widows, then deserted them and married virgins again. Will the *Messenger* state the ratio of these men to the total remarried families? It insinuates that a majority did this. It states that a sort of agreement was entered into latterly by remarried men against polygamy and insisted on by the revered Pandit Ishwar-chandra Vidyasagar. You will fairly admit that the Bombay Presidency with about 275 remarriages amongst Gujarathis and about 90 amongst Maharastra men, since 1856, quite leads the movement. I have never known a case amongst all these 365 cases of any person having married a widow again in her life time marrying a virgin. Even cases where a person Gujarathi or Maharastra, had a wife living, when he married a widow are not more than four or five. Even in these four or five cases, the reasons why the first wife was discarded were not without a seeming propriety.

I am not so certain of Madras remarriages, but I never heard this scandalous history of remarried men in Madras. One cannot speak with certainty as to the causes of this unhappy history of Bengal, but can it be because the good Pandit actually pecuniarily assisted a number of these remarried Bengalees and this practical 'bribery' degenerated the whole movement? Or is the atmosphere of that horrible *kulin* polygamy which was so rampant in the Pandit's time that was responsible for this disgrace? Or is the weak caste system in Bengal responsible for this? Or is the moral fibre of Bengal comparatively weak? You know that the resolution regarding widow marriages in Social Conferences in Bengal always excited the liveliest fears, as no other presidency ever did. If one thinks the Bengal moral fibre weak, you cannot make it consistent with the fact of increase of Brahmoism in Bengal and its relatively very slow increase in Bombay or its still less increase in Madras. Will the *Indian Messenger* take us into the causes of this unhappy history of Bengal remarriages, supposing that the majority of remarried men again married virgins during coverture or even supposing that an appreciable minority did this?

B. N. BHAJEKAR.

[We have said more than once that widow remarriages in the Bombay Presidency have generally speaking been on sound lines. Still, we are not prepared to say that there have not been cases of a different kind. There has been a case, for instance, in which a Brahmin pleader, with two University degrees, repudiated his marriage with a widow on the ground that the ceremony gone through with her was not complete in every detail. In Madras, although polygamous widow marriages have not been common, desertion of widows who had remarried, have been by no means uncommon, as Pandit Viresalingam knows to his cost. Mr. Bhajekar in his pardonable pride in the success of the generality of Bombay remarriages and, perhaps also, in his less laudable anxiety to attack Brahmo Samaj, has missed the point of the *Indian Messenger's* comments. It is that Mr. Patel's Bill by validating intermarriages among persons of different castes, without providing for an improved type of marriage, will create new difficulties and complications detrimental to the interests of the intermarrying woman who will not have the support, such as it is, of her caste or kindred in facing them. Ed. *I.S.R.*]



**Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji's Portrait:** The Principal of the Elphinstone College and the members of the Dadabhai Naoroji Memorial Committee have issued invitations for the unveiling ceremony of the portrait of the late Dr. Dadabhai Naoroji by the Hon. Mr. Surendranath Banerji at the Convocation Hall of the Bombay University on Sunday the 26th January at 5 P. M. (S. T.)

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

## CONTENTS.

—:0:—

The Viceroy's Address at the Chiefs' Conference.	Indian Finance Department.
Raja Ram Mohan Roy on Indian Reform.	Lectures on the Important Movements of India.
Female Education.	An Indian Professor in an English University.
Muslim Ladies' Conference.	Hesitancy.
Open Air Schools.	Franchise Problems.
An Orthodox Hindu View of Jesus Christ.	Native Races and their Rulers.
Hindu Charities in Bombay.	Pali in the Bombay University.

## NOTES.

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**The Viceroy's Address at the Chiefs' Conference:**  
It is impossible to read the address with which His Excellency opened the Conference of Indian Chiefs at Delhi on the 20th January without realising, first, that the time has come when Indian States have to be incorporated as an organic part of our political system, and can no longer remain as satellites revolving round the orbit of British rule in India, and, secondly, the difficulties which are in the way of such assimilation. That these difficulties are largely of a sentimental character, does not make the problem less troublesome but rather more. Just as in British India the educated classes have to be admitted in the political system, so outside British India, the Indian States, which were accorded an assured status about the same time as the Indian Universities were established, have to be brought into organic relation with the Empire, instead of remaining as excrescences on its surface. The several questions with which His Excellency dealt have all this for their central aim. The first thing to be done is to draw a line between States which are or are capable of being or becoming a self-sustaining political and administrative unit, and those which, whatever their past history, can not provide the resources needed to maintain a modern administration at something like a modern level of efficiency. The smaller the state, the more jealous is the Chief of his treaty rights, and the less regardful of the march of mind all around him. The revision of treaties, though undertaken with a view solely to simplify, standardise, and codify existing practice for the future, must bring important consequences in its train. A practice which is codified acquires certain inevitable properties by the mere fact of codification. So also simplification and standardising. Fluid customs become rigid, and permissive practices, obligatory. To wait on experience as the Viceroy prefers to do in regard to the constitution and functions of the Council of State, is sometimes merely to drift till events force us into a course of, it may be, precipitate action. Circumstances often decide the course of those who decline to move ahead of experience. In statesmanship, as in more as well as less exalted matters, one must sometimes walk by faith, and not always ask to see

the distant scene before he takes one step forward. We need not follow His Excellency in the rest of his address. The gist of it all is that we cannot give the Chiefs their due share in the benefits of the Empire without their undertaking their due share of its responsibilities. They must give in order to get.

**Raja Ram Mohan Roy on Indian Reform.** *Apropos* of the slow pace of Indian constitutional reform, the *Indian Messenger*, the organ of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj of Calcutta, quotes some striking observations of Raja Ram Mohan Roy made in a letter written to Mr. J. Crawford on August 18, 1828. The Raja wrote: "Supposing that some 100 years hence the Native character becomes elevated from constant intercourse with Europeans and the acquirements of general and political knowledge as well as of modern arts and sciences, is it possible that they will not have the spirit as well as the inclination to resist effectually any unjust and oppressive measures serving to degrade them in the scale of society? It should not be lost sight of that the position of India is very different from that of Ireland, to any quarter of which an English fleet may suddenly convey a body of troops that may force its way in the requisite direction and succeed in suppressing every effort of a refractory spirit. Were India to share one fourth of the knowledge and energy of that country, she would prove from her remote situation, her riches and her vast population, either useful and profitable as a willing province, an ally of the British Empire, or troublesome and annoying as a determined enemy. In common with those who are partial to the British rule from the expectation of future benefits arising out of the connection, I necessarily feel extremely grieved in often witnessing Acts and Regulations passed by Government without consulting or seeming to understand the feelings of its Indian subjects and without considering that this people have had for more than half a century the advantage of being ruled by and associated with an enlightened nation, advocates of liberty and promoters of knowledge."

**Female Education in Calcutta.** A Calcutta correspondent writes:—"A public meeting was held on the 17th January to consider what steps might be taken to give an impetus to the cause of education of girls and women in Bengal. Sir Ashutosh Chaudhuri in moving the formation of a Society for the work said that they had been agitating to impart education to their girls for a long time but up to now no appreciable advance had been made. In this respect Bombay was far superior to Bengal. But so far as Bombay was concerned there was one advantage, namely, that there was no "purdah system." In order to avoid the difficulty which existed in Bengal, they should, among other things, prepare teachers who would teach girls at different centres of the city. Their girls should be taught in the Bengali language and in Bengali fashion, so that in



the long run they might not turn out to be "Memsahabs" and be not imbued with foreign ideas. These remarks coming from one who is a finished product of English education should be taken note of by people who are never happy unless they run after foreign ideals."

**Muslim Ladies' Conference.** An interesting function will be held at Calcutta on the 10th, 11th, and 12th February next when the sixth annual session of the All-India Muslim Ladies' Conference will hold its sittings. Although this will be the first sitting of the Conference at Calcutta, it was established in 1914 and has during the short term of its existence done much useful work in the advancement of female education and social reform among Muslim women. It has enlisted the sympathy and co-operation of such eminent ladies as H. H. the Nawab Begum of Bhopal, H. H. the Begum Saheba of the late Nawab Mahomed Ishaq Khan, Mrs. Syed Mahmud, wife of the late Mr. Justice Shahdin, Mrs. Mahomed Shafi and many other Muslim ladies. The Begum Saheba of Major Khedive Jung Bahadur will preside over the Conference. About 400 delegates are expected to attend. A strong Reception Committee, with Mrs. Abdul Latif Ahmed as Chairman and Mrs. R. S. Hossain, Foundress of the Sakhawat Memorial School, as Secretary, and Lady Shamsul Huda, the Begum Saheba of the late Nawab Budruddin Hyder, Mrs. Ariff Bham Mrs. Daudur Rahaman and Mrs. Abdul Karim, has been formed for making necessary arrangements for the Conference. The sitting will be held in strict "purdah"; but non-Muslim ladies will be invited to attend. A Managing Committee, consisting of Nawab Nasir Ul-Mumalek Sujaat Ali Beg Khan Bahadur as president, Mr. Mosud Rahman, Barrister at-Law, as Secretary and many representative and influential Mahomedan gentleman, has been formed for the purpose of helping the ladies in making necessary arrangements for the Conference.

**Open Air Schools.** *The Bengalee* writes:—"At the last meeting of the Behar and Orissa Legislative Council, a resolution was carried recommending the encouragement as far as possible of open-air conditions in primary and secondary schools. We are pleased to note that the Local Government at once saw its way to accept the resolution. In a country proverbially poor, where the people are afflicted with loss of vitality and physical decay in consequence of their chronic starvation, it is of the utmost importance that congestion of life, so favourable to the growth of diseases, should be avoided in all stages. It is bad policy to leave the rising hopefuls in our schools cribbed, cabined and confined within small and often dark dingy and ill-ventilated rooms for several hours at a stretch. This accounts in a great measure for the boys being turned into physical wrecks so early in life. The spectacle should cause even angels to weep to find boys in their teens suffering from anæmia, short sight, dyspepsia and tubercular complaints. We are therefore, glad that a neighbouring province has thought fit to encourage open-air conditions of living and teaching in schools."

**An Orthodox Hindu View of Jesus Christ.** The Vivekananda Publishing House, Teppakulam, Trichinopoly, have published a sketch entitled "Jesus Christ: His Mission on Earth" by Mr. S. Natesan. The author in a brief foreword observes: "This publication coming as it does from an orthodox Hindu is an attempt at solving the problem of the failure of Christianity to evangelise humanity in spite of its being backed up by the most powerful and the most wealthy nations of the world. As Sri

Swami Vivekananda says, the Hindu is a true Christian and a true Christian is certainly a Hindu. The present author has had ample opportunities of studying the life of the great prophet of Judæa from various standpoints and feels proud in being enabled to place before the world this Hindu view of the great Galilean teacher, which task he believes he has been in a sense commissioned to do by the great Nazarene himself. The author feels no tenuity in confessing that he is a Christian in the truer sense of the word, a much better, purer and holier Christian than many a so-called convert to whom, in his opinion, have appealed aspects of modern Christianity other than the simplicity, purity and holiness of the gospel of the Son of Man. May the true gospel of Jesus the Christ spread on the earth!" Mr. Natesan's presentation of the life and work of Jesus Christ from the orthodox Hindu point of view will appeal to many who are repelled by the western garb in which the Churches have clothed the figure of the illustrious Teacher. The pamphlet is priced at annas six.

**Hindu Charities in Bombay.** The Social Service League has done a valuable public service by printing and publishing in book form the list of Hindu Charities in Bombay compiled by Mr. Faredun K. Dadachanji. The number of charities on the list is 759. It is estimated that over 2 crores and 57 lakhs of rupees are thus set apart for charity by the Hindu community in Bombay: nearly one crore goes to temples, about 22 lakhs to Medical relief and about 61½ lakhs to education. The book is priced one rupee, and eight annas.

**Indian Finance Department.** The following candidates who obtained the first three places in order of merit in the competitive examinations held in December, 1918 have been selected for appointment as probationers to the general list of Indian Finance Department:—(1) Mr. Indar Singh, Prince of Wales College, Jammu, and Government College, Lahore; (2) Mr. Mohit Kumar Sen Gupta, Presidency College Calcutta; (3) Mr. T. K. Chinmayanandam, Presidency College, Madras.

**Lectures on the Important Movements of India.** A correspondent writes in *New India*: "The National Training College for Women in Mangalore has been doing good work. A series of lectures on popular subjects have been arranged on some of the important movements of India such as the Brahmo Samaj, the Arya Samaj and the Theosophical Society. The lectures, through primarily meant for the college students, are also open to the public. Last Sunday Rai Sahab K. Ranga Rao delivered a very a very interesting lecture on the Depressed Classes Missions in India."

**An Indian Professor in an English University.** Mr. K. C. Mukherji has been appointed lecturer in philosophy at Oxford University.

### HESITANCY.

Never falter: no great deed is done  
By falterers, who ask for certainty.  
No good is certain, but the steadfast mind,  
The undivided will to seek the good;  
'Tis that compels the elements, and wrings  
A human music from the indifferent air.  
The greatest gift a hero leaves his race  
Is to have been a hero. —G. Eliot.



# INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, FEBRUARY, 2 1919.

## FRANCHISE PROBLEMS.

The Franchise and Subject Committees appointed under the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme arrived in Bombay on Friday the 24th January and left for Delhi yesterday. They sat from day to day and examined a number of witnesses representing important interests. The proceedings of the Committees were not open to the Press. We have received, however, the statements submitted to the Committees by some of the witnesses. Notable among these are the statements put before the Franchise Committee by the Hon. Mr. Patel, the Hon. Mr. Paranjpye and Mr. N. M. Joshi of the Servants of India Society. All the three witnesses suggest that the Bombay Legislative Council should consist of 125 members of whom 100 should be elected. All of them again accept the Congress-Moslem League agreement assigning to the Mahomedan community one third of the total number of seats open to election by Indians. There is a slight difference of opinion between Mr. Paranjpye and Mr. Patel as to whether special electorates like the University, the landholders and the commercial community should or should not be included in the Indian electorates for the purpose of arriving at the true Mahomedan proportion. Mr. Paranjpye would exclude them while Mr. Patel would include them in the total of which the Mahomedans should get a third. The argument for excluding the special electorates is that as the Mahomedans are entitled under the compact to compete in them, they should not in justice be lumped together with the electorates in which they are not so entitled. As the resulting difference between the two interpretations is a matter of not more than one seat, it is hardly worth haggling about. Mr. Patel and Mr. Joshi would give communal electorates to Europeans but Mr. Paranjpye would not. The difference, however, is an unimportant one as Messrs Patel and Joshi designate the seats assigned to the Chambers of Commerce in Bombay and Karachi as communal and would debar Europeans from voting and standing as candidates in the general electorates. Mr. Paranjpye classes the two seats among the special interests and would allow Europeans to participate as voters and candidates in the general electorates. Mr. Patel, differing in this respect from Messrs. Joshi and Paranjpye, gives two extra seats to the European community.

The question of the representation of the depressed classes engages the attention of all the three gentlemen. Messrs. Paranjpye and Patel propose to give two seats to the depressed classes, while Mr. Joshi asks for three seats. All of them ask for some kind of electorate though none of them is able to make any definite suggestions in that regard. Mr. Patel suggests as an alternative the filling up of the seats by co-optation by the elected members of the Legislative Council. The noteworthy point in this connection is that all the three are against the nomination of the depressed classes representatives by Govern-

ment. The question of the representation of the backward classes is not of importance in Gujarat and Mr. Patel does not make any special provision for it. Messrs. Paranjpye and Joshi, on the other hand, adopt the method of reserving a minimum of seats for the backward classes in the general constituencies in the districts of the Deccan and the Central Division. Mr. Joshi's definition of the backward classes as consisting of those classes among whom the proportion of literacy is less than five per thousand is as good as any that can be thought of. As these classes advance in literacy beyond that limit they will automatically fall out of the backward classes and become merged in the general body of candidates. The question of urban as apart from rural representation has been given prominence by Mr. Patel who proposes to assign a number of seats to groups of towns. Messrs. Paranjpye and Joshi, on the other hand, make no such distinction. All three, however, provide for special representation to the five cities in the Presidency viz. Bombay, Ahmedabad, Karachi, Poona and Surat, which have a population of more than one hundred thousand persons. Coming to the general electorates, all the three witnesses lay stress on the necessity of taking population as the basis, qualified by considerations such as the relative importance of each district in respect of wealth and intelligence, in determining the number of seats to be assigned to each district. This is essential in view of the fact that, while there are some districts which have a population of more than one million, there are some others with populations of three hundred and even two hundred thousand persons. On the whole we think that Mr. Joshi's allotment of seats to the different districts is satisfactory.

The franchise investigated by the Government of Bombay finds acceptance with Messrs. Joshi and Patel. Under it persons paying an assessment of rupees sixteen or more, persons having an income of two hundred and fifty and over, and persons owning immovable property other than agricultural land of the value of two thousand five hundred rupees and over would be entitled to vote. Mr. Joshi insists upon retaining the income qualification, as its deletion will exclude many persons whose presence in the electorate will materially enhance its intelligence and sense of responsibility. Mr. Patel and Mr. Paranjpye would include the possession of an educational qualification among the qualifications for the franchise. We are inclined to favour this suggestion particularly in view of the fact that it will bring into the electorate a number of educated women who will not come under the other qualifications. We need hardly say that Messrs. Patel, Paranjpye and Joshi are strongly opposed to the imposition of any disability or women merely on account of their sex in the coming constitutional arrangements. Another important matter on which the three gentlemen are agreed is their opposition to any residential or territorial restriction on candidates. In the words of Lord Acton such a restriction is a reactionary device and means that if five states-



men happen to live in one town, the country is to be deprived of the services of four of them. In our anxiety to keep out the carpet-bagger, we may be depriving the constituencies of the opportunity of sending the best men to the Council. Mr. Disraeli and Mr. Lloyd George were stigmatised as carpet-baggers and worse, until they rose to power and position. The members of the Indian Civil Service may also be described as carpet-baggers in this country by those who are disposed to take a carping view of their position.

### NATIVE RACES AND THEIR RULERS.

This book, by Mr. C. L. Temple, C. M. G. late Lieutenant Governor of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria, consists of sketches and studies of official life in Nigeria. It is thus an inside view of the problem of the governance of an African people by the English. Though there is a world of difference between Nigeria and India, the Government of one race by another presents some essential uniformities everywhere, and Mr. Temple's views are, on that account, of more than academic interest to us. In his preface, Mr. Temple urges the special importance of a right view of the problem at the present time. "Not the least effect of the employment in this war of large numbers of natives, fighting shoulder to shoulder with white men, in the white men's countries, and against other white men," he shrewdly remarks, "will inevitably be a great stride in the development, or at all events alteration, of the conception which the native mind has formed of the white man. If we gain in material prestige we shall certainly not retain that psychical prestige which we formerly enjoyed. I mean that no native who has fought in Europe, Asia or Africa in a position of complete equality of opportunity against white men will retain that peculiar feeling of awe in the presence of a white man on which Europeans have been able to rely up to now. In short, the native, in the bulk, is going to think much more, and think much more rapidly, in the future than he has done in the past." If this is the case in Nigeria, it is much more so in India. Unfortunately some of our Anglo-Indian publicists do not seem to realise this. We may state at once that Mr. Temple's thesis is that Indirect Rule and not Direct Rule is most likely to yield the best results when a dominating European race rules over a "native" race. By Indirect Rule, he means, a system of administration which leaves in existence the administrative machinery which had been created by the natives themselves; which recognises the existence of Chiefs and native Councils, native courts of Justice, native Police controlled by a native executive, as real living forces, and *not* as curious and interesting pageantry; by which European influence is brought to bear on the native indirectly, through his chiefs, and not directly through European Officers—political, police &c., and by which the European keeps himself a good deal in the background, and leaves the mass of native individuals to understand that the orders which come

to them emanate from their own Chief rather than from the all-pervading white man. Direct Rule, on the other hand, is that form of administration which places the Government of the country entirely in the hands of European officials, minor posts only such as clerkships, being filled by natives, while the policing of the country is entrusted to European officers, with coloured subordinates in Government employ wearing Government uniforms. The third system is a mixture whereby the white man, realising that he has not the force necessary to deprive the native governing classes of all their power, at least whittles it down to a great extent; still retaining a certain measure of native forms, and etiquette, but in point of fact depriving the native to an ever-growing degree of any real control in the Government of the country.

We have no space to go into the details of Mr. Temple's arguments against Direct Rule, both in its open and insidious forms, and in favour of Indirect Rule. We have had experience of all three in India. The difficulty in the way of Indirect Rule whose sole object is "to assist the native to develop that civilisation which he can himself evolve," is that while an exceptional European here and there may be found with sufficient detachment and disinterestedness to understand and apply it, the average European is constitutionally incapable of keeping himself in the background when he can thrust himself into a place in the foreground. The history of the Indian Protected States well illustrates this. Further, assisting the native to evolve his own civilisation, is a fine phrase, but, we fancy, this object can be best carried out without any outside assistance, where it can be carried out at all. Indirect Rule, in India at any rate, has entailed the unspeakable evils of "double government" in which the European enjoys power, and the Ruling Chief is saddled with all the responsibility for its exercise. There has latterly been a change of policy, but we do not think it is of any consequence. Mr. Temple insists upon the importance of leaving the mass of the people to understand that the orders which come to them emanate from their own chief rather than from the all-pervading white man. This can be done only if it is true. And our point is that it is seldom true when there is a white man somewhere in the background, and what is more, it is impossible to make the natives believe it to be true. The Chief himself often seeks to escape responsibility and odium even for his own unpopular acts by ascribing it to the sinister figure behind him. We admit much that Mr. Temple says of the disadvantages of the white man trying to rule directly races with which he cannot mix, and which he cannot understand, but we maintain that, in the circumstances, Indirect Rule is likely to produce worse effects than Direct Rule. If we have a number of secular European Missionaries, without political authority, without commercial interests, and without a proselytising propaganda, they can perhaps beneficially guide native races to evolve their own civilisations towards higher and purer ends. But we have not got them, and we are not likely



to get them. So long as the European covets power over the native races, he must assume also the responsibility for its exercise. Direct Rule, therefore, is the only alternative. When Direct Rule becomes increasingly difficult, as in India, the European must devolve his power on individuals and institutions modelled on those to which he is accustomed. To expect the European to direct or invent indigenous institutions is to expect the impossible.

The only safe rule for individuals and nations dealing with other individuals and nations, is to follow what they honestly feel to be the best in themselves. When they begin to theorise as to what is best for the other fellows, and persuade themselves that what is good for themselves is not good for others, and that what is good for others is something which in their own case they had discarded as evil, it is pretty safe to suspect that they are honest neither with themselves nor with the other party. The dishonesty may not be, is often not, conscious. That is the worst of it. One may be conscious of none but the highest motives but lurking beneath, and inspiring, them may be another which is neither high nor pure. The concern for the well-being of the masses which the English official or merchant puts forward, often with perfect sincerity, as an argument against the application of responsible Government to India, may—who knows?—sometimes mark a concern merely for pay and pension and dividends. Mr. Temple is, on the whole, a very dispassionate dissector of sophisms, but one sophism he does not attempt to dissect, namely, that one race can influence another for its own good without renouncing for itself all thought of benefiting from its intended beneficiary. Sometimes he seems very nearly to stumble on this truth, but then he manages to swerve off not a little elaborately from it. We can understand and respect a European who seeks to Europeanise all with whom he comes in contact, in the belief, foolish and mistaken it may be but honest, that what is good for him must be good for all. We can understand and we honour the European who realising that as a *European* he cannot help the Indian to rise to the full height of his manhood, but passionately anxious to do so, becomes, as far as he can, an Indian himself in sympathy and aspiration. But we can neither understand nor respect the European who thinks a fur coat necessary for himself in the tropics, but would deny it to the natives. The fact is that Europe and Western civilisation—and Christianity since it has become identical with the other two—have lost their power of service to mankind owing to their hunger for political power and commercial exploitation. In a memorable sermon, Cardinal Newman traced the decadence of the influence of the Christian Church to its having “forfeited the privilege of suffering.” In the great War, just drawing to a close, the West has re-found this lost privilege of sacrifice and suffering for a great principle. Will it lay fast hold of it or will it lose it again? In the first article we wrote on the war, we said that it was a judgment on Europe for having become a parasite on Africa and Asia.

European civilisation, we said, had ceased to sustain itself and had to live upon the sweat of the brow of nations with which it refused to assimilate and which it refused to treat even as an equal. President Wilson is about the only man who seems to realise this. While the others are talking of the peace of Europe, he boldly proclaims that it is not only Europe and America, but the whole human race which is concerned in the right settlement of the problems issuing out of the War.

#### PALI IN THE BOMBAY UNIVERSITY.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

Pali was introduced into the Bombay University by Doctor Bhandarkar, the champion of Oriental culture; it was fostered by Prof. Koshambi, a profound scholar of Pali literature; thanks to them both for their sincere and untiring efforts in opening up the ancient treasure of Buddhist Philosophy to the student-world. The importance of the study of Pali was long ago recognised by Max-Müller whose disinterested services to the Oriental literature are too well-known to be enumerated here; other German and American Scholars followed in his wake and have made the west gleam with the ever-lasting lustre of the sublime Philosophical thoughts of Buddha.

But now all of a sudden a mortal blow is being aimed at Pali by Doctor Gune, who, it seems, is of the opinion that whatever is in Sanskrit is; the precious doctrines of Buddha, which enjoin upon mankind to seek for cessation from sorrow, leading it to drink deep at the perennial fountain of spirituality, are nothing to the worthy Doctor who scarcely hesitates to maintain that Pali should be murdered in schools to furnish indirectly the manner to the growth of Sanskrit.

The arguments brought forward by the Doctor in support of his proposal are simply childish. He holds that, as the knowledge of Sanskrit for the study of Pali is essential, the former should be studied in schools and the latter in colleges. How round this argument runs! Fortunately Doctor Gune did not propose that Latin and French should be studied in schools and English in Colleges, because the modern English tongue takes its root in the French and Latin soil. Thanks to the Doctor because he did not say that Sanskrit should be studied in Primary schools and Marathi in secondary ones, for the latter is a child of the former. I do not understand why a language should suffer for its relationship with another language as long as it can be safely studied as a separate tongue. Because Doctor Gune is an admirer of Sanskrit, Pali should suffer!

Besides, Doctor Gune will do well to study the manner in which the Buddhist monks of Ceylon study Pali, they do not know a syllable of Sanskrit, yet they are masters of Pali. But the Doctor in his too much devotion to Sanskrit tries to forget all these facts, and is bent upon ruining Pali, the language dedicated to the preaching of the gospel of universal love; it is a language, having a grammar of its own; Buddha, the religious reformer of India has preached in this tongue, and his disciples have continued to write in this language for centuries; the historical importance of Pali also cannot be overrated, as its study furnishes a torch to the lovely wanderer in the wilderness of Indian history, enabling him to catch a faint glimpse here and there of the manners, customs and habits of the people of ancient India.

Moreover, school is the place where a taste for a subject is created and college develops the taste. School-period introduces a student to a subject, and the college career makes him a master of it. It is absurd to think that a student will be



able to gain a thorough mastery over a subject, which he was never introduced to in his school career. Did Doctor Gune study Latin in his school and became a specialist in Sanskrit in his college-career? Will then the worthy Doctor consider all this and get his proposal withdrawn with a view to lay the student-world under his obligation?

S. V. KAMAT, B. A.

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not  
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

## CONTENTS.

—:o:—

India Office Reform.	The D. C. Mission Bombay.
The White Man's Burden Theory.	The Ramkrishna Mission, Benares.
Ignorance and Bigotry.	The Two Bills.
The Special Marriage Act.	The Hon. Mr. Patel's Hindu Marriages (Validity) Bill.
The Epidemics and Exami- nations.	

## NOTES.

—:o:—

**India Office Reform.** In accordance with the proposal made in the Report of the Secretary of State and the Viceroy on Indian Constitutional Reforms the following committee has been appointed to inquire into the organization of the India Office and the relations between the Secretary of State in Council and the Government of India:—the Marquis of Crewe, Chairman, His Highness the Aga Khan, the Viscount Esher, the Lord Inchcape, Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu, member of the Council of India, Sir James Brunyate, member of the Council of India, Lieut-Colonel Godfrey Collins, Mr. Harry Gosling, Professor A. B. Keith, Edinburgh University. Mr. Evelyn Murray, Secretary to the Post Office. The terms of reference to the committee are as follows:—(1) To advise what changes should be made in (a) the existing system of home administration of Indian affairs and (b) the existing relations between the Secretary of State or the Secretary of State in Council and the Government of India, both generally and with reference to the relaxation of the Secretary of State's powers of superintendence, direction and control. (2) To examine in particular (a) the constitutional powers of the Council of India, its relations to the Secretary of State as affecting his responsibility to Parliament and otherwise, and the financial and administrative control exercised by the Council; (b) the composition of the Council, the qualifications, method of appointment and term of office of its members and number of Indian members; (c) the working of the Council in relation to office procedure; (d) the general departmental procedure of the India Office; (e) the organization of the India Office establishment and the question of modifying the system of its recruitment so as to provide for (i) the interchange of appointments with the Indian services and (ii) the throwing open of a proportion of the appointments to Indians. and (3) to advise whether any of the charges on account of the India Office and if so, what charges should be placed along with the Secretary of State's salary upon the estimates. The Marquis of Crewe, we think, is an excellent Chairman of the Committee, and the Indian element in it in the persons of His Highness the Aga Khan and Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu, is well-chosen. We are pleased to see Professor Keith included in the Committee. The Professor is

a profound Sanskrit scholar, being joint author with Professor Macdonnell of the monumental work "The Vedic Index." He has besides published other works on Sanskrit literature. He is, also, a great authority on constitutional law, his most recent work being on the constitutional development of the British dominions and colonies. He is a determined opponent of the Round Table School. The other names are of no particular interest.

**The White Man's Burden Theory.** We have received a copy of the Bulletin of the Union Theological Seminary in New York, containing the proceedings on the occasion of the inauguration of Professors Fleming, Ward and Lyman. The inauguration ceremony is a solemn one, and includes addresses by the new Professors. Professor Lyman's address is entitled "The Religion of Democracy," and is a most suggestive pronouncement regarding the need of bringing about an adjustment of political and religious thought. Professor Lyman, in the course of his address, referred to the idea of "benevolent imperialism" popularized by Kipling's "White Man's Burden," which has been given theoretical expression, by such writers as Benjamin Kidd. In his essay on the control of the tropics, Mr. Kidd, after criticizing the Dutch and the French colonial policies, argues that the tropics should be permanently administered by the Anglo-Saxon race as a trust for civilization. Professor Lyman's comment on this claim is as follows: "Now this benevolent imperialism is radically different from Junkerism. It definitely repudiates the imperialism of exploitation, and it sanctions only ethical aims and methods. And, though in actual practice it seldom appears in its pure form, it has done the world great service. But after all its ethic is aristocratic rather than democratic. It does not aim at world democracy. And the time has come when doctrines that fall short of aiming at world democracy are dangerous to existing democracy. In particular this benevolent imperialism, because its ethic is aristocratic, develops a serious state of tension between itself and the idea of self-determination of peoples."

**Ignorance and Bigotry.** Ignorance is always the handmaid of bigotry. Many of those who oppose the Inter-Caste Marriage Bill do not seem to know that marriages such as those contemplated by the Bill are already allowed by custom in some parts of the country. Mr. B. L. Mitter, the eminent lawyer of Calcutta, has collected some instances from reported cases, and has communicated them to the *Bengali*. In Tipperah, a Raja can validly marry a "Kachua" or slave girl of any caste and the issues are legitimate. Several Tipperah Rajas were issues of "Kachua" marriages. In the same territory. "Gandharva" or love marriages are allowed in all sections of the Hindu community although that form of marriage is prohibited in modern Hindu Law.



They are valid by custom or usage. In the Tributary Mahals in Orissa the form of marriage known as "phoolbibahi" is customary. Under this form a Raja can marry the daughter of a respectable person of any caste, and the male issue of such a marriage is an heir. In Assam marriages between sub-divisions of the same primary caste are common and have repeatedly been held to be valid by custom. In the Districts of Dacca and Tipperah, marriages between Vaidyas and Kayasthas are recognized by local custom as valid. Among the Kumbha Zemindars in the Madras Presidency inter-caste marriages known as "dagger" marriages are valid. In such a marriage the bridegroom is not present in person but is represented by a dagger. The well-known form of marriage among the Sikhs, who have been held to be a sect of Hindus, is "Anand" marriage. It is an inter-caste marriage. In the Punjab, custom has gone so far as to recognize "chuddar andazi" marriages between Sikh Rajas and Sirdars and Mahomedan women. Rajputs often are allowed to have Moslem wives. Under Malabar customs, the younger sons of a Nambudri Brahmin are allowed to have Sudra wives.

**The Special Marriage Act.** Writing on the fanatical opposition of some educated men to Mr. Patel's Hindu Inter-Caste Marriage Bill, the *Indian Mirror* observes: "If the Special Marriage Act had passed in the way as originally proposed by the Rai Bahadur Norendranath Sen and Brahmananda Keshub Chunder Sen in a public meeting held at the Town Hall of Calcutta without the clause which was added during the passage of the Bill—namely the declaration that marrying parties did not profess Hindu faith or Muslim faith or Christian faith &c.—the present demand for a distinct permissive Act, like Mr. Patel's Bill, would have never arisen. The *Indian Mirror* gave support to Mr. Bhupendranath Basu's Bill for Amendment of Special Marriage Act by repeal of the declaratory clause we have just quoted, and we still prefer Mr. Basu's Amendment Bill to Mr. Patel's Intercaste Marriage Bill, because the marrying parties would be debarred from committing bigamy and from contracting run-away marriages before they had attained the age of 21 years." We are glad to be able to say that Mr. Patel is prepared to introduce provisions excluding persons who have wives living and minors, from the benefits of his Bill, when it goes to a Select Committee.

**The Epidemics and Examinations.** So far as we can make out, there appears to be considerable disappointment and dissatisfaction among the students of Bombay Colleges because the Syndicate of the University has declined to allow their applications for the postponement of the University Examinations from March to some farther date on account of the present cholera epidemic and the last epidemic of influenza. All that the Syndicate has agreed to in consideration of that ground is to empower the Principals of the Colleges to allow such students as wish to absent themselves from the Colleges during the epidemic and give them the concession of the term during that absence. The Syndicate has also, we understand resolved on the same ground to require the Examiners at the forthcoming Examinations to set alternative sets of questions in all the papers to meet the difficulty which the students have experienced in preparing themselves fully and properly for the Examinations on account of the epidemics. But these two decisions of the Syndicate are not regarded by the students—so we are given to understand—as either fair or adequate. Their complaint is that

since the Colleges are kept open and the lectures are to continue, the students who avail themselves of the concession granted by the Syndicate will be placed at a disadvantage by losing the benefit of those lectures. We think that there is considerable force in that complaint. If the two epidemics afford good grounds for giving some relief to the students, the only reasonable relief should and can be by way of postponing the examinations. To allow the students at the Principal's discretion to absent themselves from the Colleges and get all the same the benefit of the term is, as they rightly complain, conceding the term in mere name, because, so long as the Colleges and the lectures continue, the concession must be nominal and makes them losers.

Again, it is an unsound principle to introduce into University examinations to ask the Examiners to lower the standard by giving the candidates the choice of alternative sets of questions because of the difficulties thrown in the way of those candidates by the epidemics in getting up their subjects properly. If the examinations are and have to be, they must be of the proper standard or else they become mere makeshifts. It will not do to lower and relax the standard of examinations because of epidemics. That is short-sighted policy and smells of the trader rather than the scholar. The ground on which the Syndicate has proceeded in declining to postpone the examinations would seem to be that it is only Bombay that has been suffering from the Cholera epidemic and that any decision postponing the examinations would work to the prejudice of the Colleges in the mofussil. But that prejudice cannot be so material or so demoralising as the prejudice to learning, study, and the standard of examinations caused by the decision to lower the standard by means of a liberal set of alternative questions in the papers. We hear that some Syndics have been moving in the matter to induce the Syndicate to postpone the Examinations. The Chief Justice and Judges of the High Court of Bombay have postponed the Pleaders' Examination on account of the Cholera epidemic. That shows that the Syndicate ought to have done the same instead of applying a halting and unacademic remedy to the complaint—unacademic because it interferes with the principle of all examinations that as proper tests of a candidate's fitness to pass their standard should always be uniform, and never in any year on any ground relaxed. The High Court might have declined to postpone the examinations, seeing that the candidates for the Pleaders' Examination mostly come from the Mofussil, where there has been so far no epidemic of cholera as in Bombay. But it has not done that and there, we think, it has been wise and its decision is consistent with the principle of the examination system.

**The D. C. Mission Bombay.** We have been asked to announce that the late Mr. G. C. Whitworth, who took a deep interest in the welfare and education of the Depressed Classes, has left by his will a sum of two thousand rupees in aid of the funds of the Bombay Branch of the D. C. Mission.

**The Ramkrishna Mission, Benares.** The Committee of the Ramkrishna Mission Home of Service, Benares, has much pleasure in acknowledging an endowment of Rs. 1500 for the maintenance of poor and sick in Benares in memory of Trivedi Jethabhai Ambaidas and his Haribai through their son Trivedi Mulshankar of Dholka in Ahmedabad Dist.



## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, FEBRUARY, 9 1919.

## THE TWO BILLS.

Two weeks ago we wrote strongly deprecating the introduction of the two Bills to give effect to the recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee. Since then protests have been pouring on Government from all sides against the contemplated legislation. The most striking feature of the situation is that the Moderates are quite as emphatic in their opposition as the Radicals. Sir Hormusji Wadia, a Moderate of Moderates, writes to the Chairman of a mass meeting at Shantaram's Chawl convened by the Home Rule League, regretting that he is unable to be present. Sir Dinshah Wacha telegraphs to the Viceroy imploring His Excellency in appealing terms to drop the Bills for the present. The Hon. Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee holds that persistence with the Bills means the extinction of the Moderate party in Indian politics. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar has written three weighty articles in the *Times of India* pointing out the danger of pushing forward the two Bills without waiting to see what effect the introduction of constitutional reforms has upon the political situation. The Defence of India Act extends to the duration of the War and six months thereafter. The reports of the progress of the Peace Conference do not promise an early end to the labours of that body. The world will have good reason to congratulate itself if the war is formally and officially declared to be at an end by July next. Six months thereafter will bring us to the beginning of 1920. If the Government of India's nervousness is not dispelled by that time, the Governor General can promulgate an ordinance which will have the force of law for six months. We have every reason to expect that the reforms will be in train before July of next year. If they are not, the enactment of these Bills will avail little in the face of the general disappointment and discontent which will be caused hereby. If they are we have very good grounds for the belief that these Bills will not be needed to put down revolutionary crime which, deprived of its sustenance in political disaffection, will have died a natural death. We cannot think that, in the face of the weighty and unanimous protest from Indians of all shades of opinion, it is wise on the part of Government to persist in forcing these Bills through the Indian Legislative Council with the support of their solid official majority.

Sir Narayan Chandavarkar points out in his articles in the *Times of India* that repressive legislation in the past has always led to political unrest. The unrest created by Lord Lytton's repressive measures were allayed only when Lord Ripon came upon the scene with his righteous ideals of British rule in India. The institution of the National Congress at the end of the latter's Viceroyalty gave a healthy direction to Indian political energies. Lord Curzon's belittling of the Queen's Proclamation, followed by

the Partition of Bengal, gave a set-back to constitutional political movements, and this gave the extreme spirits their opportunity. Lord Chelmsford is neither a Lytton nor a Curzon. His Excellency has never said a word which can be interpreted as detracting from the solemn pledges given to India by British Sovereigns and the British Parliament. What the country fears is not that Lord Chelmsford will, of his own initiative, persist with this most flagrant measure of repression but that His Excellency may not prove strong enough to resist the influence of the bureaucracy which is in no very pleasant mood just at present and which will be glad to have this weapon in its hands in view of the advance in the direction of responsible Government to which His Majesty's Government are committed. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar quotes Blackstone to show that internment being a less public and a less striking method than taking away a man's life or confiscating his property without accusation or trial, is on that account a more dangerous engine of arbitrary government. If this is so in England where the executive Government is composed of men of the same race and nationality as the people, it is a hundredfold more so in India where the persons who set in motion the machinery of repression are separated from the people by a wide and deep gulf of social and national difference, not to say, prejudice. The woes of the bereaved Indian parent or wife do not come home to the average Englishman in India in the same manner or to the same extent as those of the English parent or other relative would in his own country. Moreover, the English official is apt to view political offences in India not only as offences against the State but as offences against his race and nationality, and himself as its representative amidst the brown-skinned millions of India. Vindictiveness is not a trait of the English character in its normal surroundings, but in India Englishmen are not in their normal surroundings. One has only to read the references in Lord Morley's *Recollections* to some "severe sentences" on political offenders in India, to be convinced that this is no exaggeration. If the English people could not trust their own Government in their own country with exceptional powers of this kind, it is monstrous to ask the Indian public to do so.

"The Rhine has flowed into the Thames" wrote Mr. L. T. Hobhouse in his brilliant book entitled "Democracy and Reaction" first published in 1905. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar shows how since 1875, shortly after the founding of the German Empire, Prussian principles of Government have been insidiously influencing Indian administrative policy. This became avowed when the Government of India in search of a model for a Press Act found that an Austrian enactment would answer their purpose best. We regard these two Bills as the high water-mark of the imperialistic wave which began in the seventies. The tide of reform also is meanwhile rising. The reactionaries in India are alarmed. The revolutionaries dread reform as much as the reactionaries. The two extreme parties are working to destroy reform.



The introduction of the two Bills at this juncture shows that Government are in danger of yielding to the pressure of reaction. We are convinced that, so far from putting down revolutionary crime, these Bills, if passed into law, will give a fresh and powerful impetus to it. We oppose the Bills because we feel that they are bound to defeat their own object. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, Mr. Surenda Nath Banerjee and Mr. Srinivasa Sastry have during the last few months been subject to unscrupulous and bitter vilification in a section of the Radical Indian press for their counsels of moderation. (In passing, let us say that Mr. Horniman's statement in a speech at Allahabad that Sir Narayan Chandavarkar has justified torture to extort confessions in the report on the enquiry into the cases of the Bengal detenus, is a diabolical invention.) The protests of these men leave the Government of India unmoved. The introduction of the Bills in the Indian Legislative Council was solidly opposed by all the Indian non-official members, including nominated members like Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis, Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy and Rai Sitanath Roy. Sir George Lowndes speaking on behalf of Government admitted that they had practically the whole opinion of the non-official members against the Bills. But, he maintained, it would be impossible for Government to surrender their judgment even to the unanimous opinion of the non-official members. It is not a question of surrendering Government's judgment but of disregarding responsible Indian opinion. The Bills have been referred to a Select Committee by the official majority which has got to do the bidding of the Executive Government. A measure passed in this manner may for purposes of administration be as valid as any other measure, but it will have little moral force behind it. We have been told that the fitness of the country for responsible Government should be proved by its acceptance of these measures. We should like the fitness of the United Kingdom to be put to such a test before it is applied to India. The Bills may become law and thousands of young men may be brought under their punitive and preventive provisions. That is the concern of the India people. But it cannot but be a matter of grave concern to the British people that their representatives in India should adopt policies, and support them by arguments, utterly repugnant to what we have all learnt to regard as British political principles. If the British public supports them in their repressive policy in India, it may rest assured that its own turn will come some day. Nemesis may be slow-footed but it is always sure. We perish by things permitted, in the political as in the spiritual sphere. It may be, however, that we are destined to see good come out of evil. It may be that, when the reports of these proceedings reach England, the conscience of the British public will be quickened to the need of introducing drastic changes in the constitution of the Government of India so as to make it more considerate to the elementary liberties of the Indian people. If constitutional reforms cannot be had but at such a price, we do not want them. What will it profit India to have the beginnings of responsible Government if the liberties of the Indian people are carefully consigned beforehand to the keeping of the irresponsible part of the Executive?

## THE HON. MR. PATEL'S HINDU MARRIAGES (VALIDITY) BILL.

No thoughtful person can view the storm that has been raised by this Bill all over the country, without serious misgivings about the future of India. On the one hand, narrow minded selfish people, in order to create a strong public opinion in their favour, have been using phrases which may be excusable in political agitation. On the other hand, there are persons whose honesty it is difficult to question, but who are either thoroughly ignorant about Hindu social philosophy and do not know what they are talking about or have misread and misunderstood it. Before discussing the genesis of Hindu caste, I may point out the scope of the bill.

In the first place, Mr. Patel's Bill is a permissive one. It does not make it penal not to contract an inter-caste Marriage. If there are people who think that the caste system is a blessing and particularly pleasing to their "Dharma," they are perfectly at liberty to follow the dictates of their conscience. The Bill does not compel them to give up their views, nor does it propose to abolish the caste system with a stroke of the pen. The present Hindu Law of Marriage, as interpreted by the British Indian Courts is an obligatory one. It compels every Hindu to marry within the fold of his caste. If he breaks this rule of law, his wife will be considered as a mistress and his children by such marriage as bastards by the Law Courts. Now, it clearly shows that the law as it stands at present is a restrictive one. Mr. Patel simply wants to take off this restrictive nature of the law and make it permissive. It is easy to find people who would say that those who want to fly away from this restrictive clause, can very well take advantage of the Civil Marriage Act. But very few seem to understand the scope of this Act. It is primarily meant for those whose religious beliefs are not confined to the existing religions—mostly theophratries—of the world. The marriage contracted under this Act is purely a civil marriage—a creature of the civil law of the land, and hence it has nothing to do with the religious views far less with the race or nationality of the parties. Even though Mr. Patel's Bill is passed into law, this Act would still be necessary. There are Hindus who take advantage of this Act but they do so by committing a fraud upon the law as they never really renounce Hinduism and are, for all practical purposes, treated as such. Their one motive is to escape the restrictive character of the Hindu Marriage Law and not either to renounce all existing religious beliefs or to leave the Hindu Society. So also it is possible that parties belonging to one and the same caste may think it advisable to marry under this Act in order to escape the Hindu Law of succession. Hence it is plain that the Civil Marriage Act not only allows liberty of conscience but even the liberty to suppress conscience. Mr. Patel's Bill proposes to do away with this anomaly and to abolish the necessity of committing this fraud upon the law.



The origin of the Hindu caste cannot be sought in the four "warnas." It is to be sought in the various tribes and communities which inhabited India thousand of years ago, and which Hindunism tried to weld together. In fact, the process of assimilating the various tribes of India into a larger community namely Hindus is itself properly called Hindunism. Though the theory of four 'warnas' had to do a little with forming social groups, yet the history of caste is not a history of the multiplication of castes out of the original four "warnas." The theory of four "warnas" originally implied that every society or tribe *could* and apparently in the opinion of the adherents to this theory, *should* be divided into four classes according to their function in society. This theory like any other academical idea had an influence on the formation of social groups in India, but the influence was never strong and is largely exaggerated. The word "warna" was metaphorically used and had not so much reference to color as to function (karma). The Brahmanas held fast to this theory of four warnas, and by the very nature of their function became inclined to form themselves into a caste (jati) and later on through self-interest guarded their group with jealous care. They succeeded in establishing themselves as a caste and not only stopped engratation but also forced other social groups to become castes like water-tight compartments. This was done as much through self-interest as through misunderstanding the theory. From this it is clear that the four "warnas" were never four castes and that they had but little to do with the formation of different castes. The very fact that there are three thousand castes in India should convince any reasonable man that the belief that they all sprung up from the original four "warnas" is thoroughly wrong. Even now, to say that the Hindus are divided into four "warnas" is to say something that is thoroughly meaningless and misleading. Again to say that the higher castes are the descendents of the Rigvedic or other Aryans is to betray complete ignorance of the history of castes and of ethnography. It is nonsense to say that the Madras Brahmins have descended from the Aryan stock. There were many non-Aryan tribes in India prior to the immigration of the Aryans, and these tribes have not been only assimilated into Hinduism, but have also been engrafted into the so called higher castes of India so also many other non-Aryan tribes migrated into India and became mixed up with the pre-existing tribes.

Though it was a favourite doctrine of Hindu Social philosophy that a Society should be divided into four warnas (classes) yet this doctrine was never countenanced by Hindu theology, the doctrine of warnas, if properly understood, is perfectly harmless; but to suppose that this doctrine upholds the caste system is thoroughly to misunderstand it. In fact, it is the very antithesis of the caste system. The caste system creates birth rights while the "warna" system attempts to divide a society according to the functions and merits of the individuals. The one is a degenerating process while the other is a healthy life-giving process. The one aims at perpetuating

group privileges while the other rewards individuals for their worth and merit. In modern times even this doctrine of four warnas should have no place except as an academical idea. The Hindu "dharma" philosophy has absolutely nothing to do with the caste system. In fact, they are antagonistic to each other. "Dharma" philosophy teaches everybody to do the duties of his position. A title reflection show that it only embodies and ennobles a truism. Hence it is clear that the cry, that the caste system is a necessary feature of Hindu 'dharma' philosophy has neither reason nor rhyme in it. To those who properly understand the 'warna' theory, the reason why the Hindu Social philosophy condemns an "aswarna" marriage should be clear. It is natural that the social philosophers should have looked upon a marriage of a Brahmin that is to say a cultured and refined girl with a "Sudra" that is to say an illiterate and vulgar man of low habits, with peculiar horror. It is impossible to imagine a greater social tragedy, from both personal and national points of view, than such an unequal union: In India such a rule was of a peculiar importance in view of the low position of women in society. Among the Hindus, a girl is always "given" in marriage, and it was necessary to retain a low-minded selfish father from bringing about such a tragedy. A real "aswarna" marriage is not, as many seem to suppose, one contracted between parties belonging to different castes but those of different culture. It is possible to contract an "aswarna" marriage within the fold of the same caste as when a girl of a refined temperament is given in marriage to a boorish man. Such a marriage the Hindu Social philosophers condemned and rightly condemned in the most uncompromising manner, this was not only necessary but imperative in view of the fact that a Hindu marriage is a sacrament and hence indissoluble till the death of the husband. How little those who cry the loudest in extolling the ancient Hindu Rishis understand the spirit of their teaching! Perhaps this is largely due to the fact that the Indian Universities have neglected the study of sociology both ancient and modern.

I have but to say one word to the Government. Mr Patel's Bill does not in any way interfere with the Hindu "dharma" philosophy but on the contrary endorses it. The cry that the bill is against the spirit of Hindu dharma is not only interested but false. As the bill has nothing to do with Hindu dharma, it is not at all necessary to take a plebiscite of the Hindus. It essentially proposes to abolish a legal anomaly and to abrogate a series of wrong judicial decisions, and as such is properly within the power of a legislative assembly. The common people have as little to do with it as they have to do with the passing of the annual budget. Mr. Patel's Bill is a test not so much of the ability of the Hindus for progress as of that of the Government of India to do its work properly. Let us hope that this time at least, the Government will not be misled by false cries and interested agitation.

L. G. PRADHAN.



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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

## CONTENTS.

—:o:—

Outrowlating the Rowlatt Committee.	Religious Intolerance in unexpected Places.
Supplementing or Supplanting.	Responsible Government and European Interests in India.
Sir Narayan Chandavarkar on the Rowlatt Bills.	The Rowlatt Bills.
Proposed Definition of a Christian.	Sir Rabindranath Tagore in Bangalore.

## NOTES.

—:o:—

**Out-rowlating the Rowlatt Committee.** Some of the provisions of these Bills seem to go beyond the Rowlatt Committee's recommendations. Take, for instance, the Committee's recommendation that a permanent enactment was required on the lines of the rule under the Defence of India Act providing for the punishment of persons having prohibited documents (which, they say, may have to be defined anew) in their possession with intent to publish or circulate them. This recommendation is sought to be given effect to by a section in the first of the two Bills which runs as follows: "Whoever has in his possession any *sedition* document intending that the same shall be published or circulated shall unless he proves that he had such document in his possession for a lawful purpose, be punishable with imprisonment which may extend to two years or with fine, or with both." The Committee thought "prohibited documents" should be defined, and the Government respond by substituting the adjective "seditious" for "prohibited." By taking trouble, one may find out whether a particular document is or is not among the documents "prohibited" by Government, but how is he to judge whether it is seditious or not, when even judges have differed about the definition of sedition? Then, we see no basis in the Rowlatt Committee's recommendation for throwing on the possessor the burden of proving that he has the document for a lawful purpose instead of the prosecution having to prove that he was actuated by a criminal intention. It should be borne in mind that this first Bill, unlike the second Bill, is intended to become part of the ordinary law applicable at all times and not only in proclaimed areas, as the second Bill is. A careful examination of the two Bills may reveal other unwarranted extensions of the Rowlatt Committee's recommendations.

**Supplementing or Supplanting.** The second Bill is intended to make provision to "supplement" ("supplant" will be the more straightforward term) the ordinary criminal law in localities which, in the opinion of the Governor-General-

in-Council, are infected by certain offences scheduled in the Bill. On a declaration being issued by the Government of India, the ordinary law will be suspended in that locality and the special provisions of the Bill will become applicable to the trial of such cases. These special provisions involve the elimination of some of the most important safeguards for the protection of innocent persons. We are not so foolish as to maintain that the ordinary law is sufficient to meet all emergencies, or that there may not arise situations with which the ordinary law is powerless to cope. But such occasions may rise in any country, and we do not see why in India alone there should be a law permanently on the statute-book for that purpose. The existence of such a law is a violation of constitutional principle which requires that whenever the Executive Government deem it necessary to go beyond the ordinary law, they should make out a case for it before the people's representatives in the Legislature. A Viceregal ordinance which runs for six months is sufficient to enable the executive to deal with sudden situations which cannot await a session of the Legislative Council. The Legislature may very well object to being called upon permanently to delegate its power to the Executive under the guise of an Emergency Law such as just now proposed.

**Sir Narayan Chandavarkar on the Rowlatt Bills.** We print to-day an important article by Sir Narayan Chandavarkar dealing with the position of the non-official members in regard to the two Bills now before the Indian Legislative Council. Since we last wrote on the subject, it has been announced on behalf of Government that the Bill conferring emergency powers will have force for only three years and that in the Bill proposing some permanent changes in the law relating to sedition a provision will be inserted making it clear that only anarchic crimes are contemplated. We do not think much of the second proposal: every judge will interpret the word "anarchic" in his own way, and the public will be exposed to that most dangerous and demoralising of contingencies, the operation of an uncertain penal law. As regards the first, Sir Narayan, while recognising the consideration shown by Government, gives cogent reasons for holding that the proposal to limit the period does not relieve non-official Indian members of the duty to decline to share the responsibility for the measures with Government. Indian opinion is unanimous that constitutional reforms must have a fair trial (which they will not, if these Bills are passed) before further repressive measures are thought of. That was the view urged by Indian non-official members in the debate on the motion to refer the Bills to Select Committees. Government, on the contrary, hold that repressive legislation must precede and pave the way for reform. Such being the division of opinion on the question, it is not fair for Government to ask the



Indian non-official members, or for the latter, to support the Bills. The restriction of the duration does not affect the position. This does not mean that non-official Indian members are oblivious to the evil of revolutionary crime. The Moderates among them have never denied, and the Radicals now admit, the fact of its existence. What their opposition to the Bills means is that, as Government have already sufficient power to deal with any crudescence of it, under the Ordinance Regulation, which though old is not obsolete and it is not proposed to repeal, the present Bills are unnecessary and may be harmful at present. As Government hold that repression must precede reform, they must take upon themselves the entire responsibility of giving effect to that opinion. And they have ample means of doing it. The non-officials, holding the opposite view, would be sacrificing, and that unnecessarily, their convictions if they become parties at this juncture to measures of repression. Nobody wants to protect revolutionary crime, but there is a deep line of difference as to the best means of preventing it between Government and the country. As regards Sir William Vincent's appeal to the Moderates, we hope he will remember that it is neither to the interest of the country nor to the advantage of Government that the Moderate party in Indian politics should commit suicide, which is what the invitation amounts to.

**Proposed Definition of a Christian:** A committee of the National Council of (Christian) Missions have made suggestions for a new Indian Christian Marriage Act, and these are published in the February number of the *Harvest Field*. One of them is that in view of recent judgments of Indian courts, of law, it is necessary to define a Christian and the following definition is proposed: "A person shall be held to be a Christian who has professed the Christian religion, and has not been admitted to membership of another religion, and the fact of his submitting to the ceremony of marriage by non-Christian rites shall not be held in itself to prove that he has ceased to be a Christian." This definition raises an important question. In the case of Hinduism which is not a proselytising religion, what would be satisfactory proof of a Christian being admitted to it? The Hindu Missionary Society in Bombay has been admitting Mahomedans and Christians to Hinduism but it does not claim any authority to do so from any recognised seat of Hindu ecclesiastical authority. Orthodox Hindus do not recognize Mr. Vaidya's Society's Hindus as of them. What will the law do in such a case? Why should the law insist on regarding as a Christian a person who, by marrying by a non-Christian rite, has given the best proof of his not being a Christian? What right has the law to say "I shall treat you as a Christian, unless you become a Mahomedan" as Mahomedanism is the only religion (if we except the Brahmo and Arya Samajes) which officially admits converts in this country? The law relating to bigamy is absurdly anomalous in India. The vast majority of men in India can marry any number of wives without committing an offence under the Penal Code. But if a person who purported to be a Christian at some time in his life and has not taken the trouble or undergone the sensation of being publicly admitted to another, marries a second wife he is liable to be sentenced to some years' imprisonment. The judge himself may be a Hindu or Mahomedan with two or more wives living. Bigamy is a good ground for divorce, or a second marriage in the life time of the first wife may be declared void, but to make it an offence in India is absurd.

**Religious Intolerance in Unexpected Places.** Violent religious polemic bordering on coarseness used

to disfigure public discussion in the Punjab. We do not hear complaints of it now-a-days from that province but Calcutta seems to be bidding for a similar notoriety. The suggestive part of it is that the provocation is from Englishmen who ought to know that to indulge in invective regarding matters pertaining to religion, apart from the dangerous folly of it in India where religion is still a living force, is a sure sign of spiritual decadence. The *Indian Daily News*, an Anglo-Indian daily journal, attained an unenviable reputation some months ago on account of language reflecting on the Prophet of Islam. Perhaps the worst case is that of the Principal of St. Cathedral College, conducted by the Missionary Society in Calcutta who threw into the image of Saraswati, the Hindu Minerva, which certain Hindu students of the College had installed in a part of the College Hostel. The Rev. gentleman has made a statement explaining the circumstances in which he demeaned himself so grievously. That letter, in our opinion, does not do justice to the Rev. gentleman's good sense.

Is there any rule of the College authorities that an image of a Hindu deity should not be taken into the Hindu part of the College Hostel? If there is, and if it was known to the students who introduced the image of Saraswati, it was clearly an act of disobedience, and the authorities of the College were entitled to punish such conduct. We have to assume that there is such a rule and that the students knew of it, otherwise there is no point in Mr. Johnston's reference to hiding the image in secrecy. But what was the proper punishment? Certainly, to send out the offending students together with their image. Mr. Johnstone's claim to the right to "confiscate" the image far exceeds any which the Governor-General-in-Council possesses. His reason for placing the image in the dustbin can only be characterised as childish. The Hindu community is most unlikely to attach undue importance to Mr. Johnston's behaviour or to his expression of regret. But what are we to think of a teacher of youth in an institution professing to promote religion in the land, who chooses this method of penalising his non-Christian students for their adherence to their ancestral mode of religion? His conduct looks very much like wreaking vengeance on his Hindu students for not being persuaded by his example to become Christians.

Saraswati is one of the most gracious figures of the Hindu Pantheon. We do not know what kind of image the students had at Mr. Johnston's College, but if it was anything like the statuette of Mr. Mhatre, Mr. Johnston's action in throwing it in the dustbin shows a spirit of gross philistinism. There is a bronze bust of Sir George Birdwood in the Bombay University Library looking admiringly on an image of Saraswati which he holds in his hands. We would commend to Mr. Johnston the words of the deed which Raja Ram Mohan Roy drew up for the Brahmo Samaj: "That in conducting the said worship and adoration, no object, animate or inanimate, that has been or is or shall hereafter become or be recognized as an object of worship by any man or set of men shall be reviled, or slightly contemptuously spoken of or alluded to either in preaching, praying or in the hymns or other mode of worship that may be delivered or used in the said message or building." We venture to think that the Raja's way of promoting spiritual fellowship is worthy the consideration of the Rev. Mr. A. B. Johnston.



## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, FEBRUARY, 16 1919.

RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT  
AND EUROPEAN INTERESTS IN INDIA.

In opening the Delhi session of the Indian Legislative Council on the 6th instant, His Excellency the Viceroy took occasion to make some observations with the object of allaying the doubts and fears expressed by the services and the English commercial community as to the consequences to their interests of constitutional reform on the lines of the Montagu-Chelmsford proposals. Fault has been found with the Viceroy for not rebuking the action of the two Indian Civil Service Associations which have drawn up remonstrances against the scheme of reform. We have been asked how any similar action on the part of the Provincial Services will be treated. We cannot answer the question. But, while we think that, as a rule, the Services should be held strictly to the rule that no organised action on their part against proposals emanating from their superiors will be tolerated, we must recognise that there may arise exceptional conditions in which it may be wise to overlook, as His Excellency did, an infringement of the doctrine, or rather not to interpret it too rigidly. What concerns us is not that the Viceroy followed the wise adage of the soft answer turning away wrath, but that His Excellency's assurances to the Services, if they are literally intended, are calculated to make the position of the Indian Minister, difficult enough under the scheme, not only impotent, but an object of commiseration in the eyes of the world. After enunciating the unexceptionable doctrine that if we set up responsible government, ministers must administer and the permanent services must execute, His Excellency went on to recount the safeguards which Government had in view to protect the Services from the inexperience and, possibly, hostility, of ministers. In the first place, as regards their pay and pensions, Lord Chelmsford proposed that the pay, pensions, and leave conditions of the Services—generally of the Services recruited from England—shall be guaranteed at least by statutory orders of the Secretary of State which no authority in India will have power to disregard or vary. We do not object to this condition which, indeed, is a reasonable one. We are sure that neither the Secretary of State nor the Viceroy can miss the implication underlying such a condition that the Services which come under this safeguard must be strictly limited both as to scope of their work and as to the number of their members. What is a safeguard in one aspect is always a restriction in another aspect. If you put a fence round your field, it safeguards it from trespass by your neighbours, but at the same time it defines the limits of your field and makes it a trespass for you to step into that which lies beyond it.

We do not object to securing the pay and pension of the Services by statutory orders or even by statute. After all, whatever the English members of the

Services may think, no Indian Minister will dream of inaugurating his regime by clipping down the salaries of English officials. As His Excellency remarked. "It has often been the case that men going in fresh to office full of prejudice against the public Services have found them their best ally and protector against the critics which every administrator encounters, and have ended by gaining the full confidence of the Service and giving the Service theirs." This is almost invariably the case with Indians. Some of the most unflinching Indian critics of the bureaucracy, have been and are, when they get responsibility, the stoutest and, occasionally, even the blindest supporters of the executive. This is partly because the Indian instinct to uphold authority asserts itself whenever it is not counteracted by a sense of irritation at enforced irresponsibility, and partly because few of our Indian leaders have strength and energy enough to antagonise the executive. Only a man of great ability who can work sixteen hours a day like Lord Curzon can ever hope to come successful out of an encounter with the executive with its illimitable resources of passive resistance. Moreover, the Indian Minister (His Excellency hoped to get as Ministers responsible men) is not likely to be a fool and his first anxiety will be to make his administration a success, and not to quarrel with his instruments. His Excellency, we think, might have dwelt at some length on these points. We are sorry to say that his words leave the impression that he shared the fears of the English Services. More than his words, the scheme of safeguard he proposes does this. He said:—"We do not intend to leave the handling of the Services wholly to the Minister. We propose to instruct the Governor in a published instrument that we lay on him a personal responsibility for securing the welfare of the Services. He will disallow proposals that aim or tend towards the disintegration. The head of every department under the Minister will have access to the Governor. He will be in a position to represent the difficulties to him before they become acute and it will be for the Governor to deal with them by influence and persuasion and finally by tactful exercise of authority. Lastly, we propose to secure all existing rights of appeal to the Government of India and the Secretary of State whenever an officer is prejudicially affected as regards emoluments or pension by a Minister's order". The feature of this scheme we most strongly object to is that the head of every department under the ministers will have access to the Governor. The first thing that arrests attention in this arrangement is that the only the heads of departments under ministers, and not those under the members of the Executive Government, are to have the privilege of direct access to the Governor. That, alone, apart from all other features of the scheme, will demarcate the position of the minister in the Government to his disadvantage. The second point is that the heads of departments are to utilise their right of access to the Governor not only to place their own views, as distinguished from those of the responsible Minister, before that functionary, but also to ventilate their



grievances and those of their Service. This is very much like the practice which is responsible for the demoralisation of the administration in many Indian States where it is not unusual for the Ruling Chief to invite criticism of the action of Ministers from their subordinates. We refrain from pointing out that this is opposed to the theory and practice of responsible Government, because we shall be told at once that it will be pedantic to stick to any such theory. But we do wish to say that in this as in other matters very little consideration has been bestowed on the vital question of how the minister will fare in the tight corner so carefully contrived for him, with the Legislature in front and the Services at the back of him, and the Governor above him.

We come to the passage in which the Viceroy dealt with the fears of English commercial interests. Here also, His Excellency refrained from saying a word which might imply that the assumption underlying these fear, namely, that the Indian ministers and members of Council are more likely to be demented than sane. The Viceroy pointed out that the affairs principally relating to English commercial interests will be in the hands of the Government of India which the reforms are not intended to touch. The next line of defence was that the Governor will be instructed in his extensive "Instrument of Appointment" to disallow any measure of prejudiced attack or privileged competition in respect of any industry. If this means that Provincial Governments will be debarred from offering any encouragement to local industries whose development may unfavourably affect the market for imported articles, the Viceroy's statement is calculated to create consternation in the minds of the Indian people. We think that the English community in India is making a great mistake in trying to make out that their interests in this country are purely commercial. Whatever the Secretary of State and the Viceroy may deem it expedient to do to-day, it is obvious that the claim to a voice in the administration merely on the ground of commercial interests, apart from the general interests, has never been admitted in any country, and cannot be admitted in this. At the same time, we strongly feel that the goodwill of the English community in India is essential to the full success of the reforms, and the best opinion in India is prepared to go a reasonable distance in order to secure that goodwill. The Chambers of Commerce represent only one and that, in our opinion, the least attractive aspect of English life and thought in India. The great missionary agencies which comprise so much of pure humanitarianism and philanthropic service to the Indian people, the important English Services which have no interest in exploitation, and the domiciled Europeans whose interests are to a very large extent those of the Indian people, these are the elements which we should like to see represented in the Legislature, and which are most likely to be helpful in bridging the gulf between Indian and English interests. We do not say by any means that this type is not to be found in the Chambers of Commerce ; Englishmen of

the commercial community, who have had a sound education in their early lives and have had opportunities of close contact with educated Indians, often make the best interpreters between East and West. Our point is that European representation in the Councils should be obtained not through the Chambers of Commerce, but through broader electorates in which all sections of the community can participate. Our concluding observation in this article is this : His Excellency the Viceroy would have greatly added to the effect of his speech if he had advised the European Services and interests to trust the Indian, if for no higher reason than that trust begets trust, and to begin by mistrusting the motives or inclinations of men is to invite similar mistrusting on their part of one's motives and inclinations.

### THE ROWLATT BILLS.

(BY SIR NARAYAN CHANDAVARKAR.)

The unanimous opposition of the non-official Indian members of the Imperial Legislative Council to the Rowlatt Bills has had one effect in the right direction. Government, through the Home Member who introduced the Bills into the Council and moved their reference to a Select Committee, have agreed to make the Bill dealing with revolutionary crime and internments a *temporary* measure, which shall be law enforceable only for a period of three years from the date of the expiry of the present Defence of India Act. So far one essential and crucial point affecting such legislation in its constitutional aspect has been gained. But important as this concession is to public opinion, by which we must mean Indian public opinion (for it is that which has the real claim to count in the matter), the concession is only partial and does not satisfy the conditions of the constitution, to justify at least the Indian non-official members of the Council in resting satisfied with the concession made and according their support to the law as a *temporary* measure.

What, then, are those conditions ?

We shall best be able to comprehend them in all their clearness, if we start by taking up one point which the Hon'ble Sir George Lowndes, the Law Member of the Government of India, made in his speech in support of the Bills. To the argument, advanced by some of the non-official Indian members of the Council, that Government had already ample powers under two existing laws, namely (1) the Regulation of 1818, and (2) the Governor-General's power of making Ordinances from time to time for the peace and good Government of His Majesty's Indian territories under Section 23 of the Indian Council's Act of 1861, Sir George replied that those two laws were more drastic than the provisions contemplated in the Rowlatt Bills. They are no doubt drastic in the sense that the Regulation of 1818 empowers Government to deport a person without any trial or enquiry, judicial, quasi-judicial, or otherwise and the Act of 1861 empowers the Governor-General to make Ordinances as he thinks fit, that is to say



it gives him *absolute* discretion to frame such rules and machinery as he likes for the purpose of securing the internment of a person suspected of being a member of and implicated in a revolutionary conspiracy. This absolute discretion leaves the Governor-General full and unrestrained authority to make the Ordinances as mild or as drastic as he chooses. Instead of saying of the power that it is drastic, it is more true to the real nature of the power to affirm of it that it is plastic. There is nothing in the law or the power given by it to the Governor-General to prevent him from framing his Ordinance on the same lines or with the same provisions as those of the Rowlatt Bills. Sir George Lowndes's point, therefore, does not meet the argument of his Indian colleagues in the Legislative Council. The question still remains—why should the Government seek the sanction of the Legislature to such a law, even for a limited period as a *temporary* measure, when it has already power in that behalf which it can exercise on its own authority and responsibility?

The only intelligible reason that can be assigned is that Government does not think it expedient at this day and in these times of public opinion to use powers derived by it at a time when the Legislative Council had not come into existence and from authorities which did not and could not represent the public opinion of India. The Regulation of 1818 was a law enacted when the Executive Government in India was also the legislative power of the country. There were no Legislative Councils then, professing to represent, even in theory, the people, and as such legislating for the people. The Governor-General's power of Ordinance was delegated to him by Parliament in 1861 and Parliament does not mean the people of India. That being the character of those two laws, Government apparently does not wish to take upon itself the responsibility of using the powers it has under those laws but deems it expedient to place the responsibility upon the Legislative Council, which contains non-official members, representing Indian public opinion, and so to give the law thus passed the character of a measure enacted with the sympathy and support of that opinion. That was exactly the ground on which Lord Hardinge appealed and appealed successfully to the Indian members of the Council for their loyal support to the Bill, which accordingly passed into the present Defence of India Act in March 1915 as a war measure. And the same ground *a fortiori* must furnish the test now.

That being the case, the non-official members of the Legislative Council have to ask themselves this question before deciding whether they should support the measure, even though it be *temporary*: Is it right to take upon themselves, as representatives in the Council of the people, the responsibility of such a measure *in times of peace*, and make themselves parties to a law arming the Executive with powers to restrain the liberty of a subject, so long as the people have under the present constitution of the Government no share in or control over the Executive, and that when the Executive has already

powers in that behalf derived from the Regulation of 1818 and the power of Ordinance? In theory certainly and in practice generally, all law, and particularly laws restraining liberty of the person, being a system of rules by which rights are maintained, form the expression of the general will of the people. The Indian members of the Council, at any rate, owe it to themselves and to the people, therefore, that they should refuse to support such an exceptional case of legislation unless the general will of the country, of which they are exponents, is behind them.

That is the test for them; and they are untitled, on the ground of recognised constitutional principles, to urge that the constitution of the Government should be popularised first in the direction of responsible Government before they can share the responsibility of such laws with the Executive in a time of peace.

If, under the present system of Government and before Mr. Montagu's reforms take effect and admit the people *into* the administration and make them responsible for it, the Legislative Council pass the Rowlatt Bills, whether with the support of the Indian members or by an official majority without that support, the Legislature will be passing the law under the guise of authority from public opinion, when that opinion is really opposed to the measure.

The charge has been brought against the Indian members of the Council by some that those members have opposed the Bills because they fear that if they support the measures they will lose their popularity. The *Pioneer* makes much of that. Even assuming it is so, what does that argument come to? It means that these measures are *unpopular*. And if they are, the Indian members as representatives of the people, will be going against public opinion should they support the measures. But apart from the pleasure of popularity or fear of unpopularity, it is wise to act upon the principle of healthy politics enunciated by Macaulay as follows:—

As we cannot, without the risk of evils from which the imagination recoils, employ physical force as a check on misgovernment, it is evidently our wisdom to keep all the constitutional checks on misgovernment in the highest state of efficiency, to watch with jealousy the first beginnings of encroachment and never to suffer irregularities, even when harmless in themselves, to pass unchallenged, lest they acquire the force of precedents.

Therefore, popularise the Government first and then ask its popularised Legislature to take the responsibility of such exceptional legislation for the peace and good Government of the country, which till then rests *exnecessitate* primarily on the Executive.

#### SIR RABINDRANATH TAGORE IN BANGALORE

A reception was held at the residence of Mr. B. V. Subba Rao, 159, Sultanpet, Bangalore City, when the company were honoured by the presence of the distinguished poet Sir Rabindranath Tagore.

The proceedings were quite informal and following a Vedic hymn of Benediction and some musical selections, the conversation was directed to the subject of Bengali verse and



poetry in general during the course of which Sir Rabindranath emphasized the necessity of going to the real source of inspiration, the people.

The subject of reconstruction after the war was also briefly discussed, when the revered poet expressed the hope that we, in India, would seriously tackle this problem, but that we should not make the mistake of following too closely the idea of "system" so prevalent now-a-days, in the West. However desirable the system adopted, there would be no real success unless the heart and mind were reformed.

Heartly thanks having been accorded to the host for the unique opportunity of meeting Sir Rabindranath in so homely a manner, the party dispersed.

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# THE INDIAN \* SOCIAL \* REFORMER.

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not  
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

## CONTENTS.

Sir Nilratan Sircar on the Rowlatt Bills.  
Sir Hormusjee Wadia on the Rowlatt Bills.  
Some Points for Government.  
Constitutional Distrust of the Executive.  
The European Association's Political Bankruptcy.  
Representation of the Backward Classes.  
The Drink Traffic in Great Britain.  
Deputation to England.

The League of Nations.  
The Samkhya System.  
Controlling The Export and Price of Rice.  
Mr. Gandhi on the Inter-caste Marriage Bill.  
The Deperessed Classes Society, Belgaum.  
The women of India and their Part in the Future  
American Scholarships for Indian Women Students.  
A useful Charity.

## NOTES.

**Sir Nilratan Sircar on the Rowlatt Bills:** The *Bengalee* which, under the joint editorship of Mr. P. C. Roy, is fast becoming one of our best conducted Indian daily papers, prints the speech which one of the most respected of Bengal's public men, Sir Nilratan Sircar, delivered at a public meeting of the Indian Association of Calcutta. In his professional capacity as a physician in very large practice among all classes of people, Sir Nilratan is in an exceptionally advantageous position to feel the pulse of Bengal public opinion, and his deliberate conclusion is: "We cannot accept the view that it is only the dacoits, conspirators and anarchists that will be punished. The liberty of many honest and innocent and public-spirited persons are likely to be affected also, as we can very well see from past experience. The candid critic shudders at the idea of the possible effects of the remedies proposed for the evil that has already been practically suppressed. These highly potent specific remedies should be handled very carefully, as, in case of an excessive dose, the surplus above what is needed for neutralising the disease may be calculated to bring forth the most unhealthy reaction in the organism itself. We feel it our duty to explain the situation from this point of view. Government has graciously and wisely granted some concession to public opinion by declaring the emergency measures as temporary. We are grateful for the concession. We must, however, point out that we, as a people, do not deserve the slur that is going to be cast upon us. We must record an emphatic protest against these measures." The *Bengalee* hopes that the proceedings of the Calcutta meeting will open the eyes of the Government of India to the folly of persisting in a measure, even by the make-believe of a concession, that has so much exercised the mind of sober citizens.

**Sir Hormusjee Wadia on the Rowlatt Bills:** Presiding at the fourth anniversary meeting in honour of the memory of the late Mr. Gokhale, held in Bombay on Wednesday, Sir Hormusjee Wadia condemned in very strong terms the introduction of these Bills. We have not seen a full report of Sir Hormusjee's

remarks which must carry special weight as coming from a public man whose distinguishing traits have ever been sobriety and caution. Mr. Gokhale's name was invoked in the debate on the Bills in the Imperial Legislative Council by an official member in support of them. Sir Hormusjee who had exceptional opportunities of understanding Mr. Gokhale's point of view told his audience that he (Mr. Gokhale) would have grieved that, after the last four years of such loyal devotion, service and sacrifice, which India had given, the concrete recognition of that devotion, service and sacrifice was the introduction of the Rowlatt Bills. He would have asked: "Was this the reward of India's loyalty that they should come forward to brand her with disloyalty?" Sir Hormusjee said that while the principle of British law was that it is better that ten guilty men go free rather than one innocent man be unjustly dealt with, that of the Rowlatt Bills is the exact contrary. Better that ten innocent men should suffer rather than that one guilty person should escape.

**Some Points for Government:** It behoves Government to ask themselves why men like Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, Sir Hormusjee Wadia, Sir Nilratan Sircar, and others oppose the passing of the Rowlatt Bills. It is nonsense to say that they are afraid of the anarchists or that they are unduly suspicious of the intentions of Government. We say "unduly" because a certain amount of suspicion of the Executive is the basis of all constitutional government. Why should the Government of India be more trusted in matters of this kind than the Governments of England or the United States? Are they more in touch with the people, more sympathetic towards their aspirations, more anxious to save them from preventible hardships? Have they a more efficient, more honest, more capable police? And, then, people ask, why do Government want these Bills passed now? Since when have they grown sensitive about using the existing Regulation and ordinance powers? Have they proposed to repeal the laws relating to these powers? There is a good deal of speculation as to the object of Government in forcing on these Bills at this juncture. We need hardly say that, as individuals, the Viceroy and the members of Government are held in the highest respect. The opposition to these Bills is based on public grounds, and it is, of course, absurd to ask the public to pass repressive laws relying on the high personal character of the members of Government.

**Constitutional Distrust of the Executive:** The principle of constitutional distrust of the Executive Government has nowhere been more emphasised than in English politics. There is now a Bill before Parliament relieving members who have accepted Ministerships from seeking re-election. The chances of Ministers being corrupted by the



holding of office under the Crown are practically non-existent nowadays in the United Kingdom. Nevertheless, Government have accepted an amendment limiting freedom from re-election to a period of nine-months after a General Election. Replying to a correspondent in the *Times of India*, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar aptly observes that it is a commonplace of history emphasised by Hallam and repeated by nearly every constitutional historian after him, that while the laws of England make it treason to rebel against the State, those laws are silent as to conspiracies by the Government against the people of England, because "it is impossible to provide for some of the greatest dangers which can happen to national freedom by any formal statute." Therefore, concludes Sir Narayan, "the first remedy is giving the people a share in the administration—make them feel at home in the system of Government and its responsibilities."

**The European Association's Political Bankruptcy:** The European Association which has its head-quarters at Calcutta, in a representation to Government urging them to pass the Rowlatt Bills, declares that Indian politicians have revealed their political bankruptcy by opposing these Bills. We rather think that it is the European Association which has given proof of its total lack of political perspective by its frenzied opposition to constitutional reform, on the one hand, and by its equally frenzied appeal, on the other, to Government to pass these coercive measures which are opposed by responsible Indian opinion as being calculated to accentuate the very dangers which they are intended to prevent. While on this point, we should not omit to refer to the general gratification felt at the support which the Hon. Mr. Malcolm Hogg, the representative of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, gave to the Hon. Mr. Surendranath Banerjee's motion to have the Bills postponed until after the introduction of the reforms. Mr. Hogg who is a member of the Franchise Committee has impressed all who have come in contact with him by his breadth of view and openness of mind, and his voting in favour of Mr. Banerjee's amendment is another proof of these qualities. His speech on the Excess Profits Bill is further evidence of his possession of the true qualities of statesmanship. There are practically no limits to the opportunities before Englishmen like Mr. Hogg of serving India and the Empire, and we are glad that there are not wanting such men, even though they are not as numerous as we should like, among the non-official British community in India.

**The New Bombay Municipal Corporation:** The elections for the new Bombay Municipal Corporation came to an end with the election by the Justices of the Peace on Monday last. There has been an accession of fresh blood through the elections this time. We are glad to note that professional men, who have hitherto held aloof from civic activities, have now sought and obtained entry into the Corporation. Two of the new members are likely to be of valuable service in the Municipality. Mr. M. R. Jayakar is one of our most thoughtful and scholarly publicists whose presence is sure to be a source of strength to the Corporation. Mr. N. M. Dumasia is a publicist of many years' standing. He has a wide and varied knowledge of men and things, and though not possessing the oratorical gifts of Mr. Jayakar, he will, we feel sure, greatly contribute in his own quite, unassuming but effective way, to the smooth and steady progress of municipal administration on sound lines;

**American Encouragement to Indian Women Students:** We print in another column a letter which Professor D. K. Karve has received from Mr. N. R. Chavre, an Indian student at the University of Michigan, U. S. A. calling attention to the existence of the Barbour scholarships for women scholars. From the copy of the calendar for 1917-1918 of the Michigan University which accompanies the letter, we learn that these scholarships were founded in June 1917, by the Hon. Levi L. Barbour of Detroit who gave to the University the sum of \$ 100,000 for the establishment of scholarships for women students coming from Oriental countries. The holders of these scholarships for the year were Kameyo Sadakata and Gladys Wing. Professor Karve has asked us to take steps to bring this matter to the notice of Indian women scholars, and we do so with pleasure.

**The Drink Traffic in Great Britain:** The Executive Committee of the United Kingdom Alliance (a Temperance organization in Great Britain) in its annual report furnishes very interesting reading. We are informed that "up to the end of March 1918, £1,000,000,000, have been spent in Drink since the war began." The Alliance recognizes the fact that "it would be shortsighted to expect that the coming of Peace will bring any immediate alleviation of the shortage of food and fuel.....and the signing of Peace will enormously increase the demand upon the world's available supplies of cereals for a considerable period, and make it criminal to allow brewing and distilling for beverage purpose." Further we are reminded that the difficult days of demobilization would be entered upon with much more assurance by the forces of temperance, if England were free from the complications which are caused by the Liquor Traffic. The Alliance pleads for a worthy effort to be made by the Nation to provide in such a way for expressing its appreciation of the sacrifices and sufferings of the soldiers as to make it easier for the men to do right and difficult to do wrong. The Report makes the following statement:—"The United States will, in all human probability, enter upon its post-War industrial career as a community from which the Liquor Traffic has been entirely banished. She has many natural advantages which the United Kingdom does not possess, and which make her a formidable commercial competitor, and the struggle, though peaceful, will be very keen. We cannot afford to give her a 10 per cent start."

**Deputation to England:** The President of the last session of the all-India Conference of the Moderate Party has directed the Secretaries to announce that the following is the *personnel* of the deputation to England on behalf of the Moderate Party, finally selected from the names suggested by the members of the Committee appointed for the purpose:—The Hon. Mr. Surendranath Banerjee, Sir Narayan Ganesh Chandavarkar, Sir Benode Chandra Mitter, Sir Chimanlal H. Setalvad, the Hon. Mr. V. S. Shrinivasa Sastri, the Hon. Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. M. N. Samarth, the Hon. Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, the Hon. Mr. Provash Chandra Mitter, the Hon. Rai Bahadur Krishna Sahay, the Hon. Khan Bahadur Mian Muhammad Shafi, the Hon. Dr. A. Suhrawardy, Sir. Vithaldas D. Thackersey, Mr. M. V. Joshi, Mr. W. A. Chambers, Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru, and Mr. K. C. Roy. To assist this deputation and to promote the cause of Indian Constitutional Reform, arrangements are being made to form in England an influential Committee consisting of prominent British statesmen and public men who are supporters of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Scheme.



# INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, FEBRUARY, 23 1919.

## THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

The text of the draft Covenant of the League of Nations was published on Monday. All thoughtful men have been agreed that the end of the War should be signalised by the creation of an organisation, an authority, a central power, which will prevent future wars as far as possible. But no one had given such clear, definite and luminous expression to the idea as President Wilson. Speaking two years ago, on the 22nd January 1917, to the Senate of the United States, the President said: "I only take it for granted that mere terms of peace between the belligerents will not satisfy even the belligerents themselves. Mere agreements may not make peace secure. It will be absolutely necessary that a force be created as a guarantor of the permanency of the settlement so much greater than the force of any nation, now engaged or any alliance hitherto formed or projected, that no nation, no probable combination of nations could face or withstand it". In that memorable address, President Wilson laid down the conditions of a durable peace which may be reasonably expected to be preserved by the League of Nations. There should be no difference between big nations and small. The principle that Governments derive all their just powers from the consent of the governed, and that no right anywhere exists to hand peoples about from sovereignty to sovereignty, should be recognised and accepted. The paths of the sea must alike in law and in fact be free. There should be a general limitation of armaments. "I am proposing," summed up the President, "that the nations should with one accord adopt the doctrine of President Monroe as the doctrine of the world: that no nation should seek to extend its polity over any other nation or people, but that every people should be left free to determine its own polity, its own way of development, unhindered, unthreatened, unafraid, the little along with the great and powerful. I am proposing that all nations henceforth avoid entangling alliances which would draw them into competitions of power, catch them in a net of intrigue and selfish rivalry, and disturb their own affairs with influences intruded from without. There is no entangling alliance in a concert of power.....I am proposing Government by consent of the governed; that freedom of the seas, which in international conference after conference representatives of the United States have urged with the eloquence of those who are the convinced disciples of liberty; and that moderation of armaments which makes of armies and navies a power for order merely, not an instrument of aggression or selfish violence." In April of the same year, the United States entered the war. In his address to Congress on that occasion President Wilson used the phrase which has become classic: "the world must be made safe for democracy." And he declared that American would fight "for democ-

racy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free." The famous fourteen conditions were enunciated in the President's message to Congress in January 1918. The last of these was a general association of nations to be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political and territorial independence for great and small states alike.

The idea of the League of Nations was derided as chimerical, but the event has shown that President Wilson has correctly interpreted the heart of mankind. The acceptance of the idea and the practical steps taken towards the formation of such a League, as one of the first things before the Peace Conference, is a great personal triumph for President Wilson. The British press claims not without reason that the mandatory principle adopted by the League is based on the relations between Great Britain and India and the Dominions. How far does the draft covenant fulfil President Wilson's requirements? We think it does to a very large, an unexpectedly large, degree. The League to begin with will consist of the nations represented at the Peace Conference, but it is laid down among the conditions of admission to the League of States which are signatories of the Covenant is that two-thirds of the members of the League must assent to an addition to membership which is limited to fully self-governing countries, including the Dominions and Colonies. As India is already represented at the Conference, we take it that it is not proposed to exclude her as not answering the condition of being fully self-governing. We rather take it to mean that the British Government which has all along cordially backed up President Wilson's idea of the League, has made up its mind that India shall be fully self-governing and that at no distant date. The question of freedom of the seas and reduction of armaments, is dealt with in specific articles which lay down, among other things, that the Executive Council of the League shall determine for the consideration and action of the several Governments what military equipment and armament are fair and reasonable in proportion to the scale of the forces laid down in the programme of disarmament, and that these limits, when adopted, shall not be exceeded without the permission of the Council. It is provided that disputes among members of the League shall be referred to arbitration and if the award be unanimously agreed to by all of them except the disputants, there shall be no war with the party complying with the terms of the award. A breach of the Covenant by any member will be regarded as an act of war against all other members of the League, and the penalty will be the immediate subjection of the offender to severance from all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all intercourse between their nationals and nationals of the Covenant-breaking state and the nationals of any other state, whether a member



of the League or not. Article 19 of the Covenant embodies the mandatory principle and relates to colonies and territories which in consequence of the late war ceased to be under the sovereignty of States formerly governing them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world. "The principle should be applied that the well-being and development of such peoples should form a sacred trust of civilisation, and securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in the League's constitution. The best method of giving practical effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples should be entrusted to the advanced nations, who by reason of their resources, experience or geographical position, can best undertake this responsibility and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as mandatories on behalf of the League." The mandatory state shall render to the League an annual report with reference to the territory committed to its charge. A mandatory Commission will sit at the seat of the League to receive and examine the annual report of the mandatory powers and assist the League in ensuring the observance of the terms of all mandates. Article 20 is, perhaps, the most important in the whole Covenant. It lays upon all the signatories the obligation to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labour for men, women and children in their own and in all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend, and agrees to establish, as part of the organisation of the League, a permanent labour bureau.

Such in main are the outlines of the proposed constitution and functions of the League of Nations. They may be modified in the course of the discussion which is to be held on the draft Covenant. No one will contend that the establishment of the League will introduce the millenium. The collective conscience of the League must largely partake of the character of the individual consciences of its members. There may arise cliques and cabals within the League. There may be log-rolling. One nation may consent to overlook or even support the delinquencies of another, in return for that other glossing over its own misconduct. In actual working, the mandatory principle may at first work greater hardship to the countries in a state of tutelage than pure annexation by one of the great Powers. The League of Nations may become a larger version of the defunct Concert of Europe, and a more potent instrument of exploiting helpless peoples all over the world by mutual arrangement among the great Powers. All these are dangerous possibilities. But the great point is that mankind have recognized once for all that every nation is responsible not only to itself but to every other nation for the way in which it uses its powers and opportunities. It will take a long time before this theoretical recognition is interpreted into actual practice. But there cannot be the least doubt that once the principle is admitted and recognised in theory, its practical interpretation is bound to follow, not immediately,

not even directly perhaps, it may be very slowly and in a very roundabout way; but follow it must. The weaker nations and the subject nations will have a right of appeal: the matter of their grievances will be discussed all the world over: the conscience of men will be roused: the conscience of the wrong-doer will be shamed. It will no longer be treason to carry the grievances of a weak people to the tribunal of the world's conscience in the most effective manner which offers itself. For all these reasons, we hail the publication of the draft Covenant of the League of Nations as by far the greatest event in human history, and we earnestly pray that Divine guidance may be vouchsafed to the statesmen assembled in Paris to settle and organise this great institution on the principles of Truth, Right and Justice.

#### THE SAMKHYA SYSTEM. \*

Commenting on the personnel of the committee appointed to examine into and report on the reforms necessary in the constitution of the India Office in London, we expressed particular pleasure at the choice of Professor A. B. Keith of the Edinburgh University, a profound Sanskrit scholar as well as a recognized authority on constitutional law especially in relation to colonial self-government. An eminent Indian who visited Professor Keith some years ago described him as one who was always thinking India. A very acceptable souvenir of his deep Sanskrit scholarship and of his equally deep sympathetic insight into Indian thought, came to our hands last week in the shape of a brochure on the Samkhya system of Hindu philosophy which Professor Keith has written for the admirable "Heritage of India" series, published by the National Council of the Young Men's Christian Association in India jointly with the Oxford University Press. A word as to this series before we proceed to Professor Keith's book, is called for. Its editors are the Right Rev. V. S. Azariah, Bishop of Dornikal, the first Indian Bishop in the Church of England, and Dr. J. N. Farquhar whose book on "the Crown of Hinduism" anticipated in the realm of religion some of the fundamental principles which the great War has since accentuated in international politics. The "Heritage of India" series is written and edited with these principles closely and constantly in view. "No section of the population of India," says the beautiful little editorial preface, "can afford to neglect her ancient heritage. Every citizen of India needs to use them, if he is to be a cultured modern Indian. This is as true of the Christian, the Muslim, the Zoroastrian as of the Hindu". It is one which invites and, indeed, compels a cordial response from cultured Indians of all classes and creeds. The mutual understanding and respect engendered in the sphere of thought will spread to all other regions of life, and England and India, the East and the West, will learn to recognise each

\* Association Press, Calcutta, price annas eight, paper edition, Re. one and annas five, cloth edition.



in the other not an antagonist but a comrade in the cause of humanity. We regard the publication of the "Heritage of India" series at a popular price as a distinct service to that cause.

The Editors tell us that to every book in the series two tests are rigidly applied : everything must be scholarly, everything must be sympathetic. The book before us, the latest of the series, fulfils both tests with most satisfying completeness. Every page is the result of an abundant scholarship, the whole is permeated by overflowing sympathy with Indian culture. The subject of Professor Keith's volume the Samkhya System, is a particularly difficult one for a foreign scholar to expound with sympathetic insight. It is a system of philosophy without a God. And yet it is officially recognised as an integral part of Hindu religious culture. This fact easily lends itself to cheap declamation in the hands of ignorant enthusiasts who are more anxious to denounce Hinduism than to understand it. This, we need hardly say, is emphatically not Professor Keith's attitude. He seeks, we think with considerable success, to trace the Samkhya from its tiny unrecognisable origins in the Upanishads, through its later developments into the distinct and powerful stream in the Sutras of the mighty Kapila, to its grand final confluence with the Yoga and Vedanta in the Gita, the crown and consummation of Hindu spiritual culture. Professor Keith does not believe in the historicity of Kapila who, he says, was not a human personage at all. The tradition that Kapila was the founder of the Samkhya system, must have some foundation and we find it difficult to believe that it had none better than a metaphor in some old Upanishad. Apart from that, the philosophy of Samkhya is so virile and full-blooded, its divergence from the general current of the tendency of Indian thought so sharp, and its final acceptance as the basis of all later Hindu philosophy so complete, that it is impossible to believe that there was no master-mind behind it. Without the advantage of a puissant personality to uphold it, this system could never have attained the pre-eminence it has in Hindu philosophy. The supremacy of Kapila had long become such a commonplace of Hindu culture that the Gita, when it wants to designate the most towering personality known to that culture, refers without comment or qualification to Kapila, the sage who constructed a theory of the universe on entirely rationalistic principles. In this Kapila was the forerunner by many centuries of the modern evolutionists. To reject a long tradition on the ground that there is no proof of it, is an error. The tradition is itself proof to those who follow it, and it is only as regards things which have no root in tradition that men seek to create extraneous evidence.

#### CONTROLLING THE EXPORT AND PRICE OF RICE.

We are glad to give publicity to the following communication from the Central Publicity Board, Delhi: It will be remembered that

as soon as the failure of the rains on which kharif crops depend had been definitely established, the Government of India took certain measures to conserve for use in this country the supplies of wheat and gram then available, and simultaneously in anticipation of a larger scheme to be worked out as soon as the necessary data could be collected for the rationing of exports of rice from India, reduced drastically the export of rice from Burma. Towards the end of December they proposed and secured the concurrence in the proposal of His Majesty's Government, the continuation of the embargo on the export of wheat; and they also decided to limit the exports of rice in 1919 to certain destinations. Ample justification for these measures has since been afforded by the numerous applications which have been received by the Government of India from different parts of the world for special permission to obtain rice from India and Burma. But for these measures, it may confidently be said that very large orders for rice would have been placed for Indian and Burma rice, and that very high prices would have been paid in order to obtain these quantities.

On a rough calculation of the more important of these demands which have come before the Government of India, it is estimated that over two millions of tons would have gone in 1919 to destinations outside India, thus absorbing the whole of the surplus estimated as available for export from Burma, and leaving nothing for India except to the extent to which by offering a higher price the Indian consumer could have succeeded in outbidding the foreign consumer. Many of these applications the Government of India have had to refuse totally: in other cases they have only agreed to the export on very special considerations, of which the chief has been that the rice was required for consumption by an Indian community resident in the foreign country. The extent of these demands and their reduction or total rejection will be a measure of the advantages to the Indian consumer which have resulted from the present system of control. It has secured for him the lion's share of the surplus exportable from Burma, and at a price which is very considerably lower than that which he would have had to pay even for the limited quantities which he could have secured in competition with other consumers.

#### Mr. GANDHI ON THE INTER-CASTE MARRIAGE BILL.

The Ahmedabad correspondent of the *Bombay Chronicle* gives what purports to be the views of Mr. Gandhi on Mr. Patel's Hindu Inter-Caste Marriage Bill. The correspondent writes: "He (Mr. Gandhi) sees no objection in inter-marriages among the sub-castes of the Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Sudra communities. There would, he held, be an infusion of fresh vigour among the present degenerate Rajputs if inter-marriages were frequent among the Rajputs, Bhatias, Lohanas and Patidars. There can conceivably be nothing wrong if inter-marriage



among the Modh and Shrimali Bania communities were the rule rather than the exception, but on no account should the existing (*sic*) fourfold division be broken through. It is desirable to weld together the four main castes comprising twenty crores of Hindus, by neutralising the centrifugal tendencies at present separating the various sub-castes in any main caste. Mr. Gandhi said, subject to the above modification, the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya had promised his whole-hearted support when the Inter-Caste Marriage Bill would be referred to the Select Committee in the Imperial Legislative Council. In conclusion, Mahatma Gandhi pointed out how a wide chasm yawned between the Brahman and the Dhed and warned the ardent advocates of marriage reform against short cuts to progress. "These views are so startlingly different from what we should have expected to be Mr. Gandhi's attitude to the proposed Bill, that we should not like to base any comment on them until after Mr. Gandhi has had the opportunity of correcting or qualifying the statements of the correspondent. We may however, put for his consideration the real issue involved in the Bill. It is not whether advocates of marriage reform should or should not be content with marriages within the four main castes—assuming for the moment that it is easy to assign each of the two or three thousand and odd castes at the present day to its proper main caste in Mann's fourfold division—but whether, if a Brahman wishes to marry a Dhed who is agreeable to the idea—we take Mr. Gandhi's own extreme instance—the parties should be denied the freedom to carry out their desire by rejecting the Bill intended to secure them the means of self-determination in a matter so peculiarly and poignantly personal to them. We should like to have Mr. Gandhi's view on this point.

#### THE DEPRESSED CLASSES SOCIETY, BELGAUM.

The 4th annual meeting and prize distribution of Lord Hardinge School, took place on the 5th February, 1919 at 5-30 p.m. in the spacious Hall of the Cantonment Hospital, under the Presidentship of Mr. L. J. Mountford O. B. E., Commissioner S. D., one of the real sympathisers of the Depressed Classes. Among those present were:—Lt. Col. H. O. Warren-Codrington, 1/103rd M. L. I. Lieut. J. P. Davies, Cantonment Magistrate, Khan Bahadur Ardeshir Naoroji. Messrs. S. S. Koimattur, Asst. Commissioner S. D., M. V. Mndbidri, K. R. Panjiker, Deshmukh, S. R. Koppiker and Ugranker and the Indian Military Officers of all the units and many other leading gentlemen of different communities. The proceedings opened with welcome songs specially composed for the occasion and sung by school boys and girls separately. Rao Bahadur R. G. Naik M. D. E., President of the Society, welcomed the Commissioner, sympathisers and Military officers attending the meeting and detailed the working methods of the Society for the all round amelioration of the Depressed Classes and pointed out to the audience, the Special efforts of Mr. Mountford in this cause and expressed the gratitude of the Society for the same. He made a special mention of the Mahar Battalion formed through the influential support of Mr. Mountford and prayed that the Battalion be given a permanent footing in the Armies of His Majesty the King

Emperor. In conclusion he announced a donation of Rs. 100 towards the funds of the Society kindly made by Messrs. Phatak and Walchand, Military Contractors, Belgaum.

Mr. M. Lingaya Naidu, the Honorary Secretary of the Society, then read the Society's report for 1918, in which along with educational and social advanced activities, special mention was made of Mr. Papanna Jalliah's efforts, in starting the relief work for influenza and himself providing fund for it. The report mentioned that Shrimant Appa Sabe Patwardhan, Chief of Sangli, had become the Patron of the Society and Barrister S. G. Welliukar of Bombay and Meh. R. G. Desai of Kowad, life members, during the year under report.

After the reading of the report Mr. D. N. Patwardhan, Superintendent of Karnatak Branch Hubli, of the Depressed Classes Mission Society of India, who had specially come to Belgaum, for the occasion made a speech in Marathi, explained difficulties of the work and exhorted the audience to help the Society in their humble endeavours. Messrs. Mahamad Ibrahim of Belgaum and Sadashivarao Dhor, Railway Chief Guard, Hubli, then made speeches in Hindustani and Marathi. A proposal for the adoption of the report was then brought before the meeting by Mr. S. S. Koimattur, which was supported by Mr. K. R. Panjiker and unanimously carried. A resolution for electing office-bearers for the current year was proposed by Khan Bahadur Ardeshir Naoroji and seconded by Mr. S. R. Koppiker and unanimously carried. Then followed the recitation of School children after which, prizes were distributed to them by the President.

Mr. Mountford, the President then delivered the speech and remarked inter-alia that he was praised much for the Mahar Battalion, in which matter, original work, was enthusiastically done by Rao Bahadur R. G. Naik, Messrs M. Lingaya Naidu, Papanna Jalliah, and Ganapat Govind of Ahamadnagar. The population of the Depressed classes in Southern Division alone were 380,000 and that they were the aborigines of the country, remained in very unclean surroundings and were the cutters of wood, and drawers of water. He pointed out that unless they become self-supporting and self-respecting, their position in the Society would not be raised. This however would not be effected unless they took to profession and industries and become actual artisans and thus approach the High Class Society with some achievement on their part, a recognition of their rights. He then detailed as to how since 1916 he was trying to persuade the District Board to start industrial central Schools for the Depressed Classes and expressed a hope that ere-long, more facilities would be provided for this purpose and advised Depressed Classes to take advantage of this, as best as possible.

The President was thanked on the proposal of Khan Bahadur Ardeshir Naoroji which was supported by two other speakers, including Mr. Gopalrao Pol, a Mahar Contractor of Hubli. The proceedings came to a successful termination after the singing of the National Anthem, by School Children.

#### THE WOMEN OF INDIA AND THEIR PART IN THE FUTURE

Mrs. N. C. Sen's Article on "The Women of India and their Part in the Future" in the Daily Post of January 30th 1919, invites admiration for her spirit of patriotism; but what one is surprised at is her denial of the wretched condition of high caste Indian widows in general.

If Mrs. Sen had happened to come in close contact frequently with heart-rending cases of destitute widows, if she



ere to live and move among them for about a dozen years, if she were at least to gather reports of cases from those who have identified themselves with the cause of widows, think her opinion would not have remained without undergoing some change. I can quite agree with her if she does not like to complain to foreigners who can but bring little comfort from out-side to the miserable ones. What I would like is that not only that the fact must not be denied in the presence of those who are more or less responsible for the present pitiable condition of widows, but it must be brought home to their minds by sympathetic ladies like Mrs. Sen. I am afraid Mrs. Sen's statement. "They (widows) are not oppressed and tortured as it is generally believed to be the case in this country. Individual cases do not count," will have to be modified. It is in individual cases that high caste widows are not oppressed and tortured; while in general they are still groaning under the wrongs inflicted upon them by the selfish society. Can a few half-hearted institutions be supposed to have brought relief and comfort to high caste widows in general? Is there no room for further improvement? Are not widows whether they be young or old deprived of their jewels by their distant and dear relatives? Have the silent tears and sighs of the down-up ones and shrieks of the young ones stopped polluting the sacred atmosphere of the sacred places while the unfortunate ones are undergoing the ceremony of effigement? Has this barbarous custom stopped? Is not advantage taken of their ignorance and superstition by the selfish society when they are compelled to take one meal a day and observe a host of fasts during the whole year? Are they not insulted when they are asked to wear a long hideous coloured single piece of cloth? Are they not excluded from pleasure parties and their presence considered as ominous on auspicious occasions? Are they not looked upon by families as God-given slaves? What are the wrappings if no the result of oppression and torture? What devoted services can India expect from beings whose soul the society has taken care to kill out of them and convert them into machines?

GLEANER.

#### AMERICAN SCHOLARSHIPS FOR INDIAN WOMEN STUDENTS.

Prof. D. K. Karve has received the following communication from Mr. Nilkanth Ramchandra Chavre of the University of Michigan, U. S. A. :—

Probably you know by this time that a rich gentleman the Honorable Mr. Levi L. Barbour, a former Regent of this University, has given three scholarships for Oriental girls who will come to study Medicine in this University.

Mr. Barbour is a very generous and liberal contributor, to the funds for the erection of the Women's Gymnasium of this University, which bears his name. He is well interested in education for women, and, in 1916-17 he placed three scholarships, for Oriental girls coming to this University. These scholarships are given to the applicants by the Trustees appointed by Mr. Barbour, including himself; the President of this University, Mr. Harry B. Hutchins, the Dean of Women, Miss Wells; and some other members of the Faculty.

During Christmas vacation of 1917, we, the Hindu students of this University, applied and succeeded in getting all the prominent trustees together and secured a promise to allow at least one or two scholarships for the girl students from India. The Honorable Mr. Barbour and the President of this University Mr. Hutchins, suggested to appoint a committee con-

sisting of two or three Hindu gentlemen, two or three Hindu ladies, the Dean of Women of this University, the president of this University, and an American, residing in India, such as the American Consul at Bombay.

The members of this committee who are in India, should see that the proper selection of applicants is made; while the members here should take charge of the students during their stay in the university. He has further suggested that if you desire to have more members on the committee from India from different Provinces you are welcome to do that.

I am taking this opportunity of forwarding you this proposition with the object that you may take some practical steps towards forming a committee and utilizing this opportunity for the furtherance of higher education for women in India. I and other Hindu students in this university will always be exceedingly glad to do all that lies in our power in getting your committee in touch with proper authorities and facilitate in the working out of other details.

I hope you will give your early attention to this proposition and please be free to let me know if I can be of any service to the committee or you in this matter.

After the above letter was type-written, I had the pleasure of President Hutchins company for a few minutes. He gave me to understand that there are ten scholarships instead of three (as I have mentioned above) and the scholarship-holders are at liberty to pursue any studies they like; the trustees prefer medicine, on account of great need of the medical hands in Oriental countries.

He is sending a catalogue of the University for detailed information about these scholarships, which is given on page 100. He also very kindly mentioned that he would be very willing to do anything in this matter to help us out, as far as it lay in his hands.

The scholarships for this year are already given out except one or two which could be had from next semester, that is from February 1919. But applications could be sent from now on for the next year. In this University the year begins on the 20th of September.

The applicants should clearly state the course of studies they have so far pursued in India, and the application should accompany with a certificate from the head of the high school or college in which they have studied. If the applicant is a holder of a degree or has matriculated from any of the universities it should be mentioned.

#### A USEFUL CHARITY.

The Editor, The Indian Social Reformer,

Sir,

On July 6, 1911, I addressed letters to some of the papers of the Presidency stating that money sufficient to construct three or four wells for charitable purposes was available, such wells to be in places in the Bombay Presidency where they would be most useful to men and their cattle. I invited suggestions from Mahajans and public bodies, such as local boards and gentlemen of position, who would be willing to construct public wells out of this fund and arrange for their maintenance. In response to this invitation many suggestions were received and two wells were constructed, one in the Northern Division and one in the Central Division.

Funds are now available for the construction of two more wells. I again invite suggestions from Mahajans and public bodies and gentlemen of position who are willing to construct a well and arrange for its maintenance to forward this suggestions to "Well" C/O the Editor The Times of India who will forward them to me. When the exact site has been selected the money necessary for the work of construction will be forwarded to the Body or individual selected.

I need hardly emphasize the enormous importance of well to the famine stricken districts in this Presidency in season when the Rains fail.

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not  
 excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

## CONTENTS.

The Late Professor H. G. Limaye.	The Indian Social Reformer Libel Suit.
An Arya Samaj Intercaste Marriage.	The Agricultural Industry.
Another Social Reform Marriage.	The Ameer of Afghanistan.
Education of Backward Classes in Travancore.	A Desolate Picture.
Mysore Government's Firm Stand for the Depressed Classes.	The Talak-Chirol Case.
Point for Consideration.	The Rowlett Bills.
Suggestion to the Deccan Education Society.	Breaches of the Laws of War.
	The Indian Christian Marriage Act.
	Mr. Gandhi on the Intercaste Marriage Bill.
	Indian Crop forecasts for 1918-19.

## NOTES.

The Late Professor H. G. Limaye. We are deeply grieved to record the death of Professor H. G. Limaye of the Fergusson College. On Thursday before last, he was in Bandra, apparently in the best of health and spirits, discussing with friends the plans of the College in Salsette, which is proposed to be started by the Deccan Education Society and of which he was to have been the Principal. It was Professor Limaye's intention to stay in Bombay during the summer holidays to push forward the College scheme. Only after his death did we learn from a medical friend that Mr. Limaye had been warned two months ago not to over-exert himself as he had an affection of the heart. Professor Limaye set at nought the advice, for during the past three or four weeks he was often in Bombay walking over possible sites for the college. No doubt, the frequent journeys from Poona and the fatiguing rambles in search of sites, told on his heart, and brought about the sad and sudden end. His death is a great loss to higher education and to the public life of this Presidency. In the Senate of the University, and in the History Board of Studies, he was a most helpful member, readily placing his vast and varied knowledge at the disposal of any one who consulted him. He was a scholar in the best sense of the term, a thinker, but no dreamer. His uniformly even temper, his powers of calm and lucid exposition, his fairness, and his goodness, endeared him to all those with whom he came in contact. His persuasive powers were most remarkable. His sudden death will be felt as a deep personal loss by his many friends who will long miss his genial presence, his gentle smile, and his elevating conversation. The Deccan Education Society loses in him a member endowed with great organizing capacity and utterly devoted to its interests, and the students of the Fergusson College, and the student community at large, an eminent teacher, wise friend and faithful counsellor. We join in the heartfelt sympathy which will be widely expressed with his family at Professor Limaye's all too untimely death.

**An Arya Samaj Intercaste Marriage:** A correspondent writes in the *Tribune* of Lahore that special interest attaches to the marriage which took place at Lakhamval, district Gujrat, on the 15th February of Pundit Brahm Dutt, *Vidyaalankar*, Sanatak of the Gurukul, Kangri, with Shrimati Vidya Vati *Visharda*, daughter of Lala Narain Dutt, contractor, Delhi. The bride comes from a Khatri family and the bridegroom is a Brahman by birth. "The parties", continues the correspondent, "went according to the fundamental principle *gun, karma, swabhav* as ordained by the *Vedas*, and the ceremony which was according to Vedic rites produced a great impression on the large assembly which had gathered round to witness a Vedic marriage. The meaning and significance of the ceremony and the *mantras* relating to it were explained as the ceremony proceeded by Principal Ram Deva of the Gurukul Kangri. At the close of the ceremony, Principal Ram Deva who also acted as chief priest, offered benedictions on both the bride and bridegroom, reminding them of their duties to their country and nation and appealing to the former to accomplish what the cause of the amelioration of Indian womanhood expected from her." Correspondents who report marriages which depart from the rule of orthodoxy should make it a point to state whether or not the marriages were registered under Act III of 1872. If the marriage reported above was not so registered, and if there is no Punjab custom which allows intermarriages between a Brahman man and a Khatri lady, Pandit Brahma Dutt and Shrimati Vidya Vati have set an example in advance of Mr. Patel's Bill. Why should not others do likewise?

**Another Social Reform Marriage:** Miss Kashibai Gokhale, daughter of the late Mr. G. K. Gokhale, was married on Thursday, 27th February, to Mr. S. B. Dhavale, I. C. S. The bride is the eldest daughter of Mr. Gokhale. She graduated from the Bombay University in 1917 with philosophy as her voluntary subject. She is a Marathi writer and has contributed many articles to *Navayug*. She is connected also with the Seva Sadan started by Mrs. Ramabai Ranade and Mr. G. K. Devadhar. "Mr. Dhavale" says the *Leader* of Allahabad, "is a distinguished scholar of the Bombay University. He passed his matriculation from Rajaram High School, Kolhapur, and took the first place in the University carrying off the Jagganath Sankershet Sanskrit Scholarship. He joined Elphinstone College, Bombay, and was sent to England by the Hindu Education Fund to compete for the I. C. S. After passing the I. C. S. examination he was posted to Bihar and served as a judicial officer at Cuttak, Arrah and Patna. His knowledge of modern languages and Indian vernaculars is vast. His younger brother Mr. B. B. Dhavale is studying at Cambridge. The marriage is important also, being an inter-marriage between two sub-sections of the Maharata community. Mr. Dhavale is 36 years old and Miss Gokhale 26. She intended to appear for M. A. this year. Mr.



Dhivale is the district judge of Durbhanga". This was an inter-sect marriage, and stands on a different footing from inter-caste marriages. But it is a marriage of the kind which was sought, quite superfluously, as we had contended, to be protected by special legislation in Madras not long ago. The Bill was withdrawn but it should not have been introduced at all.

**Education of Backward Classes in Travancore :** The Dewan of Travancore, Mr. M. Krishnan Nair, in his address to the Representative Assembly mentioned that strenuous efforts were made for bringing under instruction more pupils belonging to the educationally backward communities among which, he especially mentioned, Malayala Brahmins, Ezhavas, Pulayas, Parayas, Mahomedans and Kuravas. Thus, even in South India, there is a part of the country where the Brahmin takes rank as a backward class along with Ezhavas, Parayas and Kuravas. The Dewan farther mentioned that as many as 2,048 schools had children of the depressed classes attending them, of which more than 1000 schools admitted Palaya and Paraya pupils for the first time last year, without any appreciable opposition from caste Hindus. We are glad that Travancore is following the true policy of raising the depressed classes, namely, of admitting them into the public schools, and not isolating them in special schools. The caste Hindus are not such fools as to withdraw their children from schools merely because the children of the depressed classes are admitted to them. We hope that British India will courageously insist on its public schools admitting children of all castes and classes, high caste or low caste, touchable or untouchable.

**Mysore Government's Firm Stand for the Depressed Classes :** We heartily congratulate the Government of Mysore on the firm stand they have taken with regard to the admission of children of the depressed classes to public schools. The Inspector-General of Education reported to Government that as a protest against admission of three Halepyka boys to the Anglo-Vernacular School at Sringeri, the parents of the other boys withdrew their children from the school and started a new National Anglo-Vernacular School, and he requested instructions regarding the policy to be adopted in the admission of students of the depressed classes to public schools. The Government, in reply, say "they cannot uphold the view that any one shall be excluded from public schools on the ground of caste, as schools maintained from the public revenues are intended for the benefit of all classes of the people in the State, in the same way as railways, hospitals, courts of law and other public institutions. The unreasonable social prejudices in such matters have been wearing away with the spread of enlightenment in advanced communities and rise in standards of social life of the depressed classes. The Government are gratified to note that in certain parts of the State students of these classes were freely admitted to schools and in some of them allowed to mix freely with students of other castes. Any retrograde step calculated to revive the dying opposition to the legitimate rights of all castes to enjoy the benefits of such public institutions is to be deprecated. The spirit of intolerance displayed by certain classes of the people at Sringeri in setting up an agitation against the admission of Halepyka students, therefore, deserves no sympathy."

**A Point for Consideration :** While we entirely agree with and warmly applaud the declaration of His Highness' Government that no child shall be

excluded from the schools maintained from the public revenues on the ground of caste, we are not so sure about the refusal of grants in aid of private schools, for the benefit of children belonging to a particular caste or community. The most effective way of educating the conservative castes to discard their traditional prejudices is to promote the spread of education among them too, and the denial of grants to caste and communal schools is sure to retard it. We have, moreover, a strong feeling that no child should be denied the opportunity of education for any reason whatsoever, not certainly for the reason that his parents have been brought up in time-worn prejudices. We are, therefore, glad that the order of His Highness' Government in refusing grant to the newly created National (the irony of it!) Anglo-Vernacular School, does not do so on the ground that the new School will be an institution for the so-called high castes. The resolution goes on to say : "Whenever a school is opened as a protest against the admission of the pupils of any community in public schools the promoters of such movements should be given clearly to understand that the institutions concerned will not be entitled to any grants-in aid or other concessions from Government, but recognition should not be withheld unless the prescribed standards have not been satisfied. The National Anglo-Vernacular School, Sringeri, will not be entitled to any grant-in-aid, as it was opened without the previous sanction of the Inspector-General of Education." The first sentence in this passage is rather vague, but the last sentence clearly shows that grant is refused only because the School was opened without the previous sanction of the Department. The principle to be followed is: No child shall be excluded from Schools maintained by Government or Municipal and Local Boards on account of its caste; if, however, any caste wishes to open a school for the benefit of children of that caste, it is at liberty to do so and the State will afford it such assistance as can be given under the grant-in-aid rules.

**A Suggestion to the Deccan Education Society :** The fourth anniversary of the death of Mr. G. K. Gokhale was celebrated in many places on Wednesday. The passing years only add to the appreciation of Mr. Gokhale's greatness. May we suggest to the Deccan Education Society that it will be commemorating Mr. Gokhale's work in the manner which he would have liked best, if they decide to name their proposed college in Salsette after him? The Gokhale College, we are sure, will attract the generosity of many wealthy Indians who knew him and loved him when living and warmly cherish his memory now that he is no more.

**The Indian Social Reformer Libel Suit.** The Madras High Court have dismissed with costs the appeal preferred by Mr. T. Sriramulu of Rajahmundry against the order of the District Judge confirming the judgment of the District Munsiff disallowing Mr. Sriramulu's suit again us for damages in regard to an article published in 1914 expressing our opinion on some litigation between Rao Bahadur Veeresalingam and Mr. Sriramulu.

**The Agricultural Industry.** Within the last few days, we have received from the Department of Statistics their final memoranda estimating the principal crops of India during the current year. We print summaries of them to-day. It will be seen that all the crops are likely to be below, some much below, the normal. The position is one of great anxiety for Government and much suffering for the people.



## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, MARCH, 2 1919.

## THE AMEER OF AFGHANISTAN.

His Majesty Habibulla Khan, the late Ameer of Afghanistan, met his death at the hands of an unknown assassin on the 20th February at Jelalabad. His brother Nasrulla Khan has succeeded the deceased sovereign, and has been acknowledged by the late Ameer's sons and the representatives of the people. His Majesty has written to the Viceroy expressing his hope for the continuance and strengthening of the friendly relations between the Afghan and the British Governments. His late Majesty, it will be recalled, paid a visit to India twelve years ago, and made himself very agreeable to those who had the honour of meeting him. It is not easy to understand the significance of political events in Afghanistan. Most probably the assassination of the late Ameer was the act of a solitary individual inflamed by his own imaginings as was the attempted assassination of Mr. Clemenceau, the French Premier, in the streets of Paris one day before the Jelalabad tragedy. The fact that the brother, and not the son, of the late Ameer, has succeeded to the throne, coupled with the announcement that the sons of the late Ameer and the people's representatives have acknowledged the succession of Nasrulla Khan, seems to show that the late Ameer's sons had in some measure fallen out of popular favour, and that His late Majesty's brother has, therefore, been obliged to assume the reins of the State which, otherwise, he would have never thought of doing. We hope that the assassin will be discovered and punished and that the anarchist cult will not be allowed to take root among the people of Afghanistan.

## A DESOLATE PICTURE.

The public and Government are apt to forget, in their pre-occupation with reform and education, that the country is passing through a period of dire calamities. The following pen-pictures from the Rev. Mr. Felt of Wadala and the Rev. Dr. Ballantine of Rahuri in the Ahmednagar district, which are quoted in the report of the American Marathi Mission for 1918, may serve as a reminder to both that there are more serious things demanding earnest and immediate attention. Mr. Felt writes: "Since June we have been waiting for the rain which never came. The pinch of famine has been increasingly felt and gradually all our strength and attention is being turned into channels for relief. Christian communities are being depopulated as their members go away to find work and food. All forward plans must come to a standstill. Teachers and pastors, at best underpaid, find it very difficult to give their best to their work when they have not enough to eat, and are distressed by debts, which they cannot escape contracting. On top of this dread and hardship has come the epidemic of influenza, taking away hundreds of our

Christians leaving scores of orphans and producing great physical weakness and want. Seven of our experienced workers have been taken and the wives of four others. Poor India, so prone to calamity, and in some ways so ill-fitted to face the resulting suffering!" Dr. Ballantine writes: "During the influenza epidemic not one family has escaped sickness and there have been many deaths. We do not know how to replace the experienced and reliable teachers who have died. There has been no time of difficulty in all the years we have been here like the present. In the villages the condition is still terrible. In one place the catechist pointed out twelve graves made near his house in which his dead were buried. In another place bodies were simply taken outside, there being no one strong enough to dig a grave. In some houses every member of the family has gone, or sometimes a small baby has been left alive with no one to care for it. Now famine is pressing closer every day and unless some work opens soon many more will die. What shall be done with a young widow who has five little children, the youngest a week old when the father died? Who can feed and clothe the long procession of orphans, a line which grows longer and more pitiful every day?"

## THE TILAK-CHIROL CASE.

The case against Sir Valentine Chirol before the Court of King's Bench in London, has been decided in favour of the defendant with costs. Mr. Tilak is said to have stated that he was complaining of being accused of responsibility for murder, not of being accused of sedition. In his opening address, counsel for the defence, Sir Edward Carson, intimated (as reported by Reuter) that he would ask the Jury to say that Mr. Tilak was a member, and his paper was an organ, of widespread conspiracy to bring about, if necessary by assassination, the removal of the existing British Government in India. Sir Valentine Chirol himself deposed (as reported by Reuter) that he never stated that Mr. Tilak knew any murderers of British officials, but only that Mr. Tilak was morally responsible, at any rate for the atmosphere which produced the murders. This on the face of it seems to be very much less than what Sir Edward Carson undertook to establish. It is probable that the jury took the view that what Sir Valentine Chirol had written was a matter of public interest on which everyone was entitled to form and express his own opinion and, in that case, their verdict may not mean that Sir Edward Carson had proved what he undertook to prove. On most matters in politics and social reform, it has been our lot to dissent sharply from Mr. Tilak, but we do not and cannot believe, and have never believed, that Mr. Tilak was a member of a conspiracy which approved of assassination as a means of removing the present or any other Government. In his life of Gladstone, Lord Morley, dealing with the somewhat analogous case of the late Mr. Parnell, answers the question why the Irish leader did not promptly bring his libellers (the *Times*



which published the articles on Parnellism and Crime) before a Court of Law. "The case would naturally have been tried in London," he writes. "In other words, not only the plaintiff's own character, but the whole movement that he represented, would have been submitted to a Middlesex jury, with all the national and political prejudices inevitable in such a body, and with all the twelve chances of a disagreement, that would be almost as disastrous to Parnell as an actual verdict for his assailants." Mr. Tilak said in reply to Sir Edward Carson that he took proceedings in England and not in India because the book "Indian Unrest," was read all over Empire and he (Mr. Tilak) thought that the decision of a British Court would be more beneficial to him. In the absence of a full report of the proceedings of the cases it is impossible to assess the exact significance of the verdict, especially in view of the apparent discrepancy between the evidence of the principal defendant, Sir Valentine Chirol, and the undertaking of his counsel, Sir Edward Carson, which we have pointed out.

### THE ROWLATT BILLS.

(BY SIR NARAYAN CHANDAVARKAR.)

The whole controversy over these Bills may be said now to have narrowed itself down to one simple question : why should the Legislative Council take the responsibility of such an exceptional law even as a temporary measure, and arm the Executive with <sup>as</sup> an anarchist without an open trial in the ordinary Courts of Justice according to the ordinary criminal procedure of those Courts, when both under the Regulation of 1818 and the Governor-General's power given by Parliament of making Ordinances, that Executive has already ample powers in that behalf?

It is contended by the supporters of the Rowlatt Bills that the Legislative Council should take the responsibility of passing them, because the Regulation and the Ordinance power are old-fashioned and will not do in these times when the people have grown accustomed to the idea and practice of Laws made by the Legislature for the time being, as the State organ of public opinion to meet the emergencies of the day.

That contention would be valid, if it were proposed to repeal the regulation of 1818 and the Section of the Parliamentary Statute of 1861, which arms the Governor-General with the power of making Ordinances. There is no such proposal. The Regulation and the Ordinance power have from time to time been put into operation and are still alive. When to them are added, as now proposed, fresh laws of the same kind by means of the Rowlatt Bills, we get to the familiar complaint made from of old against such laws that "the special and unique occasion of one Government becomes the habit of its successors," and special laws intended for emergencies, and restricting liberty and excluding the jurisdiction of ordinary Judicial tribunals and the operation of the ordinary Criminal procedure, become the rule like ordinary laws.

No doubt it is very creditable to Government and manifests its desire to respect constitutional forms when it comes to the Legislative Council and says : "True we, the Executive, have power under the Regulation of 1818 and the Governor-General's Ordinance to deal with revolutionary crime. But we do not wish to exercise that power and play the autocrat in disregard of the Legislative Council. We wish to act in the matter in cooperation with the Legislative Council which represents the people."

So far the action of the Government is constitutional because it satisfies the first condition of constitutional Government that its Executive shall not exercise power of a summary and arbitrary character even when it is imperatively needed in the public interests, unless that power is derived from the Legislature of the time as an emergency power. But there is a *second* condition of constitutional Government equally important for such power to emanate from the Legislature. That *second* condition is that, since the power is needed to make the criminal law more severe than it is, to deprive the people of their right to be tried in the ordinary Courts of Justice, according to established rules of law, and since the power is of the nature of arbitrariness, rendered imperative by the nature of the crime to be combated, the Legislature which is invited by the Executive to give them that power, should be so composed that at least a majority of its members shall have no interest or inducement to make any law, especially a law of this summary and quasi-judicial character, as the Rowlatt Bills, which will not, in its practical operation, equally affect them or tend to affect them with the governed—that, in other words (to borrow the language of the American Federalists), there must be, between the Legislature and the people for whom it makes such laws, the strongest bond of common interests and sympathy of sentiments by which human policy can connect the rulers and the ruled together, or else "the Government," however well intentioned, "degenerates into a tyranny."

Now, test the position of the Imperial Legislative Council by the light of the second condition of constitutional principle above stated. While we must be admitted that the Rowlatt Bills have for their object the extermination of revolutionary conspiracies by internment of persons suspected by the Executive of that crime without the safeguard of an open judicial trial according to the ordinary criminal procedure, and so guarding the rights and liberty and peace of the people of the Commonwealth, must be, at the same time, remembered that, as persons so suspected and therefore interned will come from among the people themselves, the danger of law—its tendency and scope—affects them all in every one of them whoever or whatever he be, is exposed under the law to the fear and risk of being suspected and interned should the Executive choose to do that. The fear and risk may be groundless, but it is there more or less, more in the case of Indians than Europeans. Therefore, such a law, to have the sanction of Legislature, should be passed by a Legislature,



members of which are connected with the people as being of the people in point of sentiment, interests, inducements and apprehension of danger. "Nothing," says Burke, "is security to any individual but the common interest of all."

Is the Legislative Council as it is now constituted that security? The majority of its members are not of the people. The Indians, who are of the people, are in a minority. The former are indeed conscientious and mindful of the interests of the people, according to their lights. But they form the foreign governing power of the land; they represent the ruling race; and, (to cite Burke again) "when any community is subordinately connected with another, the great danger of the connexion is the extreme pride and self-complacency of the superior which in all matters of controversy will probably decide in its favour." Hence the value attached to the Indian opinion in the Council and the solicitude for their support shown by the members of Government in that council, in particular by Sir William Vincent, the mover of the Bills. That being so, of what use will the Rowlatt Bills be, if in disregard of Indian opposition in the Council, they are passed into law by the British majority in it? Will not the law so passed fall under the "greediest of legal categories," *viz* laws defined by Justinian in his code in the maxim as *Quod principi placuit legis habiturum*; or "what pleases the Prince has the force of law"? The position of the Legislative Council at that event becomes the same as that of Parliament in the reign of Henry VIII, when Thomas Cromwell crowded it with members directly or indirectly nominated by the Royal Council and got it under "constitutional forms" to enact new laws of treason. The Rowlatt Bills, passing into law under such circumstances, will be no different, as to the source of their authority, from the Regulation of 1818 or the Governor-Generals' Ordinance. In reality they will be the laws of the Executive, though in name only the Legislative Council will be their parent—the voice Jacob's, the hands Esau's. Why place the Legislative Council in this unenviable position?

It is these considerations which ought I think to move the Indian members to oppose these Bills and decline to take any responsibility for them so long as the Legislative Councils are composed of an official majority and so long as the Government is not representative of the people. And they should decline all the more because public opinion which they are there to represent and support on constitutional grounds insists that the root causes of revolutionary crime must be removed by reforms in the direction of responsible Government before they as representatives of the people can be parties to and pass criminal laws of a summary character to extinguish the manifestations of that crime.

The fear expressed in some quarters that there will be no chance for such measures as the Rowlatt Bills after Mr. Montagu's scheme of responsible government comes into force, ignores the lessons of history and actual experience. What is

the ground of that fear? This, so far as I can see, is that demagogues with so-called democratic ideas and visionary schemes of Government who now flatter the people and rail against Government, will crowd the new councils and vote plump against such laws and weaken the Executive authority. But is it not the case as proved by the experience of all democratic countries, that nobody is so willing to interfere with the liberties of the people as the people themselves or their representatives in the Legislature, where the people through those representatives are made to share responsibility for the peace and order of their land? Note what Lord Morley says in his *Recollections*;—"The idealist becomes in business excessively, narrowly, and tiresomely, pragmatic and opportunist and actually cultivates near-sight. With or without cause, he suspects himself and is bent on showing that he is as fit for the profession of real politics as the best of them".

#### BREACHES OF THE LAWS OF WAR.

[By MR. H. V. NANJUNDAYYA, C. I. E., M. A. M. L.]

It is difficult to understand the proceedings of the Committee that has been at work on the enquiry into the German misdeeds in the course of the war. Hitherto it has been considered that the only way in which such misdeeds could be punished was by reprisal. Now that the war has come to an end, there can evidently be no occasion for reprisal by subjecting the victor to the same treatment similar to what they meted out to the vanquished. The victor is legitimately open to the victorious party, to make the terms of peace proportionately harder for a dishonourable than to an honourable enemy. If it is the object of the enquiry to ascertain the exact degree of culpability for this purpose, one can understand the situation. But can the Allies go further and place on trial individual delinquents as if they were criminals according to the Municipal law of a State?

To take the case of the foremost offender; No one in the Allied world now doubts that he is as responsible for the frightful war and sufferings not only of his own subjects but of millions of others, as one who deliberately applies a spark to a gunpowder magazine would be for the resulting conflagration. It is only now after the fall that stories are put forward that he was either *non compos mentis* or an innocent instrument in the hands of others. If he were tried as an ordinary criminal, he could be easily and justly subjected to the punishment prescribed for murder. But what tribunal can try him now and under what law? It cannot be the municipal law or the municipal tribunals of his own country or of any of the Allied countries where the crimes were committed. It can only be urged that he broke the rules of civilised warfare which, in more definite language, should be interpreted as recognised rules of International law.

Two things are necessary to bring about a conviction on such a charge. There should be a regularly constituted tribunal with recognised jurisdiction, and



it should be made out that a recognised law has been contravened. That the International law provides no such tribunal is a commonplace. Even when a modest scheme of compulsory arbitration before going to war was placed before the Powers of Europe, it was not agreed to, and Germany was the chief power which rendered nugatory this attempt to set up the Hague tribunal on a recognised basis. The ultimate resort when any state has transgressed the moral or conventional obligations, thus continues to be only war, and the penalty, defeat and the necessity of submitting to the dictates of the conqueror.

The next point is whether there is any positive law which can be proved to have been contravened. That the laws of war recognised by civilised nations oblige the belligerents to abstain from many of the outrages committed by the Germans in cold blood needs no reiteration. But these rules have not the sanction necessary to constitute them positive laws in the Austinian sense. Some of them as *e. g.*, to what extent neutral traffic may be interfered with, have not been universally accepted as binding. Would it be possible to prove that not only universally accepted laws have been broken, but that they are such as can be punished in a particular manner by a recognised authority?

If subordinate persons are brought to trial for their misdeeds, can they not plead superior commands of their state authority as a complete justification before an international tribunal?

Till towards the end of the War no one had raised misdeeds otherwise than by the ordeal of the War itself. It is curious that high legal authorities should be found in England, France and elsewhere who are confident of successfully bringing to book the ex-Kaiser and his advisers for their delinquencies before an international court. Even though Charles I of England was tried by a tribunal of his own country no one seriously believed that he had been convicted by a court of *justice*; and he was regarded by the majority of those who had been his subjects as a martyr. Napoleon was incarcerated in St. Helena; and though this was an act of state not to be judged by canons of judicial procedure, the British Government was subjected to much censure as being too harsh to a fallen enemy. Is it really wise to create false sympathy for this dethroned Emperor by subjecting him to what is likely to be regarded as a mockery of legal procedure?

The life of the Kaiser is not intrinsically more valuable than that of any of the millions of the victims of his iniquitous policy. There must be tens of thousands among those slain in the war whose lives were more valuable than that of this proud autocrat. But will the cutting short of his single miserable life afford any adequate atonement for the millions of deaths in all the countries of the world?

It is of course quite necessary that he should be rendered absolutely incapable of again disturbing the Peace of the world. Cannot this be done more straightforwardly by insisting that he should be given up to one of the Allied powers to be safely interred alive in another St. Helena?

It may be that Germany will plead that he is no longer in her hands, and that Holland will feel in honour bound not to give up a political refugee. But perhaps, the enormity of the offence may justify the use of moral suasion by the Allied powers on a neutral country, which after all will not be able to withstand their demand in the last resort.

## THE INDIAN CHRISTIAN MARRIAGE ACT.

THE DEFINITION OF A 'CHRISTIAN.'  
The Editor, The *Indian Social Reformer*.

Dear Sir,

I shall be obliged if you will allow me space in your valuable paper for some remarks I should like to make on the above subject. I entirely agree with your contention that the definition of a 'Christian' which is proposed by the National Council of Missions will not do. There are other objections to it besides the one you have stated. For instance, I can see many pitfalls before anyone who sought to define with legal exactness what constituted a 'profession of the Christian Religion.' If a man declares himself to be a Christian we may for ordinary purposes safely leave him to put his own construction upon the term, as an '*orthodox Hindu*' does in his foreword to a recent book in which he claims to be a Christian. But any such profession must be most carefully construed if the construction is to bind him legally in what is, in the eyes of the State, a social contract. The truly religious man, be he Hindu, Christian or Mohamedan, will always be conscious of the religious import of the union of man and woman in matrimony, and will feel the appropriateness of the celebration of marriage in accordance with such religious rites and ceremonies as the religious community to which he belongs may ordain. But from the point of view of the State it is, and must be, a legal contract, the terms of which it is possible to enforce by law. To harmonize the demands of these two positions is not easy, especially in a country where there are several great religions, in each of which a large body of tradition, custom, religious tenets as to be inseparable from them. If it seems it to be for the social welfare of the whole community, the State may demand that the marriage contract shall contain certain provisions such as are made, for instance, with regard to bigamy in the laws of states where the population as a whole is nominally Christian. But unless such an enactment can be made for the whole community as expressing the sentiment of that community as a whole, the State cannot righteously interfere with the personal liberty of the subject by binding him to the terms of a contract in which he has not had the option of a free personal choice. The solution of the difficulty in the case of the proposed new Indian Christian Marriage Act seems to me to lie, not in the definition of a 'Christian', but, in the definition of what shall constitute a 'Christian Marriage'. The definition proposed by the National Council of Missions has attained its shape largely in view of a particular set of circumstances liable to make a certain form of marriage ceremony illegal. But if the settlement of the legality of a marriage is to turn upon the definition of a religious term, the many and rapid religious changes which are taking place in India may soon evolve interminable legal discussions and an unending series of law suits. I am not a lawyer, and my terminology may therefore not be legally exact, but I would suggest something like the following in lieu of any definition of the term 'a Christian.' "For the purposes of the administration of the Indian Christian Marriage Act, a marriage shall be deemed a 'Christian Marriage' finally binding the contracting parties by each and all of those provisions of the Act which determine the nature of the contract, if both of the contracting parties shall, at the time of the marriage, publicly and formally declare themselves adherents of the Christian Religion and desirous of contracting the marriage under the provisions of the Indian Christian Marriage Act." A form of declaration



in harmony with the above could be attached to, or form a part of, the usual public notification of the intended marriage or be included in the marriage ceremony.

While this would leave the framers of the Act perfectly free to include in its provisions anything which they deemed to be required by the principles of Christianity or demanded by the sentiment of the Christian community in general, it would also leave the contracting parties free. Should they elect to enter into a marriage contract the terms of which were decided by the provisions of the Indian Christian Marriage Act, they could do so. But no person usually regarded as a Christian should be compelled to take that course merely because he happened to come under some definition of the term 'Christian' which had received official acceptance at a particular date, and which it would be very difficult to alter to suit subsequent religious changes in the community at large that might affect the popular understanding of the term. The parties would be legally bound by the terms of the contract into which they had entered, and no subsequent repudiation of the Christian religion would release them from the obligations they had thus voluntarily undertaken, because they themselves would have chosen the form of contract which they would accept. Only on such terms can the State step in to enforce the fulfilment of any contract or punish those who fail in its fulfilment.

Kindly accept this contribution to the discussion of a subject which is of great social importance and of interest to others than adherents of the Christian religion.

Yours sincerely,

A Christian.

#### MR. GANDHI ON THE INTERCASTE MARRIAGE BILL.

To the Editor, *Indian Social Reformer*.

I have read the paragraph in your issue of the 23rd inst. about the Patel Marriage Bill. I have never yet given an interview to any body on the Bill, and the views attributed to me represent but a partial truth. Being laid up in bed, I had not taxed myself alone the Bill, but having been asked by several people to express my opinion, I began to study the Bill, and as is my wont, I tried first to understand the author's position. The Hon. Mr. Patel told me there was no occasion for me to be in a hurry to form my views, as the Bill was not likely to come up for discussion before September, and in order to help me to study the Bill he sent Mr. Daftari to me. Mr. Daftari has supplied me with a long and exhaustive memorandum on the subject. I have not yet been able to study it, and with the present programme of work before me, I do not know when I shall be able to study the memorandum which requires looking up old Law cases my position, so far as I can state it, without the aforementioned study, is this. In my opinion, the question specially as between Brahmins and Dheds does not arise in this connection at all. Dheds stand in the same relation to Brahmins as Kshatriyas, Vaishtyas or Shoodras. Their peculiar disability is not affected either one way or the other by the Bill. If the Bill constitutes an attack upon *Varnashram*, as a believer in *Varnashram-dharma* I should oppose it. I am told my orthodox friends that it does constitute such an attack. I am told by the supporters of the Bill that not only does it not interfere with *Varnashram*, but it merely seeks to restore the pre-British State of Hindu Law, which was wrongly interpreted by judges, who being ignorant of it, were guided by biased or corrupt Pandits. Both sides have very able lawyers. Without deciding one way or the other I have suggested that the effect of the Bill should be restricted to intermarriages among subcastes. This might satisfy the most ardent reformer at least as a first step, and would enable men like the Hon. Pandit Malaviya to support it.

The Ashram,  
Babarmati, Feb. 26.

I am Yours etc.,  
M. K. GANDHI.

#### INDIAN CROP FORECASTS FOR 1918-19.

The final general memorandum on the Sesamum crop of 1918-19, issued by the Department of Statistics, is based on reports received from provinces which contain, on an average, 76 per cent of the total area under sesamum in British India. Of the Indian States, estimates are furnished by Hyderabad and the States in the Bombay Presidency (including Baroda). The present estimates are final for all the provinces and States, except Madras and Hyderabad. A supplementary memorandum will be issued in April containing the final estimates for Madras and Hyderabad. The total area reported amounts to 3,251,000 acres, which is 19 per cent below the revised area at this time last year. The total yield is estimated at 188,000 tons (excluding Hyderabad for which no estimate of outturn is made at this date). This is 43 per cent below the revised estimate on this date last year.

The final general memorandum on the Cotton crop of 1918-19, is based on reports furnished by provinces, and refers to the entire cotton area of India. It deals with the final reports on both the early and the late crops of the season. The total area reported is 20,497,000 acres, which is 4,691,000 acres, or nearly 19 per cent, below the revised figure of last year. The total estimated yield is 3,671,000 bales of 400 lbs. each, which is 8 per cent below the revised yield of last year. The present estimate of outturn as compared with the sum of actual exports (net) abroad, mill consumption, and extra-factory consumption in 1917-18 (4,204,000 bales) shows a decrease of 13 per cent. Of the total yield Coomras represent 41 per cent, Bengal-Sind 24 per cent, Salems and Cambodias 7 per cent, Coompta-Dharwars and Westerns and Northern 6 per cent each, Broach 4 per cent and Dholleras and Tinnevellys 3 per cent each.

The final general memorandum on the Sugarcane crop of 1918-19 is based on reports received from provinces, which contain 99.1 per cent of the total area under sugarcane in British India. The total area sown is estimated at 2,820,000 acres, or against 2,820,000 acres the final figure of last year. The total yield is estimated at 2,237,000 tons as against 2,931,000 tons last year, or a decrease of 29 per cent. The season was anything but favourable to the crop, owing to deficient rainfall, especially in Northern India, and the yield is generally below normal. In parts of the United Provinces, the Punjab and Bombay a considerable portion of the crop has, owing to the scarcity of fodder, been fed to cattle. The condition of the crop is reported to be fair to good in Bihar and Orissa, and the North-West Frontier Province.

A supplementary memorandum on the Wheat crop of 1918-19 (for the period ending 15th February), shows that the total revised area for All-India now stands at 23,403,000 acres, as against 23,472,000 acres reported in the first forecast. The rains that fell at the end of January, and especially those falling recently have greatly improved the prospects of the crop, the present condition of which is generally fair to good except in Bombay and Sind, where the outlook is far from satisfactory. Hail to some extent has damaged the crop in several districts of the Central Provinces and Berar. More rain is now wanted in parts of the Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province.

The final general memorandum on the Rice crop of 1918-19 is based upon reports received from provinces, which contain 99 per cent of the total area under rice in British India. The statistics of acreage, outturn, etc., refer to all rice crops, both early and late in all the reporting provinces. The total area reported is 75,864,000 acres as compared with 80,141,000 acres, the revised final area of year. The present figure, therefore, shows a decrease of 5 per cent as compared with the area of 1917-18. The total yield is estimated at 23,822,000 tons of cleaned rice, as against 36,249,000 tons, the finally revised estimate of the last year, or a decrease of 34 per cent. The season has been unfavourable owing mainly to scanty rains, especially in Bihar and Orissa, Madras, and the United Provinces. The average yield per acre, it may be noted, works out to 703 lbs, as against 1,013 lbs in 1917-18, 973 lbs in 1916-17, 941 lbs in 1915-16, 796 lbs in 1914-15, 855 lbs in 1913-14, 891 lbs in 1912-13, 1,041 lbs in 1911-12 and 1,077 lbs in 1910-11. In addition to the areas for which particulars are given above, rice is grown in certain other tracts\* in British India, and the average area so grown for



the five years ending 1916-17 has been some 870,000 acres with an estimated yield of 273,000 tons. This outturn is excluded from the grand total 23,822,000 tons since recent estimates have not been received for these areas.

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# THE INDIAN \* SOCIAL \* REFORMER.

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

## CONTENTS.

—:—

The Late Rev. H. A. Walter.  
Europeans and Indian Constitutional Reform.  
The Rowlatt Bills.  
The Origin of an Amendment.  
Sivaji and Afzal Khan.  
Representation of the Backward Classes.  
The Bombay Hindu Widows' Home.  
Kanya Maha Vidyalaya, Jullundhar.

Mr. Gandhi on the Inter-Caste Marriage Bill.  
The Indian Budget.  
Europeans and Indian Constitutional Reform.  
The Ameer of Afghanistan.  
Mysore Social Notes.  
The Hindu Widows' Home, Bombay.  
Mr. Sasipada Banerji.  
"The Poona Marriage Mart."

## NOTES.

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The Late Rev. H. A. Walter. We much regret that we did not notice earlier the sad news of the death on the 1st November 1918, of the Rev. Howard Arnold Walter at the early age of 35. The Rev. E. D. Lucas contributes to the January *Young Men of India* a vivid sketch of Mr. Walter's life, character and personality. Owing to over-exertion in bicycle-riding, he contracted a weakness of the heart in early youth, but he bore it bravely and had a brilliant academic career at Princeton, President Wilson's, University. From there he went to Japan as a Professor in the Waseda University. He endeared himself to the Japanese students, says Mr. Lucas, as few foreigners are able to do, and when he left it, it was with the universal desire of his students that he return to them as soon as possible. From Japan he went back to the United States and after a course at the Theological Seminary at Hartford, he spent some time in Scotland and Germany continuing his theological studies. He married in 1910, and came to India with Mrs. Walter two years later. His work among students in Lahore was highly appreciated. He came to Bombay in October last to sail for Mesopotamia. His companion, Mr. Hyde, was taken ill with fever, and in the delay occasioned thereby Mr. Walter, who had heard of his wife's illness at Lahore, returned, only to be taken ill himself the next day, and after two days he was called away. His last words were: "O Christ, I am ready." We had no opportunity of meeting the late Mr. Walter, but we had the pleasure of hearing from him occasionally and always with a helpful thought. The first occasion was when, in the days before the United States entered the war, President Wilson was being held up in some of our English contemporaries as a word-spinner, a milk-sop, and a man without backbone. The *Reformer* in an editorial paragraph pointed out that this was totally at variance with Indian opinion which held the President in high respect for his character and principles. Mr. Walter wrote from Kashmir, we think, expressing his keen pleasure that educated India had such a right view of President Wilson whom he well knew as his own pro-

fessor at the University. He asked for several copies of the issue to be sent to America. In his list of books for a "Secretary's personal library" published in the January *Young Men of India*—a comprehensive and up-to-date list which we commend to those who feel the need of such a list—we are touched and proud to see the name of the *Indian Social Reformer*, the only journal in the whole list. We offer our respectful sympathy to the family and colleagues of the late Mr. Walter.

Europeans and Indian Constitutional Reform: We are obliged to the Rev. R. M. Gray for sending us the thoughtful and helpful article on the attitude of Europeans in India to constitutional reform. Mr. Gray is a quiet worker not particularly fond of publicity and that is why his (and Mrs. Gray's) constant and consistent efforts to bring about a friendly and sympathetic understanding between thoughtful Englishmen and Indians in Bombay, are practically unknown to the newspaper reading public. Their influence among the best class of the English community in Bombay is great and their liberal views in all matters relating to India, are matter of common knowledge among their own countrymen. They are both of them closely associated with Indian social service work and workers who highly appreciate their helpfulness and practical wisdom. We are sure that Mr. Gray's frank and impartial statement of the position of Englishmen in regard to Indian constitutional reform, will be appreciated by all thoughtful Indians who believe, like him, that the future of this country is intimately involved in the cordial co-operation of both communities in the common cause of the public good. We reserve our own comments on the various aspects of the question until after such light as others of our readers may like to contribute towards its elucidation. Meanwhile we cordially endorse Mr. Gray's proposition that a discussion can be fruitful only if both sides approach the problem with the firm resolve to understand and interpret each other on a high plane of motive and intention. We shall be glad to publish any communications that may be evoked by Mr. Gray's article, which does not transgress this principle.

The Rowlatt Bills. On Saturday before last the Select Committee's report on the Criminal Emergency Power Bill, which is one of the two Rowlatt Bills, was presented to the Imperial Legislative Council. The two important amendments introduced in Committee are that the duration of the Bill is proposed to be restricted to three years, and words are inserted to the effect that the provisions of the Bill shall apply only to anarchic and revolutionary crime. There are a number of other amendments giving a little more rope to the accused person than did the original Bill, but nothing is done to make the roping-in process more in accord with the principles and forms which invest it with a judicial character. The objection being to the



discarding of judicial methods in dealing with a person accused under the Bill, changes in regard to the Police Station at which reports should be made or in the length of time that an order under it should be in force, do not affect the character of the Bill from the subjects' point of view. What does it really matter to a man punished under this Bill whether the rules made for the guidance of visiting committees are or are not published in the official Gazette? And what difference does it make, whether the period contemplated by clause 40, sub-clause 3, is thirty days as in the original draft or twenty-one days or in the Select Committee's revised Bill? "It will be observed" says the Select Committee's report, "that all the amendments we have made in the Bill are amendments in favour of the subject and that, on the other hand, the main scheme of the Bill has not been materially altered." The last part of the sentence is perfectly true, but as for the first part, the favours conferred on the subject are not likely to avail him much in proving his innocence if he happens to be innocent.

**The Origin of an Amendment.** The *Servant of India* writing on the Rowlatt Bills, observes: "The suggestion that such legislation, even when permissible as an emergent measure or one necessitated by exceptional circumstances, must be of a temporary character was first made by Sir Narayan Chandavarkar in one of his three letters to the *Times of India* on the Rowlatt Bills, which have been since widely quoted in the Press as constituting an authoritative and a valuable contribution to the discussion of the subject from the legal and constitutional point of view. Sir Narayan's pointed suggestion was taken up by the Hon. Mr. Surendranath Banerjea, who threw out the hint by putting it Sir William Vincent, by way of a question while the latter was replying to the debate. The announcement accepting the suggestion came later on and has now been given effect to in the Bill as amended by the Select Committee. We are inclined to give the credit for it to Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, with whom the suggestion originated." We believe that our contemporary is right in tracing the origin of the idea of limiting the duration of the Emergency Bill to Sir Narayan's writings, though Sir Narayan clearly meant that the period must be one of actual emergency and not a period of any two or three years of anticipated emergency. Indeed, his articles published in these columns are explicit on the point. He does not regard the Government proposal to make the Bill operative for three years only as any improvement, and insists that it does not remove the essential objections to the Bill, which remain as strong as ever.

**Sivaji and Afzal Khan:** The English correspondent who, writing to the *Tribune*, repeats the discredited version of the Sivaji-Afzal Khan incident, should read what Professor Rawlinson and Mr. Kincaid, the latest writers on Sivaji, who have had the advantage of access to original documents and also of many years spent in Maharashtra, have to say on the incident. Professor Rawlinson writes: "He (Sivaji) certainly, from the English point of view, acted treacherously towards Afzal Khan. On the other hand, Afzal Khan, with his knowledge of the Dekhan, deserves little commiseration. No officer of intelligence should have walked into such a trap, and Shivaji was, moreover, incensed by the wanton desecration of the most holy of the Dekhan shrines. Nor is there much doubt that the dungeon prepared for Shahji would have been quickly filled by his son—perhaps, according to Mahomedan usage, maimed and blinded—had he

surrendered to his opponent." In a foot-note to this passage, Professor Rawlinson pertinently asks: "The murder of Afzal Khan was, after all, no more treacherous than the murder of Red Comyn. Yet what historian seriously blames Robert the Bruce?" Mr. Kincaid, whose *History of the Maratha People*, was published last year, accepts the late Mr. Justice Ranade's view that the killing of Afzal Khan was an act of self-defence. "If Shivaji had been a treacherous assassin such as he has been commonly portrayed," observes Mr. Kincaid, "he would never have achieved what he did." We should beware of bringing in false history to the support of race prejudice.

**Representation of the Backward Classes:**—The *Deccan Ryot* rightly takes exception to the definition proposed for the backward classes, namely, those which have less than 5 per thousand of literates. What Mr. Joshi had said was 5 per cent and we had also the same proportion in mind when we wrote on the subject, though by a slip of the pen it was stated as 5 per thousand. Our contemporary will admit that 50 per 1000 is not a too low proportion. In this connection, we may refer to a letter which we have received from Mr. Kadam enclosing for publication a copy of a letter which he had sent to the Special Officer of the Government of Bombay in deputation on the reform scheme. Mr. G. K. Kadam was one of the witnesses who had been included in the printed list, and he had accepted the invitation to give evidence before the Franchise Committee on behalf of the Marathas. In the letter of which he has sent us a copy, he backs out of the engagement on the ground that none of the trusted Maratha leaders were on the Committee. Mr. Kadam surely knew who the members of the Committee were when he accepted the invitation to give evidence. His declaration of a "boycott" of the Franchise Committee does not seem to have had any effect, as we learn from a contemporary that his place was readily taken by another Maratha leader, Mr. Jadhav. Nevertheless, we regret Mr. Kadam's eleventh hour decision, because it is just possible that he might have helped the Committee to meet some of the difficulties urged as standing in the way of special Maratha representation. Now that the district and not the Division is to be the electoral unit of area, and that elections are to be direct, there is every chance that in the districts where they are most concentrated, the Marathas will be able to carry one or more seats, even without the reservation of seats which was proposed by Mr. Joshi, and which we cordially supported.

**The Bombay Hindu Widows' Home.** We print today the second year's report of the Bombay Hindu Widows' Home. Unlike the famous Hingne-Budruk institution of that name, which debar widows from being remarried from its premises, the Bombay Home expressly welcomes widows who wish to remarry and undertakes to help them to do so. It is, therefore, very creditable to the committee of management, and particularly to the Joint Superintendents, Mr. and Mrs. A. S. Wagh, that the institution has during the short time that it has been in existence achieved results on which the Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association may congratulate itself.

**Kanya Maha Vidyalaya, Jullundhar:** We are requested to announce that Mr. M. K. Gandhi has kindly consented to preside over the prize distribution function at the anniversary occasion of the Kanya Maha Vidyalaya, Jullundhar, to be celebrated on the 19th and 20th instants.



# INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, MARCH, 9 1919.

## MR. GANDHI ON THE INTER-CASTE MARRIAGE BILL.

We are obliged to Mr. Gandhi for his letter on the Inter-Caste Marriage Bill which we published last week. He says, in effect, that he has not had time to go into the matter fully. He repudiates the statement attributed to him implying that the Bill is especially objectionable because it makes no distinction between Dheds and other Hindus for inter-marriage purposes. This is what we expected. What we did not expect, however, is Mr. Gandhi's avowal of himself as a believer in *Varnashrama Dharma*. We are sure his interpretation of the principle is widely different from that of the Maharaja of Darbhanga, for instance. A *Varnashrama Dharma* which is in line with the life of Mr. Gandhi to whom all men are brothers, and who went very near breaking up his Ashram rather than allow a depressed classes family to be invidiously distinguished from the rest of the brotherhood, is not likely to be violated by intermarriages between the several castes of Hindus and even between Hindus and non-Hindus. But because he hesitates to say so, leaving it to the lawyers (of all persons) to settle the point, the opponents of the Bill are likely to confound his *Varnashrama Dharma* with that of the Maharaja of Darbhanga and the *Hindu Message* of Srirangam. That is the danger of using phrases which have a recognised popular meaning, to denote principles which cut sharply across current popular prejudices.

As regards Mr. Gandhi's suggestion to restrict the permissive provisions of the Bill to intermarriages among sub-castes, as it would enlist Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's support, we may point out that intermarriage between sub-castes which are recognised as branches of the same caste *e. g.* Brahmins, Bhatias, Baniyas, Kayasthas, Shenvis &c. do not require a law to make them valid. Such marriages have taken place and are taking place in increasing numbers—the Dhavale-Gokbale marriage is a recent instance—and nobody has thought of questioning their validity even according to orthodox ideas of Hindu law. Mr. Patel will do well to drop the Bill rather than restrict it as suggested by Mr. Gandhi. To validate intermarriages among sub-castes necessarily implies a doubt as to the validity of such marriages prior to the validating Bill, which will be offensive and, possibly, detrimental to the offspring of such previous intermarriages.

As regards castes which are not popularly recognised as sub-castes of certain main castes, the position under Mr. Gandhi's restricted Bill for obvious reasons will, in no wise, differ from what it is at present. There is no means, so far as we know, by which a person can legally establish that his or her caste is a sub-caste of a caste of which the caste of the other party is also a sub-caste. In practice, what will happen is that two persons who

are bent on marrying, will invent for themselves an imaginary common main caste which the Hindu community, as a rule will, in accordance with its traditional policy, accept to save itself trouble. The trouble will arise when an interested party drags the matter to a court of law, it may be long after the intermarrying parents are dead and gone, in order to deprive their children of any property which their parents may have bequeathed to them. Should we leave things in such uncertainty, and should we offer through the legislature an incentive to imaginary caste formations? We should expect Mr. Gandhi to favour the straight way which is also the short way and the right way.

## THE INDIAN BUDGET.

As a literary performance the Financial Statement, the first, presented by Sir James Meston, is of high distinction. But apart from that, the only bright feature of what the Finance Member himself called 'a hard-hearted budget' is the raising of the taxable minimum for income-tax from Rs. 1000 to Rs. 2000 per annum. This change will be a great relief to the poorest class of income-tax payers who have been hard hit by the rise in prices all round. For the rest, there is little in the Budget on which we can congratulate the country. The total revenue in the coming year is expected to reach the record sum of £ 80 millions, but the expenditure will be still more by six millions which it is proposed to obtain by means of an excess profits duty. Quite one half of the expenditure of over 85 millions is on account of the Army, and the Finance Member expressed himself deeply indebted to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief for the great consideration that he had shown for his financial difficulties in stating the requirements of the Army for the next year. One wonders what would have been the result if the Commander-in-Chief had not been so considerate. We are unable to share Sir James Meston's satisfaction at the unprecedentedly large sum of nearly 18 millions which has been allotted to railways. Experience has done much to damp the high hopes that used to be entertained as to the utility of railways in India in times of famine. Whenever a serious famine has occurred, the railways have been there to be sure, but a concurrent famine of waggons has prevented them from being as useful as they were expected to be. Add to this the recent action of Provincial Governments, in their exaggerated idea of their own independence, prohibiting exports of food-grains to neighbouring provinces where people are starving, and the Government of India meekly abdicating its functions as the Central Government, and it is clear that the wisdom of extending our railways before settling the scope of the Central and the limits of Provincial authority, is more than doubtful. The Finance Member's eloquence when referring to the sore trials which the country has had to undergo and is undergoing is touching, but it is not much else. A friendly journal takes it "as a good omen that while preaching the need for economy in all non-es



essentials, Sir James Meston couples with it courageous outlay on the essentials." Judged in the light of his Budget, this can only mean that in the opinion of the *Pioneer* at least, the only essentials are the Army and Railway, and that education, sanitation, and all the rest of what are known as nation-building functions of the State, are non-essentials. In other words, the people of India exist for the Army and the Railways and not these great institutions for the people!

## EUROPEANS AND INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM.

(BY THE REV. R. M. GRAY.)

It can scarcely be doubted, however sadly we deplore the fact, that relations between Indians and Europeans are at the moment less happy than they have ever been. Race prejudice has been revived, and race feeling has been embittered. In spite of many real friendships between men and between women of the two races there exists on both sides a feeling of disappointment and irritation which sometimes, especially among the younger men of this country, has become envenomed. It is extremely unfortunate in itself, and it is a serious obstacle in the path of progress, seeing that no worthy ideal will ever be reached unless both races work together for India's good. Yet the case is by no means hopeless, for behind all the froth and loud-speaking there is a fund of commonsense and regard for justice in both communities to which we can make appeal. And it may help a little towards understanding if we make an attempt to understand and to explain the ordinary Englishman's attitude towards the Indian aspiration for greater political power.

There are selfish men in all communities, and just as there are Indians whose enthusiasm for reform has nothing better behind it than the greed for personal place and power, so there are Europeans whose opinions are determined by nothing bigger than self-interest. It was a pleasanter country to live in when their supremacy and authority were unquestioned and when they could command any amount of submissive service. Moreover they fear that if political power passes to any extent into the hands of Indians their business interests may suffer, and the money they have invested in India may be endangered. How many there are of whom this can fairly be said I do not know, but it is certain that the future is not going to be determined by them. No man, whether European or Indian, who considers a public matter solely from the point of view of self-interest deserves a hearing. He has put himself out of court with all civilised men. It is exceedingly unfortunate that so much colour should have been given to the accusation that in the consideration of Indian constitutional reform Englishmen are putting their own selfish interests in the forefront. But of opposition which has this as its spring no patriotic Indian need have any fear. The time is past when it could prevail.

But there are other Europeans whose doubts and hesitations are of a very much more honourable kind

and whose slowness in approving of political changes is due, not to any selfish clinging to power for themselves or their class, but to a genuine concern about the good of the country as a whole. It is very seldom that one hears anyone question the justice of an extension of self-governing power, and of responsibility, in India. It has to come, and it ought to come, is what nearly everyone admits. It is the natural conclusion of the work Britain has done in this country. If the people do not become able to govern themselves, then Britain has failed. But these Englishmen feel that the time is not ripe yet for any considerable extension of power. They feel themselves responsible for the welfare of the great illiterate masses of the people, and they do not believe that their interests would yet be safe under an administration that was mainly Indian. They are quite sure that many of the Indian politicians who would come into power under the Reforms scheme have no genuine democratic enthusiasm whatsoever, but only desire to get authority into their own hands. They see that the desire to raise the depressed classes is shared by only a small band of enlightened men. With all the criticism which has been directed against Government for not pushing on primary education, it is clear to them that the higher castes have no wish at all to see the common people becoming educated. They know that such a movement as that of cooperative societies owes its success and beneficence to the backing it has had from Government, and not to Indian philanthropy.

Moreover, they are convinced that under an administration more in Indian hands there would be a falling off in efficiency which would in the end entail hardship on the people. Indians are somewhat clamorously proclaiming their equality with Europeans, and resent the suggestion that there is any office now held by an Englishman which an Indian could not be found to fill with equal ability and success. The Europeans I speak of feel that it is not race prejudice which makes them doubt the validity of that claim. They believe that facts prove that for the present the average Indian trained man is not so trustworthy, so able as the average Englishman of the class whom he wishes to replace. Some of them have known instances of a department passing more largely than before into Indian hands with the result that it was less efficiently, and to speak plainly, less honestly administered. Many of them believe from experience that throughout India, speaking generally, the people prefer to have cases tried by an English rather than by an Indian judge. And hence they cannot view without misgiving the prospect of an immediate and rapid substitution of an Indian for a European administration.

How far these doubts and hesitations are justified I am not going to try to estimate. That they are wholly unjustified no one can truthfully say. Probably no one knows better what amount of truth there is in the allegations which are made than does the Indian who has trained himself to look for and acknowledge the facts. And I venture to say to my



Indian friends that, however exaggerated these doubts and hesitations may seem to them yet, if they do recognise that there are some grounds for them in actual facts, it would greatly clear the air if they would frankly acknowledge it. That acknowledgment is often made in private conversation, but very rarely in public print. There is undoubtedly among a class of Europeans who have done much useful work for India a good deal of irritation and part of it is due to a feeling that much of the criticism directed against them is neither fair nor wholly honest. They are tired of being misrepresented and abused. They are conscious of having tried to do their duty, and of having given to India some service at any rate that was disinterested. They do not expect or wish for thanks, but they are a little weary of being held up to obloquy as conscienceless plunderers of a tyrant-ridden land. The other day the students of a college which for fifty years has been supported by the givings of people in Britain came to their professors and accused them of making money out of Indian students to enrich their Church at home. It would be foolish to take the imaginations of students too seriously, but some of the criticism which come from quarters where there is no excuse in ignorance is as unintelligent and as ungenerous. And it would make the atmosphere more congenial for frank discussion if fair-minded men would frankly recognise that the difficulties and dangers on the path of constitutional reform are not wholly imaginary.

But now let me make appeal to those of my own countrymen whose attitude I have been trying to represent. I ask them, too, honestly and frankly to recognise the facts. This I would say to them. Even if there is ground for all your doubts and hesitations, the case is not judged. There is a great deal more to say. The India you are living in is not the India of fifty years ago, nor even of ten years ago. Largely as the result of the education we have given, India has changed, and is changing. The day of autocracy, of bureaucracy, even the most benevolent, is done. Put yourselves in the place of those men who, nourished on our literature, influenced by our political ideals, have come to desire a large share in, of responsibility and power, in the Government of their own land. Would you be content with the measure of both which they have now? Is it possible, is it to be desired that they should be? Would you have anything but scorn for them if they were? They have read the story of our struggles for liberty, and can you wonder they should regard liberty as their birthright also? Remembering a certain Golden Rule, can we do anything but prepare to give them what in their place we too should claim? Some of you live and work far from the centres where the educated classes mostly live, and possibly you have no conception of the intensity of feeling which gives its urgency to their demand. You think that they are but a few out of a vast population, and that the welfare of the inarticulate millions is safer with you than with them. But however many may not be sincere in their democratic enthusiasm there is a growing volume of genuinely national feeling, and it is impossible that it should not spread. The educated

classes in any nation must have, and ought to have, an influence out of all proportion to their numbers. If you repress them and alienate them you are doing no service to any class. You think that the people are not fit for any considerable exercise of responsibility. But is there any way of testing that, and of making them fit, except to give them powers to use, or, it may be, to abuse? You are convinced that if reforms are granted there will be falling-off in efficiency. That is possible. It is extremely likely. But may there not be something better than efficiency, without which the highest kind of efficiency cannot at any long last be attained, and is there any answer but one to the oft-punt plea that efficient government is no substitute for self-government? If you fear that a degree of inefficiency may result which will imperil the well-being of the mass of the people, it may be answered that in any scheme which is likely to become law there will be the provision of safeguards, and that to temporary safeguards, no moderate men will object, provided they be convinced that the first steps have been taken on a road which will lead to self-government within the Empire at last, and that the promises of reform are sincere. Let it be admitted that the bureaucratic government you believe in is benevolent, and that it has conferred, and is still conferring upon the people the blessings of peace and of a just rule. Yet may it not be that the time for that kind of rule is bound to pass, and that we ourselves by our administration have brought near the day of its ending? Moreover there is much to do for India which we have not yet done, which possibly we are not under present conditions able to do, the freeing of the people from harmful customs, the wider spreading of education, the improvement of health conditions, the development of industries. Has not the time come when further advance can only be expected if Indians and Europeans work together, sharing responsibility for measures some of which, however necessary, may run athwart the prejudices of the people? Even if mistakes are made, in what country have they not been made, may not that be the price demanded by destiny if a higher stage in national existence is to be reached? You are impressed by the risk involved in any large and generous measure of constitutional reform. Are you quite sure that the risk attendant on any other way of dealing with the problem we are confronted with may not be very much greater, and that the boldest policy, the policy which involves the most fearless trust in our Indian fellow-subjects, may not be also the safest and the best?

**The Ameer of Afghanistan:** Since last week, there has been a further change of the occupant of the throne of Afghanistan. It is announced from Delhi that, according to official Afghan reports received on Monday in Peshwar, Sardar Nasrulla Khan, the Naib-Us-Saltanah has renounced his claims to the Throne of Afghanistan and has sworn allegiance, with all the civil, military and religious representatives, to Sardar Amaunlla Khan, the Ain-Ud-Daula, who has been proclaimed Amir. Sardar Amanulla Khan is the third son of His late Majesty Habibulla Khan.



## MYSORE SOCIAL NOTES.

*Bangalore, Feb. 25.*

To make up for the absence of a letter from me for the last few months I shall this time give rather a lengthy one. We in this part of India have mostly a dull time and when we have any excitement we usually have too much of it at the same time. The latest excitement is the Government order laying down the rules regarding the admission of children of the

## DEPRESSED CLASSES IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

From the reports in the daily papers you might have known the details of the agitation against the admission of three Holepayka boys into a Government School at Sringeri. Sometime ago I was told that there was a similar agitation at Chikmangalur, but the Inspector General of Education, Mr. C. R. Reddy, stood to his guns and carried the day. At Sringeri the situation took a different turn. This being the Head quarters of the Sankaracharya priesthood it was inevitable some opposition from the religious quarters should take place. I am not yet in a position to say what part the priests play in the agitation. I think that there is considerable wire-pulling from behind and I am not quite sure whether there are not some of our well-known "Social workers" and "elevators of Depressed Classes" at the bottom of the trouble. The miserable thing about social workers and reformers in this part of India is the difficulty to find out whether they are for advancing social reform or obstructing it. I do not know the conditions in your part of India. I have had occasion to investigate some social troubles and I regretted to find that in one case a gentleman of whom I have heard too much as a social servant was really the originator of the trouble—one or two similar instances had also come to my notice. What I would like to see is honest, conscientious and open opposition to any step which they do not approve, and not preaching in the public one thing and promising great help and co-operation in all social work, and when any practical step is to be taken to put all sorts of petty obstacles in the way and get up meaningless agitation. I appreciate Prof. Sundararaman, though I wish that his views on Varnashrama die the miserable death they deserve, for his honest opinions. I prefer him to many of our so-called social reformers. They have not the courage to make sacrifices when it becomes necessary, and they are not honest in their convictions and generally act as cowards. I have heard the story of a well-known social reformer, who had three daughters, refined and cultured ladies they were. The gentleman occupied a respectable position in life. This and his views on social and political questions brought around him a number of educated young men—a proposal was made by one of them belonging to his own community, but of a slightly lower section than his, for the hand of his daughter, and the reply was "I am sorry my wife and daughter do not like it." A similar thing occurred in the case of the second daughter, then it was the mother-in-law who stood against it, for the wife and daughter had by this time become the members of Society. The third daughter had also a similar offer, and it so happened that she the man loved who wanted to make her his wife and would not have any one else as a husband. The father yielded, his additional reason being that the young man was the most desirable *parti* from social and material standpoints. The marriage took place on the most orthodox lines, the mother-in-law and relatives having been told that the bridegroom belonged to a higher caste than theirs—This is what I characterise as cowardliness on the part of our social reformers. It is, I think, unnecessary to

impose on the ignorance of people, who honestly believe, that any action not sanctioned by usages and customs is unholy. It is for us to make them get rid of their prejudices and show them the advantages of the necessity for reform.

To return to the subject now agitated in Mysore, I find that it has two aspects—sentimental and personal. The sentimental aspect, I admit, will no doubt be there and it is for the educated people to go among the orthodox section and pacify them. Instead of that I hear they interfere in a manner which to say the least is most reprehensible. The personal aspect of it shows how our public men cannot rise above personal prejudices. In the past we were always told that attempts were being made to start schools for the depressed classes, but the difficulty were with regard to teachers, accommodation and funds. Their education more or less in the past ended with these promises of attempts, and seldom those attempts came to fruition. When Mr. C. R. Reddy became Inspector General he admitted these children to the schools as it would be difficult to start a separate school for the benefit of two or three or half a dozen children. Mr. Reddy is not a favourite with a section of "patriots." They have decided on persecuting Mr. Reddy—that is what it is—in any manner possible, and the support the present agitation against the admission of the children comes from these "Patriots." How petty and mean is our public life when we fan into flame meaningless agitation against national progress simply out of personal spite. I only hope that the Government of Mysore will not yield to this kind of agitation in future, and will scrupulously stick to the policy which they have now laid down.

## A REFORMED MARRIAGE.

The marriage of Mr. P. V. Reddy, a Bramho Samajist to a young widow of the Mudaliar community has been thought of as one of the forward steps of social reform in this part of India. In Bengal or Bombay, and perhaps, in some parts of Madras such marriages may be of common occurrence. But in Mysore this is a rare instance and the Mudaliar community was greatly perturbed over it. Attempts were made, I am told, by some of the "educated" men of the community to frustrate the marriage, which however took place at Bombay, where the young people were invited by friends. The cantonment Brahmo Samaj which cannot boast of having done anything towards social reform during the past four decades of its existence, and this was the first instance of a Bramho marriage in which parties belonged to the Bangalore Samaj—decided to give Mr and Mrs Reddy a hearty reception. Mrs. Mahadeva Mudaliar, wife of Mr. Mahadeva Mudaliar of the Survey of India, one of the staunch Bramho lady interested in making a public demonstration of the support of the Bramho Samaj towards Indian Social reform. A large and interesting gathering responded to the invitations to the party which came off on Sunday last, a welcome feature being an immense gathering of Hindu ladies of various sections. This alone showed how false is the oft repeated complaint of some of our social reformers that their ladies stand in the way of practical reform. Through the enthusiasm of Mrs. Mahadeva Mudaliar and Mrs. Balasundara Mudaliar, wife of the Secretary of the Samaj, the occasion was made quite a success.

## THE HINDU WIDOWS' HOME, BOMBAY.

## SECOND ANNUAL REPORT.

The Hindu Widows' Home started by the Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association on 1st August 1916 completed its second year on 31st July 1918 and the Committee appointed to manage the affairs of the Home submits the



following report of the working of the institution during the second year ending 31st July last.

At the close of the last year there were 6 widows in the Home. During the year under report, 11 widows sought admission out of whom 10 were admitted and one was refused admission on account of her inability to produce certificate of character. During the year under report 6 widows were married, 3 left the Home of their own accord and 7 remained on the roll. Of the 6 widows married, 2 belonged to the Bhatya community, one was Kapole Bania, one Gujrathi Jain, one Devrukhe Brahman and one Dhruva Prabhu. The number of marriages which took place this year, viz. 6, as against that of last year, viz. 2, is not at all discouraging.

Out of the 7 inmates on the roll on 31st July 1918, one is learning English 3rd Standard, one Marathi 5th, one Marathi 4th, 2 Marathi 1st, and 2 Marathi alphabet.

In addition to the school education the widows are taught sewing Class started by the Social Service League on the premises of the Home. They are also taught cooking and other household duties in the Home.

One prominent fact with regard to the applications for admission is that generally widows in extremely poor circumstances—those more or less in helpless condition—request to be admitted. Such widows are as a rule illiterate. Most of the widows admitted commence their A. B. C. of vernacular education in the Home. There is naturally an amount of prejudice against an institution which avowedly affords facility for the marriages of widows. The institution is not also yet widely known, but the inmates coming as they do from mossil centres are helping to spread the knowledge of its aims and objects. They will also gradually contribute to lessen the first prejudice against the institution by familiarising it in society. The Home thus by silent and steady work is sure to make its beneficial influence felt and it will not be long before widows in better circumstances will seek admission thereto. Even at present the Home is useful to the guardians of such widows, who seek the assistance of the Superintendent in a confidential manner. The inmates whose marriages are not arranged continue their studies, and if the Home helps them to earn an honest livelihood, the Committee will have the satisfaction of having relieved them from their helpless position, when the higher satisfaction of having given them married domestic happiness cannot be realised.

Dr. M. D. Malwankar L. M. & S. generously continued to help the Home by treating the patients from the Home free of any charge, for which kindness the Committee's best thanks are due to him.

Mr. A. S. Wagh the permanent Superintendent had to go out of Bombay for about 3 months owing to illness. His charge was taken over by Mr. P. B. Gothoskar, B. A. one of the members of the Council of the Association and who did his work most satisfactorily and for which he deserves thanks of the Committee.

Mr. Mawji Govindji gave a bag of rice this year for the use of the Home.

The total expenditure for the maintenance of the Home during the year under report was Rs. 2175-11-4 (food charges Rs. 1040-5-0, clothes for inmates Rs. 56-12-0, books and fees Rs. 59-13-6, rent Rs. 6600-0-0, establishment Rs. 228-8-9, postage Rs. 31-7-3, and printing, stationary etc. Rs. 98-12-9). Donations were received from the following gentlemen: The Hon. Mr. Lallubhai Samaldas Rs. 300, Mr. Lakshmidas R. Tairsee Rs. 270, The Hon. Mr. G. K. Parekh Rs. 225, Mr. Narotam Morarji Rs. 200, Mr. G. M. Seth Rs. 135, Mr. Bbagwandas Madhavdas Rs. 135, Sir N. G. Chandavarkar Rs. 135, The Hon. Mr. Justice L. A. Sha

Rs. 135, Mr. Sitaram N. Pandit Rs. 180, Mr. Chunilal Ichharam Rs. 51, Mr. Hiralal Parbhudas Rs. 81, Rao Bahadur Wamanrao Kolhatkar Rs. 50, Mr. Jamabhai Mahomedbhai Rs. 40, Rao Sahib J. urushotam Oodhavji Rs. 25, Mr. K. M. Kooper Rs. 20, Messrs. John Dickinaon & Co's. Indian Staff Rs. 15, A sympathiser Rs. 10, Mr. P. V. Shrikhande Rs. 5, and sundry donors Rs. 3, Total Rs. 1985.

#### MR. SASIPADA BANERJI.

The 80th birthday anniversary of the venerable founder of the Devalaya Association, Sevabrota Brahmarshi Sasipada Banerji, was observed on the 2nd February at the Devalaya premises. In the morning a special divine service was conducted by Pandit Nabaddip Chandra Das, missionary, Sadharan Brahma Samaj. In the course of his sermon he very touchingly referred to the pious life of the Brahmarshi and his unflinching devotion to the service of humanity. He said that the best way of praising him was to follow his example. At 4 p. m. Pandit Adinash Chandra Vedantabhusan read and explained portions of the Srimadbhagabat. In course of his interesting exposition the learned Pandit introduced the idea of the Devalaya and showed how the spirit had been favourably recommended in the Bhagabat. At 5-30 p. m. a public meeting was held and was attended by a large number of friends and admirers of the Brahmarshi. Pandit Dhiresch Chandra Sastry Vidyaratna M. A. B. L. presided. Letters of sympathy and good wishes were received from Rev. Dr. J. E. Carpenter D. D., F. Grubb Esq. and Rev. H. Anderson and others. The proceedings were preceded by two hymns sung respectively by Babu Durga Charan Gnha and Babu Jitendra Nath Dutta. The meeting opened with a short prayer offered by the Chairman. The Brahmarshi and the president were then garlanded. Pandit Abinash Chandra Vedantabhusan presented to the Brahmarshi a Sanskrit address (with Bengali translation). A Bengali address in verse was then presented by Pandit Khetra Nath Banerjee. The following gentlemen addressed the meeting and offered sincere goodwishes to the Brahmarshi: Capt J. W. Petavel, Khan Bahadur Syed Abdul Latif, Rai Bahadur Radha Charan Pal, Babus Piyush Kanti Ghose and Provush Chandra Mukherjee. The Chairman then delivered a feeling speech. Babu Satindra Nath Roy Choudhury offered thanks to the Chairman. Light refreshment was served to the ladies and gentlemen present.—The *Amrita Bazar Patrika*.

#### "THE POONA MARRIAGE MART."

The Editor, The *Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

It is a long time since I wrote on this important theme in your columns. I once more resume the subject as the days are drawing near when the market will be uncommonly quick. The scourge of influenza which lay so heavy on the land has also affected this trade. But the wonder of it is that if anything, it has been a God-send for this market! Through a freak of fate the Kala-Azar took away more women than men, more wives than husbands, and so the market is going to enjoy an uncommon boom! For the present scourge differs from the plague which is known to have been fonder of men than of women! It made widows of young girls, but the influenza has made old widowers! Old men with half a dozen children on their hands! Oh the misery! And who but a small girl of twelve is going to nurse these little ones! Much speculation is already in evidence; and parents on the verge of despair after a long waiting are now after all going to dis-



pose of their stocks and without much bother! Next time about the Patel Bill as affecting this market.

Poona, 18-1-19.

I am, yours faithfully,  
S. G. BHAT, B. A., LL. B.

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not  
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

## CONTENTS.

Indian Women's Education  
and Vernacular Instruc-  
tion.  
The Government of India and  
the Madras Government.  
Special Interests and the  
Legislature.  
Casteless Hinduism.  
American Scholarships for  
Indian Women Students.  
Town planning in Indore.  
The Anti-Untouchability  
Movement.

The Rowlatt Bills and Passive  
Resistance.  
Social Reform, the Keynote  
of Sir George Lloyd's  
Government.  
Our Travancore Letter.  
Mr. Gandhi and Varna-  
shrama.  
The Mysore Government and  
Depressed Classes.  
Indian Women and the War.  
The All India Nad-Vatul  
Ulma Conference.  
"Read your past and  
future Free."

## NOTES.

Indian Women's Education and Vernacular In-  
struction: Mrs. K. D. Rukminiamma, B. A., who  
has considerable experience both as student and  
teacher, contributes a closely reasoned article to  
the current number of the *Mysore University  
Magazine* on the question of devising a distinct  
system of higher education for Indian women  
with vernaculars, instead of English, as the media  
of instruction. The article is important as  
embodying the considered views of an Indian lady  
of exceptional capacity and experience. Mrs.  
Rukminiamma has not the least difficulty in show-  
ing that the arguments for providing women with  
a different system of education from men are  
of the most specious character. A very strong  
point she makes is that, when the choice is left to  
them, Indian women prefer the general system of  
education in English to a special system through  
the vernaculars. The two systems exist side by  
side in Mysore and, as she observes, "on the sup-  
position that instruction through the vernacular  
would advance the cause of women's education  
much better, or even faster, we should naturally  
expect to find a larger number of girl students, com-  
paratively speaking, in our vernacular upper  
secondary and Pandits' courses. Actual strength,  
however, is far from satisfactory. In spite of the  
fact that the vernacular high school course is  
shorter by one year than the corresponding English  
course, and though students pursuing either course  
enjoy the same encouragement by way of stipends,  
the ratio of attendance is approximately 1 to 5 at  
present. Surely this state of things cannot be  
taken as testifying to the popularity of higher edu-  
cation conducted in the vernacular, which seems,  
in fact, to have fared even worse than English edu-  
cation." The true explanation of the fewness of  
girl scholars in our High Schools and Colleges, she  
points out, is not the unsuitability of English as the  
medium of instruction, but the prevalence of early  
marriage and consequent prospective early mother-  
hood. It is quite evident, as she says, that  
irrespective of the question whether vernacular or  
English is the medium of instruction, unless our

social customs are considerably modified, women's  
higher education cannot advance as rapidly as we  
would wish.

The Government of India and the Madras Govern-  
ment: Lord Curzon kept a tight hand over the  
Provincial Governments. Lord Minto who succeeded  
him announced at the very outset of his Viceroyalty  
that he meant to ride with an easy rein. Lord  
Hardinge in the famous Delhi despatch enunciated  
the policy of complete provincial autonomy in  
such a thorough-going style that all subsequent  
attempts to explain it away have been vain. In  
practice, some Local Governments have taken an ell  
where the Government of India meant to give an  
inch. The Government of Burma has put forward,  
without consultation with the Government of India,  
a scheme which contemplates the total separation  
of Burma from the Indian Empire. The Madras  
Government prohibited the export of rice to neigh-  
bouring provinces where the people were starving;  
and when the Government of India, moved by the  
protests of the Government of Bombay, took the con-  
trol of inter-provincial trade into its own hands and  
abrogated the embargo on the export of rice from the  
Madras Presidency, the Government of Madras dis-  
claimed all responsibility for the consequences of this  
step, and asked to be informed by wire whether the  
Government of India's orders extended to Hyderabad,  
Mysore and other Native States and whether those  
States had been moved to withdraw their restrictions  
on export of dry grains. The Government of Madras  
apparently think that they are a protected State like  
the Indian States. The Government of India  
do not seem to have thought it worth while  
to explain the difference between a Provincial  
Government and a semi-independent State. They,  
however, made bold to tell the Madras Government  
that while it is open to a Local Government to  
indicate, for the information of the Government of  
India, the consequences which may follow  
from the adoption of a particular course of  
action; "the responsibility for coping with such  
consequences must remain with the Local Govern-  
ment, and cannot be, and is not, in fact, discharged  
by a disclaimer on their part that they will not be  
answerable therefor." They concluded that they  
felt assured that they can rely upon the Governor-  
in Council to recognise this position just as it has  
been recognised by other Local Governments, and  
"that the Madras Governmen will, in common with  
other Provincial Governments, loyally co-operate  
with them in their endeavours to cope with the  
grave difficulties of the situation,—difficulties which,  
I am to add for the information of the Governor-in-  
Council, are far greater in some other province than  
in Madras."

Special Interests and the Legislature. One of the  
questions which have to be decided in connection  
with the enlarged Legislatures in India, is whether



the representation of special interests such as the Chambers of Commerce, the large landholders, and mill-owners should be continued. In no country in the world are such interests endowed with the right of sending representatives to the Legislature. The danger of giving representation to special interests is that they may combine to overthrow the general interest. We hope Government have read the report of the discussion in the Calcutta Chamber of Commerce on the action of its representative in the Indian Legislative Council, Mr. Ironside, in expressing his personal opinion in favour of the Excess Profits Bill while at the same time stating that his constituency was dead against it, and refraining, as a compromise, from voting either way on the Bill. Mr. Ironside told the Chamber what exactly his position was. "The Committee of the Chamber advised me 36 hours before the Bill came up in Council he said, that it was their unanimous opinion that I should strongly oppose and vote against the Bill. Gentlemen, I knew the weakness of my position. I knew that Government had figures which proved what they wanted, viz., that money was available. They were probably better equipped than was myself. In other words, I felt that I could not stand up and talk with any force of truth of the ruin of industries. Moreover, I could not allege a breach of faith by Government. Forgive me for taking up so much of your time, but if you had as full a knowledge of the subject, you would not be surprised that I have so strenuously tried to place my position before you and, gentlemen, now look on the subject from another point of view, and unselfishly. The jute mills in Calcutta are in an unassailable position. The profits of the past four years have been, I believe, about 50 crores. They are now asked to pay between 5 and 6. The average break-up value of every jute share in Calcutta is Rs. 100. Could I speak of the ruin of the industry?" In reply to several questions, Mr. Ironside remarked he could only say that if he understood that, as their President, he had no opinion of his own at all and that he was to represent only one side of the Chamber, he would have asked them to send somebody else to Delhi. We are sure all self-respecting men will agree that Mr. Ironside acted in the most honourable manner. There was another statement in his speech at the Calcutta Chamber which we welcome. He repudiated the charges levelled against them that they were exploiters and profiteers. It is a good and hopeful sign that there are commercial Englishmen in India who do not like being called exploiters. We remember to have read not so long ago others of the same class expressly basing their claims to special consideration on the fact that they had invested capital in the country. Even a man with such accurate knowledge of English as Lord Curzon once spoke of English officials and merchants being engaged in exploiting India, and the need for a good understanding and cooperation between them. As the Rev. Mr. Gray wrote last week, claims to special consideration based on self-interest can never gain acceptance in a civilised country.

**Casteless Hinduism.** The *Indian Messenger* calls attention to a Bengali movement which in the name of Vaishnavism is openly setting at naught the caste system. Our contemporary quotes an extract from *Yasohara*, the Bengali organ of the movement, and comments on it thus: "The significant extract gives out that Sri Bimalaprasad Datta, son of the late Kedarnath Datta Bhaktinod has got a following of not less than 5000 people recruited from the Telis, Sundis, Suvarnavaniks, Jelias, Namasudras and the like, among whom he has introduced inter-dining and intermarriage. There have been occasions when he himself has publicly inter-dined with

Chamars and Chandals. He does not end here but goes further to take the bull by the horns declaring that the Brahman by birth is only *Saukra* Brahman (शौक ब्राह्मण) association with whom in eating or in any other way requires expiation by *tuṣṇā* (slow burning in a fire made with husks). Whoever receives his initiation and sacred thread from this gurn is the real Brahman, distinguished as *Daiksha* Brahman (दैक्ष ब्राह्मण). Bimalaprasad initiates and invests with the sacred thread any one, be he a Brahman, Sudra, or Antyaja on a due introduction from any of his disciples. Is this not like poison supplying its own antidote?" May we request our contemporary to publish a full account of this interesting movement? What are its religious tenets as distinguished from other forms of Vaishnavism? How do Kedarnath Datta's followers, drawn from all castes, stand in relation to the general body of Hindus? Do they form a caste of their own? If not, how do they avoid doing so since, if all other Hindus refuse to recognise or have social dealings with one group of Hindus, the latter are necessarily forced into the caste mould, whether they like it or not? Only an active and aggressive anti-caste attitude of mind can save a Hindu sect in India from drifting into caste grooves. All the same, the growth of such movements as the Hindu Missionary Society in Bombay and this Bengali Vaishnavite movement, are signs showing that Hinduism itself is revolting against caste.

**American Scholarships for Indian Women Students.** At the request of Professor Karve, we have undertaken to act for him with reference to the suggestions contained in the letter from Mr. Chavre of Michigan University which we published in the *Reformer* of the 23rd February. A Committee will be formed to receive applications for the Barbour scholarships for women from Oriental countries. The Committee will put itself in communication with the authorities of the University. For the present, we have no more particulars to give except those already published. We have already received some applications. There are ten scholarships to be given. Communications should be addressed to the Editor of this journal.

**Town Planning in Indore:** We have received a copy of the two volumes of Professor Patrick Geddes' interesting report to the Durbar of Indore on Town-planning towards the development of Indore City. It is a most elaborate report. "It may be boldly affirmed," writes the Professor, "that Indore may be made—and this with moderate outlays well within the resources of the City, the State and the community, and even trifling when their results come to be estimated—(1) one of the healthiest cities of India, and this within the next two or three years; (2) that it can be made exceptionally healthy and prosperous, convenient and beautiful, and within five or six years; and (3) a renewed and leading City within half a generation. And this in much that makes a City illustrious—as for single instance, a distinguishing centre of education, science and learning, and so of the practical productivities and the ennobling idealisms which appear with each renewal of these." If all this can be achieved by a system of town-planning, the Durbar will be wise in undertaking the work at once.

**The Anti-Untouchability Movement.** We have received a copy of the report of the proceedings of the All-India Depressed Classes Mission Conference for the abolition of untouchability held in Bombay on 23rd and 24th March 1918 under the presidency of His Highness Sir Sayajirao Gaikwad, Maharaja of Baroda. Copies can be had at eight annas each, from the D. C. Mission, Charni Road, Girgaon Bombay.



## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, MARCH, 16 1919.

## THE ROWLATT BILLS AND PASSIVE RESISTANCE.

The *Servant of India* observes that public opinion is slow in expressing itself on Mr. Gandhi's passive resistance movement. This is quite true. It is worth while to enquire into the reasons. Public opinion is highly incensed at the introduction of the Rowlatt Bills, and the way in which they are being forced through the Legislative Council has not tended to mollify it. It feels that there must be some way of effectively demonstrating against this extreme instance of Executive self-sufficiency. It feels that it cannot be that some thirty English gentlemen, most of them officials of Government, who are, for all practical purposes, exempt from any fear of the evil consequences of these Bills, can make a law, in the teeth of the unanimous opposition of Indian non-official members, exposing men, women and children in this country to serious penalties without the benefit of an open and regular judicial trial. Mr. Jinnah voiced the general opinion when he characterised the proceedings in the Legislative Council prolonged appropriately till past midnight—the Bill cannot stand the light of day—as a farce. "Whom do you wish to deceive, God or me?" runs a line of Browning's. We have been asking ourselves several times, whom does the Government wish to deceive by making believe that the Bill is being passed by a Legislature on which the Indian people are represented by their elected representatives, when as a matter of pitiful fact the majority is almost wholly composed of their own officials who must vote with Government? Public opinion feels that something must be done to resent this gross affront.

As regards what that something should be, there is only one proposal in the field and that is Mr. Gandhi's passive resistance. Some hundreds have signed the pledge, and thousands more would gladly sign it if they knew exactly what is expected of them. Many are deterred from signing by the reflection that, after all, it may mean only grave words which commit nobody to anything in particular. The point to remember, however, is that it is not the fear of hardship, but the fear of a profession of hardship where no hardship may be involved, which deters many people from joining. Mr. Gandhi is held in high honour and the Indian public will not reject anything suggested by him without full deliberation. It has been waiting for Mr. Gandhi to explain how the pledge will operate in practice, what the pledger should do or abstain from doing; and so far he has not done so. We are afraid that he himself has as yet no definite scheme, and we think that what he wished to do by launching the pledge without a definite scheme was to show to the people, wildly excited by the action of Government, that there is a perfectly inoffensive way of asserting themselves against such arbitrary measures; and to admonish them against intemperate

action. We think he has succeeded to a gratifying extent in this object, and the country owes him a debt of gratitude. He has done the Government a great service, though they may not appreciate, or even understand, it at present. At the psychological moment, he rushed with characteristic courage into the breach and his doing so has saved the situation to some extent. When we say this we do not imply that the Rowlatt Bills are a proper ground for passive resistance. We must say, on the other hand, that they are not. We recently received a pamphlet entitled the "Ethics of Passive Resistance" and we find that all the examples cited therein are those of great men who were bent on carrying on a mission of Truth against the interdict of the powers-that-were. It is obvious that the situation created by the Rowlatt Bills has no point of analogy with such precedents.

The Bills are aimed at anarchical movements which no one wants to exist. No doubt, Indian opinion holds, and rightly holds, that the Bills are unnecessary and may, indeed, promote the very crimes they seek to put down. But that is another question. If there is any one who holds that he has a sacred mission to carry on anarchic conspiracies without engaging in active resistance to Government, he is the man to "passive-resist" these Bills. The people of India do not want anarchism and, therefore, they cannot adopt an attitude of passive resistance to these Bills when and if they become laws. We hope that the Secretary of State and His Majesty's Government in England may yet intervene to save the Government of India from a false position into which they have drifted and from which they are not able without such outside aid to extricate themselves. But that, again, is another matter. Our point is that the opposition of Indian opinion being not to the aim but to the methods of the Rowlatt Bills, passive resistance must distinguish clearly between the two. Since this is impossible, passive resistance is inapplicable to this case. That does not mean that there is nothing to be done and that the people of India have only to grin and bear this affront to their loyal and law-abiding character. Our representatives in the Indian Legislative Council are fighting every inch of ground in the passage of the Bills. When and if the Bills become law, those of us who hold that the procedure of the Bills is inequitable, and that the method of passing them is farcical, will be bound to regard persons subjected to restraints and penalties under these Bills as victims of a vicious law and not as offenders justly suffering the penalty of their wrong-doing. They will excite our sympathy and not our reprobation. If Government imagine it a small thing that a large section of the population should regard as martyrs the men whom they intern as criminals, they must be very little conscious of the fact that moral forces are more powerful than physical: the very mistake of revolutionary anarchists. Of this we are sure—the victory of Government in forcing these measures through the Council, will be a pyrrhic victory. They will lose much more than they gain by it.



## SOCIAL REFORM, THE KEYNOTE OF SIR GEORGE LLOYD'S GOVERNMENT.

His Excellency Sir George Lloyd presided for the first time at the Bombay Legislative Council on Wednesday, and in his opening remarks he indicated that the key-note of his administration of this Presidency will be social reform. His Excellency asked that the press and the public should co-operate with his Government in carrying out measures of social reform. For our own small part, we pledge ourselves to give our whole-hearted support to Sir George Lloyd's Government in all well-considered projects for raising the standard of life, understanding that phrase to mean not only—even not chiefly—the economic standard but the standard in all those matters which go to produce a sound mind in a sound body. In fact, for some time past we have been repeatedly urging in these columns and elsewhere the great need for the emergence from the turmoils of political controversy of a strong party which, steering clear of the catchwords of the moment, will adopt a programme of work on just those lines some of which His Excellency mentioned in the course of his pithy and forceful observations. Such a programme, as we have more than once pointed out, has a double advantage. It bears directly on the lives of the people and presents the only way in which the foundations of a healthy and stable polity can be securely laid. It also offers common ground on which men of all castes, races and creeds can unite and where they can forget their distinctive origins and interests. There will be, and there must be, other political and social movements, but our movement will serve as a sort of "control," enabling the public to test the aims and methods of all other movements. It will welcome the co-operation of all and antagonise with none that does not deliberately seek to obstruct it. Sir George Lloyd's remarks will, we hope, help the emergence of such a group of public men as we have been suggesting in our midst. His Excellency's emphatic words are, we trust, an earnest of prompt and effective action.

It is, perhaps, in the fitness of things that this movement of what we may call constructive politics should start from this Presidency. There are a number of social defects inherited from the past, the endeavours to remedy which have borne the specific name of "social reform" in this country. These relate broadly speaking to the position of women and the caste system. Indian social reformers have been working at these questions for nearly a century now. In the first half of this period, they had the strong moral support and co-operation of Government which helped them actively by placing some important measures on the statute-book. During the last thirty years and more, however, Government have been making such large inroads on their popularity by a series of restrictive, not to say repressive, measures that they seem to have felt that they had little of it left to sustain them in carrying through ameliorative measures which conflicted in some measure with the prejudices of the

masses. They have been too "busy riding" to be able to look about them and take steps to put right what was wrong in the landscape. In addition to what may be called these indigenous wrongs which Indian social reformers have been seeking to redress, in this city we have, in an acuter form than in most other places in India, also the evils arising out of the modern factory system, the movement to redress which is known as social reform in Western countries. A special feature in Bombay is that the employers are as much inexperienced in the incidences of the factory system as the employees. Where the old evils have been aggravated by the new evils, the results are bound to be worse than where these two sets of evils operate independently of and apart from each other. The problem in Bombay City is thus more complex than in most other parts of India. We have thus in Bombay the Indian social problem in its most crucial form. This is our difficulty but it is also our opportunity. Whatever we do here, whatever steps we take, whether they succeed or fail, will be valuable to the whole country. Our mistakes will serve the cause just as much as our success. A duty is, therefore, laid on us especially in Bombay to bend our best energies to the solution of the social problem in the interests of the whole country. His Excellency has given a strong lead and we earnestly trust that his words will find an abiding place in many hearts among us. No Governor of Bombay, so far as we are aware, set before himself in such a concrete, crystallised form the end towards which it will be the fixed purpose of his Government, and the central and inspiring principle of its measures, to progress. We congratulate the Presidency on this declaration of policy by the new Governor at the threshold of his Indian career.

The first thing to be done is to visualise the problem as a whole. Spasmodic, symptomatic action seems to be effective for a while, but this appearance is often deceptive, and it is often found that it has led to other complications which make reform less easy than before. Of course, it is not in human capacity to see the absolute whole of any problem, and it is often mere vanity to look too far forward. But we must have a reasonably wide and deep view of our problem if we are not to be landed in charlatan methods. For instance, if we seek to remedy the evils connected with the factory system in Bombay without reference to the social ideas of the people, we not only shall not succeed but will not deserve to succeed. This is the rock on which many excellent schemes in British India have gone to pieces. British administrators should not forget that India did not begin with the battle of Plassey. No reform has a permanent chance of success which impinges on some deep-rooted sentiment of the people for whose benefit it is meant. Take the question of housing factory workers. The Indian unit of a family is larger than the English one, and schemes based on the idea that a workman's rooms should accommodate only a wife and two children have failed because the Indian workman has not only his wife and children to look after but his old father and mother, perhaps, a widowed sister or



two, perhaps, too, a widowed aunt. His Excellency wisely said that no Governor or Government that aspired to personal popularity or desired a quick dividend of praise would dig deep into the soil of these questions. The besetting fault of the Anglo-Indian administrator, however, is not a passion for popularity. We think sometimes that some of our best Anglo-Indian administrators are tormented by an uneasy feeling that they are not true to their salt unless they keep treading on the toes of English-educated Indians. If there are two ways of doing a thing, one of them less unpopular than the other, they would prefer the more unpopular method. The Rowlatt Bills are a good instance. Now, courting unpopularity is quite as reprehensible as running after popularity. Sir George Lloyd will find that his policy can be best promoted by taking Indians into the confidence of Government in preparing measures, and not merely after they have been prepared and published and have become involved in the self-esteem or official prestige of their authors. India wants western ideas but they must first pass through Indian minds in order to fit naturally into the Indian scheme of things.

#### OUR TRAVANCORE LETTER.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

*The Assembly some Impressions.*

The Fifteenth Session of the Assembly is over and as one who has been attending every annual session from the very beginning I am inclined to record my impressions. It is an undoubted fact that the Assembly has proved to be a practical school for political training and the name of the Founder-Dewan, Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao C. I. E., who with the permission of His Highness the Maharaja, brought the institution into existence is being referred to every year with reverent gratitude and enthusiastic appreciation. The first impression is one that is creditable to the members. For the "sobriety, common sense and devotion to public interests" of the members have been testified to by every Dewan in unmistakable terms every year. But they have certainly gone this year one step further in the training they have had during the past 15 years when they were told by Dewan Bahadur Krishnan Nair, the Dewan, at the last Session of the Assembly which concluded its sitting on Thursday last, the 27th instant. His certificate to them was in the following memorable words which every one yearning for a larger measure of self-government in British India will welcome. The Dewan told them thus:—"In not a few instances they (the representations) also bore evidence of an intelligent and careful study of current economic and political problems. I am glad to see that, in many cases, large issues were approached in a spirit of caution and responsibility. I exhort you, gentlemen, to cultivate these qualities sedulously, patiently and steadfastly. If you could discuss every public question with a clear perception of duty and a genuine appreciation of the difficulties of Government, and if, above all, you could put an unprejudiced interpretation upon the motives and conduct of those in authority, you would be rendering a real public service."

It should be mentioned here that most of the representations, 176 in number, were in the vernacular and the members placed their request in a forcible yet respectful

manner. An opportunity is afforded by this Assembly to the accredited representatives of the people not only to criticise the administrative and executive actions of Government and its officers, but also to show their appreciation of the manner in which the administration has been conducted. It is now nearly five years since Dewan Bahadur M. Krishnan Nair was installed by His Highness the Maharaja as his Dewan. Hence the following summary of his administration which the members gave in their address to him after the discussion of subjects was over will, it is hoped, be read with interest:—

"Through these hard times, though handicapped on every side, you have guided the destinies of the State with unwavering steadiness and unerring skill. The statesman-like solution of the financial problem, the speedy construction and opening of the railway from Quilon to Trivandrum, the progressive development of Municipal Government, the timely inauguration of the Department of Industries, and the liberal reorganisation of the Department of Ayurveda are only a few among your magnificent and many-sided achievements. The rapid expansion of education, both primary and higher in all parts of the country, the ready recognition of the importance of its vocational side, and the steady spread of literacy among females and backward classes, as a result of the new policy of confidence and co-operation introduced by you in the field of education, have evoked the warm admiration of every true Travancorean. The admirable manner in which you have dealt with the recent food crisis marks you out as a statesman of the first rank whose supreme sense of duty and sure-footed lead saved the State in an hour of grave economic peril. The announcements made in your address regarding the expansion of the Legislative Council on a popular basis and the establishment of local boards to serve the needs of rural areas are further indications of your anxious solicitude for the welfare of the people and your large-hearted sympathy with their legitimate aspirations."

This testimony of the people is one of which any administrator may be proud and shows the sincere and whole-hearted cordiality and the happy relations that exist between the rulers and the ruled, qualities so necessary for the smooth and successful working of the administrative machinery. The Dewan told the Members that "it is a source of genuine gratification to me to note that the financial policy adopted by His Highness' Government in recent years has met with your hearty approval." He then outlined the policy of the State in industrial matters thus:—"I have never been an advocate of the policy of *laissez faire* for the State in industrial matters and it is reassuring to observe that the Indian Industrial Commission, whose valuable report has been recently published, has taken the same view on this burning question. I avail myself of this opportunity to appeal to you once again, to devote, in co-operation with the Department, your best attention to the development of local industries, each in his own sphere of influence and to the utmost limit of his capacity."

The concluding portion of the Dewan's speech will, we are sure, be ever cherished with feelings of gratitude. He said:—

"His Highness' Government are in deep sympathy with you in your aspirations after a fuller share in the life, light and progress of this country, and, as I have already told you, some important measures are now engaging their serious attention, which must go a long way towards securing the fulfilment of those aspirations. Let me, in conclusion, remind you once again that nothing is dearer to the Government than the happiness and prosperity of the depressed classes in the State and that I confidently count upon th



active support and responsible co-operation of this Assembly to enable them to realise their intentions in this respect."

No comments are necessary to bring home to your readers the significance of these precious words. Travancore has been famous for the high literacy it enjoys under the beneficent rule of His Highness the Maharaja. Naturally the people have begun to applaud and appreciate the valuable services rendered to the State by a Dewan who, before he accepted the invitation of His Highness the Maharaja to enter the public service of that State, was wedded to the practice and principles of Government understood and enunciated by the Indian National Congress and has never swerved from the popular cause. May that State have more of the services of such an Indian statesman as its head will be the wish of every true patriot and friend of Indian progress.

#### MR. GANDHI AND VARNASHRAMA.

To the Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

I read in your paper Mr. Gandhi's letter on Mr. Patel's Bill. He declares himself to be a believer in Varnashrama. Will you request him to make himself a little more definite and clear on the point? Does he believe as the *Hindu Message* does that castes are eternally fixed and each man should follow the profession of his caste or does he believe as the Lord Himself has taught us in the fourfold division based on Guna and Karma? i. e. what determines a man's caste birth or qualities and work?

Even if birth determines a man's caste, does the Mahatma really want us to preserve intact all its touch-me-notisms and see-me-notisms?

Salem,  
6th March.

Yours faithfully,  
S. K. YEGNA NARAYAN AIYER.

[This point was raised in our leading article last week. We hope Mr. Gandhi may find time to explain what he understands by *Varnashrama* Ed. I. S. R.]

#### THE MYSORE GOVERNMENT AND DEPRESSED CLASSES.

To the Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

Your views in the *Reformer* of last week, regarding Government grants to national Educational institutions, which are started as a protest against the admission of the lower classes into Government schools, gave me the utmost surprise. While on the one hand you seem to "applaud heartily" what you consider "the firm stand of the Mysore Government," on the other hand you favour strongly the existence of separate schools by means of public funds, so as to defeat the very object of the Government action; and retard permanently the elevation of the depressed classes. One can understand an argument that the Government should not deny financial aid to schools started by particular communities, or by religious bodies for their special needs. But I cannot conceive the *Indian Social Reformer* taking the view that Government should finance an institution of high class communities started as a protest against the admission of a particular community. The education of high caste children in Mysore cannot suffer because they have a regulation making education compulsory in the elementary schools, only the depressed classes are not benefitted by this regulation, for they have no schools to go to and separate schools could not be started all in a day. My own opinion is that the Government order is neither strong nor their "stand is firm" as yet.

They ought to have gone to the length of denying recognition to those national institutions which are started as a protest against the lower classes.

Yours &c.  
V. K. NAIR.

Bangalore March 8.

[We do not see what there is in our attitude to surprise our correspondent. We say that schools maintained by Government and Local and Municipal Boards should be free to all classes without distinction of caste. The Mysore Government have taken a firm stand on this point, and we congratulated them on it. The next point is, should Government give the usual grant in aid of schools started or maintained by particular castes or communities for the exclusive use of their own children? There are European and Mahomedan schools which get Government grants and the principle we have stated is not a novel one. Should an exception be made in the case of caste Hindus who object, foolishly we think, to their children attending schools which are attended by children of the depressed classes? We say, no. The caste Hindus are as much the Maharaja's subjects as the depressed classes. The State is quite as vitally interested in seeing that their children are educated as the children of the depressed classes. If the parents, in their adherence to traditional prejudice, will not let their children go to the public schools, it is not statesmanship to retort by virtually denying the opportunity of education to their children. That will be punishing the children for the folly of their elders. This course can be adopted--if at all--only if the State is prepared to take over the whole responsibility for their children from caste Hindu parents. Does our correspondent think that the State can compel these children against the wishes of their parents to be educated in the same schools as the depressed classes? We are afraid he does not quite realise what this involves. The cause which will suffer most is the cause which we are sure our correspondent has at heart, namely, the harmonious development of the whole community. The responsibility of the State for the education of caste as of non-caste children is undeniable; it cannot compel caste parents to send their children, against their cherished prejudices, to schools which admit children of the depressed classes; it cannot deny admission to its schools to the depressed classes; but it can say and it should say to caste parents who wish to have schools exclusively for their own children: "Very well but you must pay a price for your fatuity. Put down half the cost of the institution; and the State will contribute the other half." Any other attitude, to our mind, is not statesmanship but fanaticism which is not less objectionable in reformers than in reactionaries. For our part, we can never countenance any policy which has the effect of penalising any children for the inherited prejudices of their social environment the chief feature of which are, of course, one's parents. Ed. I. S. R.]

#### INDIAN WOMEN AND THE WAR.

To the Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

This land of India is so vast, the curtain which hides the homes of its soldiers is so seldom lifted, that there is perhaps a danger that people will refrain from giving liberally to the Indian Relief Fund simply because their imagination has never been stirred by any vivid picture of the passionate sorrow to-day among those who have lost husbands and sons in the Great War. I venture to trespass on your space because, within a certain limited sphere, it has been my privilege to penetrate the pathetic helplessness, the tragic difficulties which exist



beyond cantonments into the hamlets and villages from whence come the fighting men. I spent several weeks in November in the Rawalpindi and Jhelum districts, and in December I toured in the Tarn Tarn district. I must have met hundreds of mothers, wives, and widows and I came away enriched by memories of great loyalty, dignified grief, uncomplaining poverty. I cannot believe that, if the public knew and realised the history of the war as it has engraved itself on the homes I entered, they would be content to subscribe less than the uttermost farthing that they can afford in order that they might insure that the great work attempted, achieved, and contemplated by the Indian Relief Fund will be carried out thoroughly and with adequate liberality.

I do not know if I can convey in a short letter to the press something of the feminine atmosphere which I found so loveable and so inspiring. The first week in November the news of the surrender of Turkey had not reached remote villages, when old mothers heard the news that their sons were no longer prisoners-of-war in enemy hands their thanks giving, their dignified exultation, their simple bewildered human surprise and relief were poignant beyond all telling. In just the dramatic moment of receiving the good news the personality of some elderly woman was revealed, was startled out of all mere conventional expression and disguise. No woman, herself the widow of a soldier, could have doubted the pent-up love which that Punjab home had held unchanged and unchanging through the fortunes of war. In every village, all through the country I visited, the love of the mothers for their sons is unquestioned by the whole population; it is accepted as one of the great factors in the life of the community. The doubting stranger who penetrated those districts with the query 'Do these people really care?' might see evidences of a grief so intense that it seems almost to hypnotise the unfortunate victim. "When my mother heard I was wounded she fell down dead" one pensioned soldier told me sadly. "Since my son was reported 'missing' his mother grows weaker and weaker" said a retired Subadar Major regretfully. "I wish to die" said many an old mother to me with a sincerity that carried absolute conviction. I would give much if for one moment I could reveal to the world those bent forms, those proud or sweet old faces, those trembling little hands. The mothers brought to me letters from their sons—letters which revealed as nothing else could the strong bond that not even death can really break—and they showed me photographs, telling me how 'beautiful' the young soldiers were. The mourners carried the Queen's picture many miles to put it in my hands, and they showed the courteous letters received from the Depots, links between them and their sons' lives to which they seemed to cling with a wistful pride. The sons are 'considerate' to their mothers of that there can be no doubt, and when those sons have died for us, chivalry, gratitude, and justice alike demand that we should see that the women, who in their youth bore strong sons who grew up and served the Empire and died for her very valiantly, do not lack in their helpless old age that support which is due from us to them. Given adequate support, these old mothers will be in every village an influence for good. They 'gave to the King' and their dignity is an Imperial affair.

Of the anxieties of wives, of the tragic problem of widows, it is harder to write. The young change, thank God, and one can but hope that to-day's despair may give place to resignation, hope, healing. But the fear in a mere slip of a girl's eyes when, to the rustle of silk and clink of bracelets, she asks you if you think there is any hope that her young

'missing' bridegroom may return, is a thing to make any human heart quiver in response. There is all the brave show of wifehood, there is all the hope of a home-coming and of babies and prosperity and content—but how many 'missing, believed prisoners' will return and have returned from Mesopotamia? No wonder the older women shook their heads and the old father-in-law sighed. There is fear and suspense in that home. They are proud, the wives and widows, and with reason. For in one stony village of the Salt Range a mother was able to show me the intimation that her son had been mentioned by Lord French in Despatches in 1914, and the widow listened eagerly to my words of praise. Another widow held the letter in which her husband's Colonel had described the manner of his death, "He died as a brave man should in battle, well up ahead of his command." One woman spoke of her sister;—"I have a sister. Her husband was killed. Her pension is five rupees and we all said to her 'we will give to you'; but she replied, 'I gave my husband to the King; the King gives me five rupees pension. I will eat from the King's hand and from no one else's.' Can you imagine that little story, falling, impromptu from the lips of a Sikh woman, seated among a group of some thirty other women? It was spoken with an almost defiant pride and it was accepted with satisfaction by the whole group among whom pride and honour were very real things. Such women have pondered things in their hearts, they have experienced war, they have felt war, they remain among us as the very tears and wounds of war. All that is delicate in our sympathy, all that is true in our respect for sacrifice, all that is gentle in our sorrows, all that is generous in our conception of lives that are strangers to our ways, customs, and traditions, might well find expression in our instant support of the Fund which ministers to these women in their poverty, their difficulties, their grief. If the hearts of happier women in India, whose liberty and immunity from the perils of war has been purchased by the lives of the young and the strong on every front, do not distill a passion of pity and a fervour of generosity towards these homes of the Indian Army from which a soldier has gone forth to be no more seen, then surely a sweetness will go out of life and the fruits of victory be embittered? And the appeal to man's chivalry is clear.

Yours etc.,

EVA MARY BELL.

#### THE ALL INDIA NAD-VATUL ULMA CONFERENCE.

It is hereby notified for general information that the Eighteenth Annual Sessions of the All India Nad-Vatul Ulma Conference will be held at Belgaum (Bombay Presidency) on the 19th, 20th and the 21st of April 1919.

Khan Bahadur Hon. Mr. Ibrahim Haroon Jaffer Sait of Poona and Maolana Maolvi Kutbodeen Ahmad of Belgaum have been selected as Chairman and Secretary of the Reception Committee respectively.

Gentlemen having a mind to join the Conference are requested to intimate the Secretary 8 days before their arrival to enable him to make suitable arrangement for accommodation.

I strongly hope that this year's Conference would be more successful and advantageous than the past ones.

MAHAMAD HUSEIN.

Joint Secretary The All India Nad-Vatul Ulma Conference

Junama Masjid Belgaum, City



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C/o "The Indian Social Reformer."

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not  
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

## CONTENTS.

—:—

An Englishman on the Rowlatt Bill.	Inter-Caste Marriage at Calcutta.
Sir William Meyer's Dis- appointment.	The Re-Organization of the Medical Service.
Lord Willingdon on Indian Reform.	The Rowlatt Emergency Bill.
The Maharaja of Bikaner on Indian Reforms.	Educated Indians and Sanitation.
Bhavnagar's Praiseworthy Step.	England to India. A Word for "Justice." My Creed.

## NOTES.

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An Englishman on the Rowlatt Bills. A few Englishmen seem at last to be awakening to a suspicion that, after all, the opposition to the Bills may be due to some less unworthy motive than an abject fear of the anarchist or a scarcely less abject desire to play to the gallery. Mr. S. E. Stokes, writing to the *Times of India* from Kotgarh, has the fairness to point out that the record of several of those who oppose the Bills indicates that they would not have taken such a position unless they felt absolutely compelled to do so. "What impelled them?" he asks, "Was it fear to voice their conviction of the value of the Bills in the face of the opposition of their Indian friends? Or was it the fear of helping to make law that which their experience of conditions in India told them might be means of widespread injustice and hardship? Personally, I am convinced that the latter was their reason." Mr. Stokes thinks that Indian publicists made a tactical mistake in laying stress on the question of principle, and that they would have done better if they had laid stress upon the way in which the passing of the Bills would work harm to the people they were intended to protect. He goes on to say: "The object of this letter is to criticise the Bills from the pragmatic rather than the idealistic point of view. It is sent to a leading English paper, because the European community seem to find no fault with the contemplated legislation. These Bills are adapted to produce admirable results when administered by omniscient officials—men whose unerring minds can probe the thoughts and intents of accused and accusers, men absolutely cognisant of all the factors involved in every situation. Unfortunately, the most able of officials are not so endowed, and would themselves be the first to admit it. On the contrary, there are few countries where judges labour under such great disadvantages in getting at the truth. Members of a foreign community, cut off by their position and the traditions of Anglo-India from intimate association with the common life and thought of the people, officials are largely dependent for their information upon intermediaries for an inner knowledge of the people and their doings. And these

intermediaries are in a very large number of cases wholly unworthy of such a trust." There are roughly two ways in which the Bill can work serious harm. The first is through the wonderful opportunity they offer to black-mailers. The second is they will become the instrument of rascality by affording an open door for the gratification of grudges. Mr. Stokes is mistaken in thinking that these considerations were not present to Government, or that they were not urged by Indian publicists. But when Government want to do a thing in India, it is as futile to hope to stop them by argument as to stop a charging elephant by declaiming the Sermon on the Mount at him.

We are all the same grateful to Mr. Stokes for venturing to show that all Englishmen in India are not afraid of thinking for themselves, and thinking loudly too, where a Government measure is concerned. The following passage in his remarkable letter ought to convince Government, if anything could, of their mistake in enacting the Rowlatt Bills. "It is claimed that these Bills are to be instrumental in protecting people from violence on the part of seditionists and anarchists. My conviction is that instead of protecting them from one set of blackguards, it will deliver them into the clutches of another and far more numerous set. Also that through its instrumentality the already vast field of opportunity for petty oppression, bribe-taking and black-mail will be still further extended. Such legislation may suppress the more violent manifestations of anarchy but one questions if the cost is not too great. If, doing this, it at the same time furnishes the malcontents—and all lesser "badmashes"—with an easy means for black-mail and intimidation, and produces thereby a feeling of injury and insecurity among the masses, it were better left unpassed. After all there has been anarchy in other lands. The "Black Hand" and the "Mafia" were suppressed without such measures in Italy and America, in the former of which countries at least they were distinctly political. In Russia, on the other hand, with a far more efficient and drastic system of police espionage, anarchy was never overcome. When all is said and done, at the moment the anarchists are not in evidence. This may be the result of the present sedition law or it may not. At any rate this law will be in operation until six months after the conclusion of the war, and if the same conditions should arise after it ceases to be in force there will always be the opportunity of bringing the Bills up again. So why the need of putting them through now? Why not wait to see what the conditions will be after the reforms pledged to the people have been brought in? If, at some time months or years hence, the position indicates that such measures are needed, there is little doubt that the Moderates at any rate will give them their support. They have had the courage to take their present stand against extremism; this and the past record of the men themselves is proof enough that they



would not have taken their present stand against these Bills if they did not feel that they contain elements highly harmful to the country. And what official will not admit that they are more cognisant of the inner life of India than any foreigner can ever be? No sane person can question the good faith in which the Bills have been put forward. The only question is, will they do as much good as they may do harm, and if they will, is this the time for them?"

**Sir William Meyer's Disappointment.** *The Philippine Review* devotes a paragraph to Sir William Meyer's visit to the Islands. Our contemporary writes: "Sir William called on some of our government officials and visited some of our public institutions, and, we hope, carried away with him ideas that might be of service in the adoption of new policies and new methods in the newer relationship between Europe and the also newer Orient. To quote an instance: His belief that the Bureau of Prisons was full of political prisoners, because of what has been made to prevail abroad as to our way of living, i. e., as professional insurrectos, etc., was undone by his official visit to said Bureau and the negative reply of the Director of said institution to his inquiry, *that there was absolutely no political prisoner in that ward.*" "Such is the difference" continues the *Review*, "between the Philippines, allowed to run her own government, and soon to embark into a new, independent, national life, and the life of the so-called European colonies in the Far East, held through the force of arms for economic and political reasons. Their jails will continue to be full of political prisoners, while ours, empty of them. The Islands will continue to be, and still will grow, content, and happy at the policy of unselfishness here so nobly pursued by America, while the so-called European colonies in the East will continue to be the place of political discontent, of revolutions, of insurrections. The old argument of backwardness, which furnished the chief reason for the colonization of Oriental countries, should fall down under the weight of the example given by the Philippines, which was in no better condition than India, and which is making wonderful advance in politics, in education, in commerce, in business, and in many other lines." We, too, are making progress. We have just passed Rowlatt Bill, I, and have remitted Rowlatt Bill, II, for republication.

**Lord Willingdon on Indian Reform.** Speaking at a complimentary dinner in London, at which a large number of Indian and English friends including Mr. Austin Chamberlain, the Marquess of Crewe, and Mr. Montagu, were present, Lord Willingdon spoke some wise words as to the right attitude towards Indian constitutional reform. He thought that those of them who had administered India had in the past made too much of "efficiency"; they had been too keen about keeping the administration efficient, and had not sufficiently realised that they must give Indians some responsibility in their local affairs. "I would trust India," he went on to say, "I would show her that we believe in her high destiny and look upon her as a sister nation amongst the great dominions under the Crown. I would take risks in legislation for India—a progressive policy must mean taking some risks—and above all things I would give up what has seemed like our policy in the past—the policy of doing as little as we possibly could, except as a concession to agitation." In an impressive peroration Lord Willingdon said: "The views I give are those of one who takes the deepest possible interest in India and has a real affection for her people. I would trust India. I would deal generously with India; and I believe from the

bottom of my heart that if we do this, India will repay the British Empire a hundredfold."

**The Maharaja of Bikaner on Indian Reforms:** His Highness the Maharaja of Bikanir made a notable speech at a banquet, given in honour of Lord Sinha in London, at which he presided. Lord Sinha protested against the idea in certain quarters that educated Indians were unfriendly to British Rule. He said that educated Indians, without exception, ardently desired to remain in the British Empire as equals of British citizens. The necessity for that emphatic statement in view of the proceedings in the Tilak-Chitrol case, is obvious. The Maharajah of Bikanir said that the Indian leaders fully recognised that their ideal of self-government was realisable by India remaining an integral part of the Empire. He said that the names of Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford would go down to posterity as two great Englishmen who helped in building up a stronger Imperial fabric. He denied that the Indian princes were hostile to the contemplated reforms. A heavy responsibility rested with the British Government in connection with the reforms, which, if carried out, would enhance loyalty and contentment in India, but if the reforms were whittled down a situation of extreme gravity would be created." The importance of the last two sentences is unmistakable. The country will not forget the valuable support which our ruling princes have given to constitutional reform in the true spirit of patriotism. If there was any doubt on the point, the Maharaja of Bikanir's categorical affirmation of it, should set it at rest once for all. As for the warning in the last sentence, His Highness is not the man to speak in that vein without weighty reasons which everyone who is in touch with Indian public opinion will instantly appreciate.

**Bhavnagar's Praiseworthy Step:** We have much pleasure in giving publicity to the following Associated Press telegram:—"H. H. the Maharaja of Bhavnagar who for a long time has been considering the question of the abolition of liquor traffic in his State and with that view had approached the other Kathiawar States for co-operation and united action, has issued a resolution directing the preparation of a scheme to be brought into force on his ensuing birthday for immediate abolition of a very large majority of existing liquor shops in his State and for eventual total extinction of all trade in intoxicating liquors and eradication of the drink evil within a stated period. His Highness trusts that his subjects and neighbouring states will co-operate with him in this useful measure which will tend to augment the moral and material welfare of the people." We cordially wish success to His Highness the Maharaja in his noble and courageous project, and we trust his example will be followed by all Indian States.

**Inter-Caste Marriage at Calcutta:** An Associated Press Telegram from Calcutta, reports an inter-caste Hindu marriage the bridegroom being a Brahman and the bride a Vaishya. Several representative members of both the communities attended. Among those present were, Pandit Rajendra Nath Vidyabhusan Mahamahopapadya Dr. Satish Chandra Vidyabhusan, Sir Krishna Gupta, Lt.-Col U. N. Mukerjee. The Hon. Kumar Arun Chandra Singh, Mr. J. Chaudhri, Babu Gaganendranath Tagore, Satyananda Bose, Mr. C. R. Das, Mr. J. N. Roy and Sir P. C. Roy. We should like to know if the marriage was registered under Act. III of 1872.



## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, MARCH, 23 1919.

THE RE-ORGANIZATION OF THE  
MEDICAL SERVICE.

Criticising the Indian Budget in the Imperial Legislative Council, the Hon. Mr. Chanda quoted from the report of the Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India, who, writing of the influenza epidemic, says that our health organisation is absolutely inadequate and demands immediate expansion. Major Norman White estimates that the toll levied in British India alone by influenza was no less than five millions, and fifty to eighty per cent of the whole population had been affected by it. "In many countries," adds the Sanitary Commissioner, "the epidemic assumed proportions of a national calamity; this was certainly the case in India. From the incomplete information at present available, it would appear that no country suffered as severely as did India during the last quarter of 1918." The Sanitary Commissioner thinks that we would not have been able to effect anything appreciable to check the ravages of the disease even if we had possessed health and medical organisations comparable in efficiency to those of the most progressive countries in the world. Here his departmental habit of mind gets the better of his medical conscience. The Sanitary Commissioner's opinion in any case is heavily discounted by his own admission that our health organisation is absolutely inadequate and demands immediate expansion. Mr Ironside, the representative of the Calcutta Chamber of Commerce, tried to defend the neglect of this urgent national need in the Indian Budget by falling foul of educated Indians, but he had the grace to withdraw his remarks when their injustice was pointed out to him. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar's article on the subject which we publish today trenchantly exposes the hollowness of the excuses usually put forward in explanation of the slow progress of sanitation and medical relief in India.

Readers of the Life of Miss Florence Nightingale by Sir E. T. Cooke will find ample evidence of the opposition to new ideas of the Medical Services in England and in India. The Indian Medical Service is, in our view, the chief obstacle at present to the wider extension of sanitation and medical relief in this country. It has done good pioneer work in the past. But it has now become largely a means merely of providing bread and butter to a certain number of medical men, mostly English, organized into a close Service. These may seem startling statements. But we make it deliberately and we say that unless we have an independent Civil Medical Service there is absolutely no chance of our being able to carry out any large programme of health-saving work. The position is extremely anomalous at present. It is without a parallel in any civilised country. The Indian Medical Service is primarily intended to furnish medical men for the Indian Army. As

a matter of fact, a majority of the members of the Service are and have for several years past been engaged in civil duties. They monopolise all the higher appointments in the Sanitary and Medical departments. They fill most of the professorial chairs in the Medical Colleges. They overflow into the Jails and even Mints. They form a close Service utterly irresponsible to the influence of their surroundings. There is absolutely no chance of any one outside the Service, whether Englishman or Indian, however able and brilliant, getting any one of the higher places in the medical and sanitary line. The officers of the Royal Army Medical Corps who serve with the British troops in this country feel keenly their virtual exclusion from these prize appointments. Government have appointed a Medical Services Committee to consider and report on the reorganization of the medical and sanitary services. The Indian publicist can look at the question of reorganisation from only one point of view, that of the maximum good to the people.

We are saved from the necessity of undertaking to establish the principle to be observed in devising a scheme which would really and effectively meet the ever-increasing needs of the country. That principle was laid down so long ago as 1900 by Lord George Hamilton, then Secretary of State for India, in these words: "It would be of such a great benefit to India generally that medical men should establish themselves in private practice in the country in the same way as they do in other parts of His Majesty's Empire without entering the medical service connected with the army, that I am unwilling to accept proposals based upon the assumption that sufficient medical qualification can never be found outside the Indian Medical Service." The vested interests which surround the Government of India did not think it expedient to discuss the point with the Secretary of State. They allowed the matter to rest, and it would have remained eternally at rest had not Lord Morley *eight years later* reminded the Government of India of his predecessor's suggestion, and asked to be informed what had been done to give effect to it. That Government excused themselves on the ground that they had been awaiting the opinions of Local Governments. One Local Government, that of Bombay, had applied in 1903 to have a separate Civil Medical Service but the proposal had been knocked on the head by the Government of India on the grounds of policy and expenditure. Lord Morley closed the correspondence by peremptorily ordering that "no further increases of the civil side of the Indian Medical Service can be allowed and a strong effort should be made to reduce it by gradually extending the employment of Civil Medical practitioners recruited in India." This was in 1908-09. When the Royal Commission on the Public Services of India made their report, the total strength of the Indian Medical Service was 772 officers of whom 475 or 62 per cent were engaged on civil duties. Out of a total of 566 officers in superior civil employment, 493 or 87 per cent were military and only 73 or



13 per cent civil officers. No serious effort had been made to give effect to the Secretary of State's orders in a period of five or six years.

The present system of having in the cadre of the Indian Medical Service a considerably larger number of officers than is necessary for the Indian army in peace time, is defended on the ground of a war reserve. The reserve, it will be noted, is nearly twice as large as the number in active service. The body is the appendage of the tail. In reality, the Indian Medical Service is recruited more largely in view of civil requirements than of military, though the whole service is constituted a military service and placed beyond the control of Local Governments who are responsible for public health and sanitation. Apart from this, the present proportion of the so-called war reserve of the Indian Medical Service is, as events have proved, too large for ordinary war requirements and too small for a great war such as that just ended. The largest mobilisation of troops in India prior to the European War was that for China in 1900, and a war reserve of only 87 Indian Medical Service officers would have been sufficient. In the present war, the war reserve of nearly 500 officers in civil employ had to be augmented by the appointment of nearly 1000 temporary officers to the Indian Medical Service, of whom more than 800 were Indians. The dislocation caused to the civil service by the sudden withdrawal of the Indian Medical Service officers must undoubtedly be regarded as a contributory cause in reflecting on the holocaust of the last quarter of last year. The idea of making the health interests of 250 millions of the civil population subservient to the requirements of 150,000 troops, and of administering the former by means of a "reserve" to the number of medical officers required for the latter, has only to be stated to be condemned. In no other country in the world is this preposterous notion countenanced. The Royal Army Medical Corps in England is a purely military service, engaged always on duties for the performance of which it exists. If it had, like the Indian Medical Service, developed a bloated civil side, it would have operated, as the Indian Medical Service does, as a barrier to the growth of an independent medical profession which is the only adequate safeguard of civil health interests, and is also an inexhaustible reserve for Army purposes in a time of war. Lord George Hamilton and Lord Morley recognised and laid down the right principle for the medical and sanitary services of India, and we earnestly trust that the Medical Services Committee, notwithstanding its personnel consisting almost wholly of Indian Medical Service officers, will make it the basis of their recommendations.

The first thing to do is to limit the Indian Military Medical Service to the normal peace requirements of the Indian Army, computed on a liberal scale and with a broad margin for leave and wastage. The civil medical and sanitary requirements of the country should be met by the establishment of a separate civil medical service and by the growth of an indepen-

dent medical profession which its establishment will itself be a means of promoting. That it is the barred door of the Indian Medical Service which at present prevents the rapid growth of the independent profession is positively established by the fact that during the war (when temporary commissions were given to 800 Indians) the number of the students in the Medical Colleges rose from 1396 in 1913-14 to 2511 in 1916-17. The establishment of a Military Medical College in India and the provision of facilities for medical men in civil employ and in private practice for short periods of duty in them and in Station Hospitals, will enhance their value as a war reserve, without impeding civil requirements. Recruitment to the Military and Civil Medical Service may be by means of a common examination to be held simultaneously in England and India. This, in principle, has been conceded in the Montagu-Chelmsford report which says that its distinguished authors consider that for all public services for which there is recruitment in England open for Europeans and Indians alike, there must be a system of appointment in India. "We do not suggest," they add, "that it will be possible to dispense with training in Europe for some of the principal services. It will be necessary to make arrangements to send for training in England the candidates selected in India, but as to this we anticipate no difficulty." The Indian Medical Service, military and civil sides together, is next to the Indian Civil Service in size and importance, and the principle of the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme applies to it as much as—if not more than—to the premier Indian Service.

Another important point in any reorganization scheme concerns the appointments of Principals and Professors of Medical Colleges. These with a certain number of positions entirely devoted to the work of research, should be taken out of the cadre of the Military and Civil Services, and constituted an independent branch to be recruited from among medical scientists with an established reputation from any part of the British Empire. Their emoluments should be fixed on a special scale so as to preclude the seductive attractions of private practice. We have hopes that the large field of research in tropical diseases in this country will induce some of the most eminent scientists of the Empire to come to India for five or six years. The standard of medical education in India has reached a point beyond which it can be raised only by staffing our colleges with scientists independent of all Service attachments, temptations, and exigencies. The holding in India of the same examination as in England will also powerfully stimulate the raising of our standard of medical education. If the Medical Services Committee overlook these large questions and deal with the reorganisation question referred to them as a matter merely of settling the differences between the Royal Army Medical Corps officers in India and the Indian Medical Service, they will miss a great opportunity of promoting the health interests of the Indian people.



## THE ROWLATT EMERGENCY BILL.

The Bill investing the Executive Government with the power to introduce a summary procedure, in tracts declared by them to be affected by anarchical crime, passed its third reading in the Imperial Legislative Council on Tuesday. The division list shows only one Indian, Sir Sankaran Nair, the Education Member of the Government of India, and only one non-official member, Mr. Ironside of the Calcutta Chamber of Commerce, among the "Ayes". The non-official Indian Members voted solidly against the Bill. One of them, the Hon. Mr. B. N. Sarma from Madras, handed in to the Viceroy his resignation of the membership of the Council at the conclusion of the voting. He wrote: "The passing of the Rowlatt Bill in its present form, at a time of peace, is a dangerous violation of the fundamental principles of jurisprudence and the constitution of a grave menace to the liberty of the subjects, and perhaps marks the beginning of the end. It is with deep regret therefore that I beg to tender my resignation of membership of the Indian Legislative Council and beg that it may be accepted." Several of the Indian non-official members appealed to the Viceroy to withhold his assent to the Bill. As might have been expected, Lord Chelmsford has, in his speech, winding up the Delhi session, expressed his inability to adopt a course which will so sharply distinguish him from his Government. A group of Madras Moderates headed by Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer, late member of the Madras Executive Council, have sent a cablegram to the Secretary of State for India praying the Crown to disallow the Bill. The cablegram bases the prayer on these grounds: "Rowlatt legislation hurried through Council, without adequate opportunity for public criticism, against unanimous opposition of Indian members. Country absolutely peaceful, no need for legislation, present powers ample for all unexpected emergencies, country greatly agitated. Atmosphere created prejudicial to successful working of reforms and to effective co-operation between people and Government." The signatories in announcing that they are sending this message to the Secretary of State, declare that, whilst strongly disapproving of the Rowlatt legislation and the manner of its passage through the Imperial Legislative Council, and whilst recognising the need for continuous agitation to secure its repeal, they consider the movement in favour of passive resistance highly inexpedient and injurious to the best interests of the country. Between the Government of India, deaf to their appeals, on the one hand, and a section of the public calling for action on the other, the position of the Moderates is very far from enviable. It has been ever thus. His Excellency the Viceroy closed his valedictory remarks with a Latin phrase which is translated in English thus: "The falling out of faithful friends renewing is of love." But there has been breach of faith with the country in passing this law when it was waiting eagerly for constitutional reforms. Time is a great healer, and we do hope that this wound, too, will heal in time. But there is just now a strong feeling that it has been a stab in the back, and the Latin phrase less correctly reflects the Indian feeling at the moment than the lines in the *Lost Leader*:

Life's night begins: let him never come back to us!  
There would be doubt, hesitation and pain,  
Forced praise on our part—the glimmer of twilight,  
Never glad confident morning again!

## EDUCATED INDIANS AND SANITATION.

( BY SIR NARAYAN CHANDAVARKAR ).

The little passage at arms between the Hon. Mr. Ironside and some of the non-official Indian members, during the debate on the Budget at one of the sittings of the Imperial Legislative Council the week before last at Delhi, shows how some Englishmen, residing in India, moving with and among the people, in their own way, and according to their own lights, liberal and well-intentioned, are still unable to grasp the psychology of the Indian situation. For an Englishman or any foreigner to form a just estimate of the people of India, two capacities are essential: (1) he must be capable of thinking on the scale of humanity and (2) he must learn to be touched with a feeling of their infirmities and be free from "the paralysis which comes from the sight of the battle between interests". In his speech in the Council on the Budget, Mr. Ironside, referring to the grants for sanitation, blamed educated Indians as a whole for neglecting and hindering sanitation. That drew forth naturally and very properly an indignant protest from the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, which had the effect of making Mr. Ironside climb down a little. The Hon. Mr. Surendranath Banerjee joined in the protest and drew the attention of the Council to some facts showing how educated Indians had actively promoted the cause of sanitation.

The question raised by Mr. Ironside's remarks is an old one and has been made for years to serve the argument that Indians are not fit for self-government. The failures of several Municipalities and several Local Boards, the insanitary conditions of several towns and cities, and the factious spirit in many of them, have been frequently adduced in proof of that unfitness and the lack of a civic conscience among our people, "the educated" included. Assuming that Municipal Government has not been yet up to the mark among us; that our Municipalities and local boards are still wanting in the due performance of their duties, even admitting that, faction, indolence, and apathy dog the footsteps of sanitation in India because we, "educated Indians" are laggards in its race, what do the assumption and admission come to?

Englishmen in India are apt to forget their own history, the history of their own country, and the history of local government in India from the pre-British period down to now, when they blame educated Indians for what they call the failure of that Government and for the apathy of educated Indians towards sanitation. Mr. Ironside and those of his way of thinking need to be reminded that the state of sanitation in England was bad, that the educated Englishman lacked the living and the new way of civic conscience until two things happened: viz. (1) the boon of education was imparted to the masses and (2) the franchise was extended to them in the matter of self-government as distinguished from mere local self-government. Such was the apathy to sanitation of the County Councils and of educated Englishmen who



constituted them in the time of Lord Palmerston that when complaint was made to him (he was Home Minister then) on that score, he with his accustomed cynicism made the remark which has passed into a proverb. He said that in every country there were two parties—a clean party and a dirty party, and that the dirty party prevailed. And that was said of England and educated Englishmen! When, again, an epidemic of cholera broke out in London in 1850, a deputation consisting of educated Englishmen—Ministers of the Church—waited upon Lord Palmerston and requested him to order the public offices to be closed on a set day to enable people to attend the Church and pray to God to extinguish the epidemic. Lord Palmerston's reply to the deputation was a lesson to those educated Englishmen on the duty they owed to sanitation. "Gentlemen," said he, "instead of attending Churches and praying, go and whitewash your houses and teach people to whitewash theirs." "Drainage before devotion"—that was Palmerston's counsel to the educated Englishman of his time. And even now, after all the rise of the civic conscience in England, we hear of backslidings in County Councils from the testimonies of Englishmen themselves. "The Government in industrial neighbourhoods is often bad, sometimes because (the members are self-seekers, more often because) they are ignorant or vainglorious." This from an Englishman of Englishmen. Another well-known Englishman—Edward Carpenter—in his "Day Dreams" writes that District Councils in England are a shade better than Parish Councils and complains of "the want of spirit and pluck in these public bodies" in England of the present time.

This is not meant as an apology for or a defence of such apathy of educated Indians in the matter sanitation as may be justly charged to them. It is a diagnosis of the case suggested by the facts of human nature which is more or less the same in even the art of Government and management of a people. If educated Indians have not been alert and active as they ought to be, what is that due to? It is due to two causes: First, the ignorance of the masses. On that I need not dwell. Educated India asks for mass education, Government says, Wait. But secondly, while it is true "that local Government is a training school for imperial Government" (as Gladstone said of it), it is also true, judging from history, that local Government fails unless people have before them the assurance and the practically realisable ideal in the present of imperial Government as the goal to which they can look up as a reality, not a dream. Local Government is only a training for, a stepping stone to Imperial Government; it is an end and also a means to a higher end. Where the higher end is denied to the people, who are told to wait for it until they have proved successful in the lower end, there is no stimulus, no incentive to make the local Government efficient. Emerson uttered the most practical wisdom of human experience, and history when he advised: "Hitch your waggon to a star." President Woodrow

Wilson counsels educated Americans, the flower of his University: "By the scale of a hemisphere shape your designs." An English youth works at local Government because the offices and duties of Imperial Government are open to him to rise to. An American works at it, because he can become a member of Congress, and rise to be the President of his States. The example of Joseph Chamberlain is often cited to us educated Indians. He shone as a County Councillor of Birmingham and adorned it by the alertness of his "civic conscience," because he had before him not merely an unrealisable vision but a sure sight and certainty of Imperial office and responsibility. To us in India it is a Promised Land—a promise, a hope, no performance.

This is not mere theory—it is now held as conviction not only by educated Indians but also by thinking Englishmen. It is the best political thought and experience in England. In 1910 when the late Mr. Gokhale returned to India after his labours in England and his interviews with Lord Morley, I had a conversation with him, in the course of which I referred to the opinion that we must prove efficient in Municipal and local administration before claiming the higher duties and rights of provincial and imperial administration. I asked Mr. Gokhale what he thought of that. He replied: "But municipal and local administration does not prove attractive and sufficient inducements to our activity and public spirit because we have nothing higher to look to as Englishmen have." I was wondering whether Englishmen in England saw the question and realised our situation in India in that light. I find now they do. But two months ago I happened to meet one of the best and most cultivated and thoughtful English members of Lord Southborough's Committee. There were present at the time also two Englishmen holding high office in India. The topic of conversation was Mr. Montagu's scheme of Indian reform. One of the officials remarked that the real and pressing need of India and Indian politics was reform from below—*i.e.* in the village and local administrations—to the top, *i.e.* provincial and imperial administrations; and that Mr. Montagu was putting the cart before the horse. The English member of Lord Southborough's Committee, a gentleman of great political experience, replied:—"We have given up that theory in England. That theory was at one time believed by British statesmen and thinkers, but it has been proved untenable by experience. The view now held is that people will not make reform *below* successful unless they know and are sure that the *higher* is open to them."

India's history—not merely England's or America's—is proof of that. Why did our ancient village *punchayets* fail and die? Because each was a self-centred unit and had no place in and was not vitalised by the scheme of the Central Government as a training ground for the higher responsibilities of that Government. The late Sir Donald McLeod wrote of India in 1861: "To work any practical use



out of the people, they should not continue ever to be treated as children or imbecile." There is writ large the discouraging lesson and warning. Civic conscience is bred of the larger conscience of Country and State. Men rise to the height of the particular when they know they can rise to the height of the Universal. That is how Englishmen have risen and realised the sense of their sanitary duty. But to us educated India some of them apply a different standard. That is not the way to progress, sanitary or otherwise.

### ENGLAND TO INDIA

#### IN SEVENTY-THREE HOURS.

Obscured at times by clouds of garbled press reports, the brilliant sky of accomplishment in the recent flight from Pawich to Karachi has not been sufficiently visible to impress the casual observer with its momentous facts. Yet, stripped of all verbal embellishment, the bare figures of a pioneer achievement which will live long and most honourably in the history of aviation are deserving of a place in the memory of all interested in aerial progress.

*The distance of 5,556 miles to Karachi was accomplished in the flying time of 72 hours 41 minutes, giving on average speed of about 76 miles an hour, and the weight carried for the greater part of the journey totalled over 13 tons.*

General MacEwen, now commanding the Royal Air Force in India, did not set out to create time records from end to end—that attempt is for a later date when the route is properly organized with necessary equipment; when air currents and other atmospheric conditions now uncharted and unknown, can be utilized to aid the aviators. In those days ahead it may be possible to use or avoid winds which at one period assisted the "Carthusian" to cover 106 miles per hour for eight hours and, contrariwise, on another day reduced speed to an average of 35 miles an hour for five hours.

General MacEwen's machine, unlike the fighting and bombing planes in war, was not able after a few hours' flight to return to a properly-organized and equipped base, where the machine and its engines could be thoroughly examined for signs of weakness and flaws. Pioneer-like, it soared away into regions where the aerial equivalent for Harley Street specialists do not congregate; away over sea and desert where landing must be avoided even at the cost of neglecting overburdened and overworked engines. Modern liners are not unacquainted with mid-ocean stoppages through faults in engines,—engines which receive from the ship's engineers incessant, meticulous care throughout their working hours. Travelling in the celestial sphere at eighty miles an hour, to free a choked oil or petrol feed is a job for winged angels, and these are not carried as part of the crew. Their nearest practical equivalent is the twelve-stone or theirabouts of the Air Mechanic whose services are valuable enough to be wanted on board. A brief glance at a multi-engined airplane, and one realizes the difficulty of attending to engine faults *en route*.

And what did the engine trouble in General MacEwen's flight amount to? "Most of the trouble" said General MacEwen, "was caused by false reports in the local papers here." Considered alone, the time and distance figures of the journey would, to the analytical mind, greatly discount the exaggerated reports of engine faults which appeared in certain press telegrams. Yet nowadays so many of us are content to let our opinions be moulded by the press. General MacEwen,

interviewed in Karachi after the flight, said he was anxious to remove any possible impression that he had any fault to find with the aeroplane in general or the Rolls-Royce engines in particular. The engines were under-powered in proportion to the great size and weight of the machine with the consequence that they were over-worked throughout the voyage. "They have however, responded nobly to the demands made upon them" and they "did all that could be expected of them."

Press telegrams from Karachi appeared in many journals in India saying "The engines have been giving trouble most of the way." The *Karachi Daily Gazette* after interviewing General MacEwen specifically denied this and admitted that it had been guilty of accentuating the difficulties experienced during the voyage.

As a very big elephant can be put "out of action" by a very small quantity of lead or poison, so may a powerful engine become inoperative through a little cause. General Borton in his flight from Calcutta to Lahore made a descent necessitated through dust choking the petrol feed of one of the engines. For such a contretemps the engine makers cannot be arraigned,—nor can they be in respect of the fractured oil pipe which caused a 360 h. p. engine to fail through want of lubricant in General MacEwen's flight. In this case the damaged pipe was neither made nor fitted by the engine makers.

It would seem that the aero engine manufacturer is too readily blamed when minor troubles occur and insufficiently praised when things go smoothly. Without efficient engines where would be the Handley-Page, the Sopwith, the Bristol Scout, the D. H., or any of the other types whose descriptive title ignores the vital heart and soul of the flying machine?

S. G. WHEELER.

*Cumballa Hill, Bombay.*

### A WORD FOR "JUSTICE."

To the Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

*Justice* seems to be labouring under a great misconception in taking Mr. Kadam to be the true and acknowledged leader of the Maratha community. He does not at all occupy any such position. He was one of the four persons who were authorised by the Maratha conference, held at Nasik, to give evidence before the Franchise Committee. Mr. B. V. Jadhao, who ultimately gave evidence, was the President of the Conference and is the recognised leader of the Maratha community. The fact that he was been asked by the Maratha League and the committee of the provincial conference of the Marathas to proceed to England to strive to secure communal representation for the Marathas, completely proves his leadership. Mr. Kadam had no authority whatever to "boycott" the Franchise Committee in the name of the Marathas who had unanimously decided to send witnesses to it. He acted without authority and against the declared opinion of his community, and *Justice* is making itself ridiculous by dabbling in matters about which its knowledge is next to nothing.

A NON-BRAHMIN.

### MY CREED.

I would be true, for there are those who trust me;

I would be pure, for there are those who care,

I would be strong, for there is much to suffer;

I would be brave, for there is much to dare;

I would be friend of all, the foe, the friendless;

I would be giving and forget the gift;

I would be humble, for I know my weakness;

I would look up, and laugh, and love and lift.

H. A. WALTER.



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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not  
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard." WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

## CONTENTS.

—:o:—

Mr. Gandhi on the Passing  
of the Rowlatt Act.  
The Arms Act.  
The Viceroy at Baroda.  
An Obsolete Etiquette.  
The Maharaja of Bikanir's  
Speech at the Sinha  
Dinner.  
American Scholarships for  
Indian Women Students.

The Bombay Social Service  
League on the Inter-Caste  
Marriage Bill.  
Professor Vaswani.  
The Social Service League  
on the Intercaste Marriage  
Bill.  
On the Side of the Majority.  
A Brahman Widow Re-  
marriage in the Nizam's  
Dominions.

## NOTES.

—:o:—

Mr. Gandhi on the Passing of the Rowlatt Act. In a communication to the press, Mr. Gandhi points out that *Satyagraha* is essentially a religious movement. It is a process of purification and penance. It seeks to secure reforms or redress of grievances by self-suffering. He suggests that Sunday, the 6th of April, should be observed throughout the country as a day of humiliation and prayer. He also suggests a twenty-four hours' fast, counting from the last meal on the preceding night, to be observed by all adults, unless prevented from so doing by considerations of religion or health. "Fast is not to be regarded," he writes, "in any shape or form in the nature of a hunger-strike or designed to put any pressure upon Government. It is to be regarded for *Satyagrahis* as a necessary discipline to fit them for the civil disobedience contemplated in their pledge, and for all others as some slight token of intensity of their wounded feelings." We do not know how far Mr. Gandhi's suggestion will commend itself to his ardent followers. It can not be understood at all by the *Advocate of India* which ridicules it as once more demonstrating the political weakness of India. Well, perhaps, our contemporary has never heard of such a thing as "strength in weakness". Mr. Gandhi's principle is identical with the one which starting as a grain of mustard seed—the least of little things—in a corner of the conquered and politically weak Judæa, overshadowed in course of time the mighty Roman Empire. If some of our Anglo-Indian contemporaries have forgotten their Christianity, they should at least remember their Roman history. We have not, for the reasons stated in our article on the subject, subscribed to the Passive Resistance movement, but we intend to observe the 6th of April as a day of humiliation and prayer, humiliation that our earnest efforts to save the Government of India from passing this Bill have been vain, and prayer that the disappearance of anarchical crime from the sacred soil of our country may deprive short-sighted bureaucrats of the least excuse for applying this nefarious Act. Mr. Gandhi has grasped the great truth so sedulously inculcated by all great religious teachers that one finds his life when he is not afraid of losing it and that he loses it when he is over-anxious to save it. Much silly and superficial nonsense has been spoken and written of the weakening effects of asceticism. On the contrary, the

ascetic, as a French writer has it, is the athlete. If there is any means whereby the purifying and invigorating effects of war on a nation's character, can be produced without the misery, bloodshed and crime which war involves, it is asceticism regularly and religiously, practised. In that way alone can man keep his soul in "peace" time from the corroding influence of materialism. Professor William James, certainly no obscurantist, has recommended small daily acts of voluntary renunciation and abstinence as the best means of preserving character in health and vigour. If Mr. Gandhi's principle, which is that of all great religions were more largely understood, there can be no domineering authority, there can be no unwilling obedience.

The Arms Act. The new rules issued by the Government of India for the administration of the Arms Act, are, from the point of view from which they have been framed, an improvement on those which they supersede. For one thing, racial invidiousness is expressly banned by the terms of the resolution. Experience alone can show how far this feature of the new rules will in practice be carried out not merely in the letter but also in the spirit. The main principle of these regulations is that, with the exception of certain individuals and classes of individuals, all persons should take out licenses on payment of certain fees. In the case of persons holding titles conferred by Government and Commissions in the Army or Navy, of persons who have been or are members of the Legislative Councils, and of persons paying not less than Rs. 1000 per annum of land revenue or Rs. 250 in Roads and Public Works cesses, or income tax on an income of Rs. 3000 and more, licenses will ordinarily be issued on application without previous enquiry. These qualifications are subject to such variations as Local Governments may adopt, and are merely thrown out as suggestions by the Government of India. We respectfully suggest that it is this vague sort of concession which is most liable to cause irritation. The new rules nowhere lay down in what cases or for what reasons previous enquiry *may be* held before granting or refusing the applications for licenses from persons with the above mentioned qualifications or others which may be adopted by Local Governments in their stead. How is a man paying the requisite income tax to know whether his case will fall under the ordinary rule of "no previous enquiry before issue of license" or will be treated as an exception to it, or whether he will get a license at all. Here is a wide field for irritation. When a person who pays the necessary land-tax or income tax applies and is refused a license, he feels humiliated and to place a man in a position to court his own humiliation is to offer him just cause for irritation. We have considered the reasons given by Government against administering the Arms Act on a purely fiscal basis—we agree that its repeal is not desirable—and have not been able to accept them. The very fact that the Arms Act in all its present rigidity is being enforced on the people, is conclusive proof to our mind that the Indian people as a whole do not much



care to possess arms. If they had the same passion for fire arms as the Afghan tribes, for instance, no Government on earth can prevent them from having them. This is the commonsense view of the question.

If the public do not care to keep arms, it may be asked, why should there be any objection to an Arms Act prohibiting them from keeping them? The objection is—and Government have not realised it—that though the people do not want to keep arms as a rule, they do not at the same time relish being treated as criminals if they should happen to possess arms at any time out of curiosity or for purposes of sport or exercise. They do not like the idea of mere possession of arms being held to imply a criminal intention. We want an Arms Act to punish the abuse of the right to possess arms: not to prevent the possession of arms by the ordinary citizen. As regards the unlicensed possession of arms leading to more riots and violent crimes than at present, we must say that, both a matter of practice and of theory, there is no reason to believe that there is much ground for that fear. On the contrary, it may be argued with much force that the possession of arms, following a well-understood Montessori principle, is likely to inculcate greater self-restraint and circumspection in the average possessor. Where loss of temper leads to nothing more than a wealth of vituperation, people are more easily put in the way of losing their tempers than when it may mean a thrust with the sword or a bullet through the head. We fully recognise the responsibility of the Government of India for the maintenance of peace and tranquillity, but we rather think that they are not discharging it in the most effective manner by preventing the possession of arms or by passing Rowlatt Acts. Government themselves admit that the Arms Act has been a failure in respect of the most important purpose which it is intended to serve, when they say that in more than one province fire-arms illicitly obtained have during recent years played an appreciable part in serious crimes. This proves that the existence of the Act does not even now prevent evilly disposed persons to get the arms they want, while the law-abiding citizen has to forego a means of defence out of respect for the law. We quite believe that there may be a few score more deaths from gun-shot wounds than at present if there be no restriction on the possession of fire-arms except by persons deprived, by law, of the right, for abusing it, but in the presence of the six million deaths from influenza last year and the millions more from famine that is certain during the present agricultural season aggravated by high war prices, the use of that probability is an argument against the limitation of the Arms Act to proved criminals, strikes us being a bit of administrative prudery.

**The Viceroy at Baroda:** His Excellency the Viceroy arrived on a two days' visit to Baroda on the 24th instant. During his stay, His Excellency laid the foundation stone of the new State Railway workshops at the Gorya Gate Station, visited the Central Library which marks a new and important educational development in the State, and was entertained at a banquet and at a garden party by His Highness the Maharaja. In proposing the Viceroy's health at the State dinner, His Highness referred to the political and social problems which urgently call for action, and said it was fortunate that at this juncture India should have at the helm one who has made a lifelong study of such questions and in particular of the great problem of education, than which none was nearer to his heart and none more important to the future welfare of India. "By education" His Highness went on to say, "I mean the adequate training of the masses as well as of the classes. I mean not

merely the flooding of the land with school masters but rather the evolution of a system of instruction which will bring out the vast good which is in the people and shall strengthen them bodily, mentally and spiritually. Other important problems before us are the expansion of industrial effort and the establishment of a suitable and widespread system of local self-government. These too are subjects of which Your Excellency has made a special study, and I look with confidence to a future when Your Excellency's wisdom, experience, patience and foresight will pilot the Indian ship of State safely through all difficulties to the calm waters of social, political and material progress."

His Excellency in replying paid a high tribute to the Maharaja Gaekwar's efforts to improve the condition of his people and to create a healthy and intelligent body politic to carry forward the progressive ideals with which His Highness himself is inspired. "Baroda," the Viceroy continued, "has been fortunate in having for the past 43 years a ruler who has devoted care and thought to the promotion of the welfare of the people. In your efforts to bring the benefits of literacy to the entire male population of your State, to spread knowledge among women, to uplift the backward and depressed classes, to promote the public health, to improve economic conditions and to induce a desire and an aptitude for local self-government, Your Highness has addressed yourself to questions, the right solution of which would bring about the cure of many political ills. No greater service can be rendered to India than your Highness has done not merely as a theorist or an idealist but as practical administrator conscious of the actual needs and familiar also with the difficulties which are involved in the breaking away from old tradition. By the wise promotion of a system of political and social order aiming at the combination of all that is best in Eastern and Western civilisation, the ruler of an Indian State may do much to show the path of progress to the peoples of India." His Excellency remarked that we in British India might learn a good deal from the observation of what has been done in the Indian States in the way of testing and proving new paths of advance.

**An Obsolete Etiquette:** There is one matter of social import which has been puzzling us. We have noticed that, when Viceroys and Governors are entertained by Indian rulers, the latter invariably make complimentary references to the wives of these high personages, whereas these latter studiously refrain from recognising that their hosts also have wives. It may be that this practice of omitting all reference to the wives of Indian rulers originated at a time when polygamy was the rule among the latter and any allusion to the zenana by outsiders was apt to be resented as a intrusion into forbidden ground. Nowadays, however, many of the Indian rulers observe a strict ideal of monogamy and we venture to suggest that a practice so out of keeping with the equal status of women with men which is a commonplace nowadays, should be discarded in favour of what, we are sure, is a course more congenial to the instincts and more consonant with the practices in unofficial intercourse of their Excellencies. His Highness spoke on behalf of the Maharani and himself in proposing the toast of the Viceroy's health. It can only be the oppressively rigid rule of precedent which governs occasions such as a formal State Banquet, that deterred any reference to Her Highness in His Excellency's speech, if indeed, as we more than suspect, it had not been inadvertently omitted in the press reports of the speech.



# INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, MARCH, 30 1919:

## THE MAHARAJA OF BIKANIR'S SPEECH AT THE SINHA DINNER.

The brief comment in the last issue on the speeches of His Highness the Maharaja of Bikanir and Lord Sinha, at the dinner in honour of the latter given in London on the 7th instant, was based on a short summary of the proceedings contained in a Renter's telegram. Since then the telegrams of the same agency containing fuller reports of the speeches, not only of the Maharaja and Lord Sinha, but also of Mr. Montagu and His Highness the Aga Khan, who were present on the occasion, have been published. Their publication, whether intentional or unintentional, has been well-timed, as they served to some extent to dispel the gloom cast on the country by the passing in the previous week of the principal Rowlatt Bill by the official majority in the Imperial Legislative Council, in the face of a strong and united Indian protest, both within and without the Council. We can say of each of these four speeches what we are not able to say of some speeches in England on Indian constitutional reform, that they have distinctly and considerably added to the stock of truth—not, we are sorry to say, a very large one—available to the inhabitant of the British Isles on Indian affairs. The Maharaja of Bikanir who presided on the occasion has paid Lord Sinha for his colleague at two Imperial War Cabinets and at the Peace Conference in Paris. His Highness, therefore, was especially qualified to speak of the merits of the distinguished guest. His tribute to Lord Sinha was as hearty as it was eloquent. The occasion, however, had a larger than his personal object. It was, in the words of the Maharaja, to enable Indians to express their grateful appreciation of the true statesmanship and rare stroke of imagination which had prompted the Secretary of State to suggest, and the Premier to accept, Lord Sinha's appointment which India welcomed as clearly emphasising the determination of His Majesty's Government to carry out without unnecessary delay a substantial measure of constitutional reform. In speaking on this question, His Highness administered a severe but well-merited castigation to those prominently associated with the Indo-British Association and others of the same type for their campaign of mendacity, unfairness and personal abuse against all who were in some measure sympathetically associated with the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme. Lord Sydenham and his friends will have hard work trying to counteract the deep impression produced by the categorical refutations of some of the favourite theses of the anti-reform propaganda in England.

### TWO LIES EXPOSED.

The Maharaja of Bikanir spoke throughout with conviction and feeling. Two calumnies especially moved him to indignant protest. It had been stated, said His Highness, that the Indian army would resent Lord Sinha's peerage. He had some acquaintance with

the Indian Army, the Maharaja proceeded to observe amidst applause, he had fought with it in Asia, Africa and Europe and he unhesitatingly contradicted this absurd allegation. He mentioned that when Lord Sinha and he had visited the Indian Troops' Club in Paris recently Lord Sinha had been lustily cheered. The other lie which His Highness nailed to the counter, we hope once for all, is that the Princes of India were hostile to Lord Sinha's appointment and to constitutional reform. The Indian Princes, said the Maharaja, belonged to no political parties: their only concern was to popularise, strengthen and preserve the ties binding England and India together. Was it conceivable, therefore, he asked, that the Princes would sympathise with, much less advocate, any measure of a revolutionary nature or prejudicial to the stability of the King-Emperor's rule in India? The Maharaja quoted several speeches of the Princes to show that the Princes favoured the Reforms, including the Princes' speech at the Delhi Conference in November, 1917, and the speech of His Highness the Maharaja Scindia at the Conference in January. He emphasised the fact that the draft of the former speech was adopted after careful scrutiny at a general meeting of the Princes. In conclusion, the Maharaja of Bikanir said they were now face to face with one of the most critical periods in the political regeneration of India under the ægis of the British Crown. The decisions regarding the reforms must irrevocably affect for good or ill India's future political progress. Speaking under a strong sense of duty to the King Emperor and the Empire, he wished to sound a solemn warning that if the counsels of the opponents of reform were followed, feelings of bitter disappointment and grievous wrong would be dominant throughout India. Nobody could gauge the full force of that dissatisfaction but obviously, in comparison with it the recent unrest would seem small. But if the British Government would only seize the occasion to shape the reforms on bold and generous lines at the earliest possible opportunity they would confirm the solidarity of the Empire by strengthening the most enduring ties between England and India—those of mutual trust and helpfulness. With caustic irony, His Highness remarked that the activities of the Indo-British Association singularly disguised its avowed aim, namely, the promoting of unity and the advancement of the Indian peoples? The Association's real hostility to the policy of His Majesty's Government, he added, was revealed in almost every phase of its activity. Its propaganda was intended to alarm the ordinary man regarding the conditions in India and to belittle in every way possible the educated classes in India, and indeed every one who had the temerity to disagree with its views. It appealed to the personal and class interests, sometimes of the working man, but more frequently of firms participating in Indian trade. Referring to the Indo-British Association's plea for subscriptions as insurance for British interests in India, the Maharaja of Bikanir very pertinently retorted that Indians believed in an industrial as well as a political future for India, but they had yet to learn



that India existed for exploitation by any particular commercial interests.

THE ANGLO-INDIAN PRESS AND THE MAHARAJA'S SPEECH.

The Maharaja's speech has been assailed from two quarters in this country. A section of the Anglo-Indian press is indignant that the ruler of an Indian State should have ventured into the field of British Indian politics in support of reform and in defence of educated Indians. If His Highness had attacked both, he would, of course, have been hailed as a great Indian ruler and public benefactor. The *Englishman's* comments are typical of this section of Anglo-Indian opinion. "It ill becomes the Maharajah of Bikaner," says that paper, "to try to make the blood of Britons creep by vague hints at terrible happenings if the counsels of the opponents of reform were followed. The appearance of a Ruling Chief in the political arena, especially in matters which do not directly concern his own State, is a departure from the traditional courtesy that has hitherto governed the relations between the Native States and the British Raj and the British political parties in and out of India. It is not a departure to be commended." But who dragged the Ruling Chiefs into the arena? Sir John Hewett one of the promoters of the Indo-British Association stated in a pamphlet against the reforms that the Maharaja of Patiala was opposed to them, and His Highness was obliged to contradict the falsehood. Other similar statements have been made, as the Maharaja of Bikaner said in his speech, and, surely, His Highness has every right to repudiate them on behalf of his brother Princes. The *Englishman* and others of its kind will be wise to recognise the fact that the Indian Princes and the Indian Army emphatically refuse to be used any longer as stalking-horses from behind which poisoned shafts may be aimed at Indian reforms and reformers. They are of the same flesh and blood and race and religions as other Indians, and they resent their being represented as being hostile to reforms the central object of which, when all is said, is to remove the stigma of racial inferiority which today rests upon Indians as Indians, and prevents them free scope in the Administration and in the Army, and is a barrier to their free entrance into the British self-governing colonies. It is fair to say that the *Englishman's* view does not represent the views of all Anglo-India. The *Times of India* reflects the more far-seeing, statesmanlike and characteristically British spirit of fair-play, in handsomely recognising that the Maharaja of Bikaner and Lord Sinha have done a great service to India by denouncing the Indo-British Association and all its works. "The 'mendacity and unfairness' of the Association as well as its 'gross misrepresentation' and 'indiscriminate and ill-informed attacks on educated Indians' have been exposed before now in our columns," writes our contemporary, "but there was need of an Indian retort to the Association in London where the Indo-British Association has spread most of its poison."

AN IRRELEVANT OBJECTION FROM AN INDIAN JOURNAL.

The other quarter from which the Maharaja of Bikaner is attacked for his speech is, strange to say, *Justice*, the organ of the non-Brahmin movement in Madras. Of course, it is very awkward for our contemporary that the Maharaja, the Aga Khan and Lord Sinha are non-Brahmins as defined by the articles of the Association of which *Justice* is the mouth-piece. But that is no justification, though no doubt it is the explanation, of the irrelevance of our contemporary's attack on the Maharaja. "If His Highness will point out," writes our contemporary, "the practical political reforms which he has introduced into the Bikaner State, we shall accept those as proofs of his sincerity in the advocacy of political reforms." It is not the Maharaja of Bikaner only whom our contemporary has in view. Let all Indian rulers beware. For, solemnly declares our contemporary: "We intend to apply the same test to the other Indian Chiefs as well. Indian Chiefs who have practically made no advance in the matter of political constitutions within their own State lay themselves open to severe criticism when they come forward to praise Mr. Montagu to the skies as the deliverer of India." If any Maharaja or Raja is willing to join forces with our contemporary and attack the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme, and to hail, not Mr. Montagu, but Dr. Madhavan Nair as the deliverer of India, his sincerity will be accepted implicitly on trust. But if he ventures to do otherwise he must be prepared for the worst at the hands of *Justice*. That is by the way. What reforms the Maharaja has introduced in Bikaner, is not the point at issue. As a matter of fact, he has introduced some important reforms, as everybody, except *Justice* knows. We may here observe in passing that the problem of reform in Indian States is fundamentally to be differentiated from that in British India for the obvious reason that the race question which is the most perplexing feature of the British India problem, does not complicate the plain issue of administrative reform in Indian States. But the question at present is, are the Indian Princes opposed as alleged to Lord Sinha's elevation to the peerage and to the inauguration of responsible Government in India? We do not think that the Maharaja is called upon to produce testimony to his sincerity from the office of our contemporary in order to repudiate these lies sought to be foisted on Indian rulers. If *Justice*, however, thinks its criticism fair, may we suggest that it should try it nearer home. We reprint today from *New India* a part of the evidence of Raja Manavedan Raja, a distinguished non-Brahmin gentleman of Malabar, in a case where two persons, one of them a medical practitioner belonging to the Thiyya caste, and the other a Brahmin, are prosecuted, the first for passing by a tank reserved for high castes in Calicut, thus causing it to be polluted, and the second, for being accessory to the act. Raja Manavedan Raja maintains that the views of the majority of Hindus in Malabar are his views.



from the Shastras. The Shastras, which laid down the secular law known as *Vyavahara* allowed such marriages as perfectly legal and valid. It is only custom which has broken in upon the law of the Shastras. The Bill, therefore, cannot be described as proposing to interfere with the Hindu religion. It only interferes with the law of Hindu custom and that only in a permissive manner. If the great bulk of the orthodox Hindu castes disapprove of such marriages, it is open to them to ostracise socially the parties to such marriages by means of excommunication from the castes. That liberty is not in any way affected by the Bill.

The League is aware that it has been urged by some of the opponents of the present Bill that it allows Hindus who may resort to intermarriages to profess the Hindu religion all the same and pass for Hindus; it forces on the Hindu community a section which by not confirming to the custom invalidating intermarriages forfeits or ought to forfeit its right to call itself Hindu and professes the Hindu faith. But that argument in opposition to the Bill ought not to prevail with the Legislature because it ignores the important fact that even such communities as Jains and Sikhs who in their origin were seceders from the orthodox Hindu religion, have not ceased to be ranked as Hindus.

There is therefore no question of interference with the Hindu religion involved in the principle and the object of this Bill and *a fortiori* no question of violation of the principle of religious neutrality to which the British Government in India has pledged itself. Some of the Native States notably the Native State of Indore, have passed such a measure as part of its law and it has been accepted quietly by the Hindu population thereof. That is a positive proof in support of the opportuneness of time for such a permissive measure in British India. For the British Government in India to refuse to pass such a measure into law on the ground of its principle of religious neutrality would be to acknowledge that it is unable to operate as an enlightening and socialising force and that it will undertake such legislation only when the volume of Hindu opinion is so great that it can be safely counted as the opinion of the Hindu community as a whole. The country might have to wait for ages for progress if it were to measure its steps by that standard.

While on the above grounds the Social Service League accords its support to the Bill, it is of opinion that as it now stands it is defective in some essential respects and should be remodelled to bring it in consonance with the spirit of the times and the enlightened consciousness of the Hindu community. For that purpose the League begs to suggest the following modifications in the Bill.

First, the Bill should be amended by applying to intermarriages under it the principle of *monogamy* which has been applied to marriages under Act III of 1872. The object of the Bill is reform and the Legislature should not allow intermarriages, leaving polygamy at large in their case. Though polygamy is permitted by the Hindu religion, the general sense of the community does not look upon it with particular favour and the great majority of the people are in practice monogamists. The acceptance of the rule of monogamy in the Bill will not be contrary to the real sentiment and practice of Hindus. If it be argued that that being so, it is unnecessary as being superfluous to fetter the right of intermarriages among Hindu castes by the rule of monogamy, the answer is that as the Hindu religion and law permit polygamy, the Legislature, legislating for these advanced times shall refuse to apply the rule in its laws relating to marriage even though there is no danger of polygamy being practised in a large number of cases falling within the new law.

Secondly, the Bill should fix an age limit (as in Act III of 1872) in the case of parties to a marriage under the proposed law and should in that way discountenance infant marriages.

The vice of the Bill is that it leaves the evils of polygamy and infant marriage untouched while providing for intermarriages. And yet the author of the Bill in the statement of objects and reasons puts the case for it on the ground of "the progress of the community." In the opinion of the Social Service League, the progress desired will be secure only where intermarriages are brought by law within the rule of monogamy and of the consensus of the parties to the marriage.

#### ON THE SIDE OF THE MAJORITY.

The Sub-Magistrate of Calicut is engaged in trying a case in which Dr. K. V. Choyi, a local medical practitioner of repute, belonging to the Thiya, one of the untouchable castes of Malabar, and Mr. Sankara Aiyar, a Brahmin inhabitant of the town, are prosecuted for polluting a tank the former by passing near it, the latter by aiding and abetting him in the act. Mr. Sankara Aiyar would seem to have taken Dr. Choyi to see a patient who was ill in his (Mr. Aiyar's) house and passed by the tank which lay on the nearest route to his house. A large number of witnesses have been examined for the prosecution. One of these is Raja Manavedan Raja, lately a District and Sessions Judge in the Madras Presidency. *New India* of the 20th instant reports at length the evidence of this distinguished gentleman of the Zamorins family. We take the following from our contemporary's report.

Mr. Rama Iyer (Pleader for the defence) to witness:—Is not this caste system a curse to India?

Witness:—I cannot say that the caste system is a curse to India. It is a divine institution. I am taught to believe so.

Continuing, the witness stated that the Gita said *Chathurvarnyam Mayasrishtam*.

Mr. Rama Iyer:—Oh, you know something about the *Varnashrama Dharma*.

Witness:—Personally, I am not a Buddhist.

Mr. Menon:—My objection may be noted.

Court:—There is nothing objectionable in that question Mr. Govinda Menon.

Mr. Rama Iyer:—If my friend does not want that question to be put to the witness, I shall drop it.

Mr. Rama Iyer to witness:—At any rate you are not an admirer of the *Varnashrama Dharma*.

Witness:—How can I say without knowing the rules?

Mr. Rama Iyer:—I say, you are not an admirer of these customs which stand against universal brotherhood. I say these customs which divide between man and man are foolish.

Witness:—I cannot say.

Mr. Rama Iyer:—You must know better than we know.

Witness:—I am in the witness box. I must not answer thoughtlessly. You think these customs are foolish, but I don't think them so. I think that the abolition will be a hardship on a large number of people. The majority will be those who observe pollution, and I will side with the majority.

Mr. Rama Iyer:—I say you are not admirer of these customs. I know you are bound down by the family, bound down by the status of your birth and all that.

Witness:—Not only I who am bound up, but the whole Hindu population minus the Thiyyas.

Mr. Rama Iyer:—But still we are concerned with the problem in the Calicut Town Hall.

Witness: I hope not.



Mr. Rama Iyer :--What I say is that you are not an admirer of the pollution custom of keeping a man away, say, at a distance of twenty-four feet.

Witness :--It is all a matter of sentiment.

Mr. Rama Iyer :--Are you an admirer ?

Witness :--I am neither an admirer nor a reviler.

Mr. Rama Iyer :--May I take it that you are not an admirer ?

Witness :--I am on the side of the majority.

Mr. Rama Iyer :--The majority may be foolish. Your sympathy may be with fools.

Witness :--I am a fool then.

Mr. Rama Iyer :--If you had to side with admirers and non-admirers, you would rather say that you would not admire the custom.

Witness :--It would be in the middle.

Mr. Rama Iyer :--You must have some opinions of your own. Why, in the middle ?

Witness :--I shall very closely be on the side of the majority.

### A BRAHMAN WIDOW REMARRIAGE IN THE NIZAM'S DOMINIONS.

A correspondant write to us :--Thanks to the labours of Rao Bahadur K. Veereshalingam Hantulu Garu of Rajamandry, the problem of remarriage of Hindu widows in the Telugu country has practically been solved and Hyderabad Deccan and several outlying districts forming part of the Telingana portion of the dominions of H. E. H. The Nizam have also very naturally been beneficially influenced by the great and enduring work of the redoubtable reformer. Consequently, several remarriages have been celebrated in these dominions. The latest, and by no means the least notable of such marriages, is the one which took place in Secunderabad Deccan on the 4th March 1919, between Mr. Unnva Subbarao, a Brahmin young man aged about 25, with Shrimati Venkataratnamma, a Brahmin virgin widow aged about 18. Mr. Baji Krishnarao B. B. B. L. Pleader and a member of the Arya Samaj officiated as Purohita. Mr. and Mrs. P. Y. Sheshagiri Rao gave away the Bride. There were present on the occasion several Hindu ladies and gentlemen including Messrs. P. Laxma Rao M. A. and N. Dasharatha Ramiah. Barrister-at-law, a near relation of the Bridegroom. Mr. Subbarao is a younger brother of the well known Barrister-at-law and reformer of Madras, Mr. Unnva Laxminarayana. He is the local representative of the Indian Tea Cess Committee of Calcutta. The Bride is a daughter of Surampudi Suryaprakasham Garu of Pali Village in the Godavari District of the Madras Presidency.

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Secretary, Schools Committee.

The Schools Committee's Office,  
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not  
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

## CONTENTS.

Sir Chimanlal Setalvad on  
the Inter-Caste Marriage  
Bill.

A Stumbling-Block to Pro-  
gress.

Widow Remarriages Accord-  
ing to Hindu Marriage  
ritual.

A Bill to Prevent Juvenile  
Smoking.

Is this British spirit?

The 9th Hindi Sahitya Sam-  
melan.

The Delhi Tragedy.

The Bombay University and  
the Royal College of  
Science.

A Short way with Sedition.

Our Travancore Letter.

The Rowlatt Bills.

Female Education in  
Mysore.

A Widow Re-marriage in  
Upper Burma.

## NOTES.

**Sir Chimanlal Setalvad on the Inter-Caste Marriage Bill:**—Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University, presided at a public meeting held in the Town Hall of supporters of the principle of the intercaste marriage Bill. A resolution was passed expressing sympathy with the principle of the Bill. Sir Chimanlal in his speech observed that the necessity for such a measure had arisen from the fact that there had been a considerable number of marriages of this kind, in which, when the question of their validity had been raised in courts of law, it had been decided that such marriages were illegal, with the result that the offspring of such marriages had been considered illegitimate, causing very great hardship. Sir Chimanlal gave an instance in which a marriage of this description was declared illegal by the Bombay High Court twenty years after it had taken place, and eight children by that marriage were held to be illegitimate. The result was that the poor wife lost all claims to maintenance and to the inheritance left by her husband. The Bill was purely permissive, and it was perfectly open to a caste to disapprove of a marriage contracted by one of its members with a member of another caste by refusing communion with them. The Bill did not interfere with an action of that kind. The Bill only said that such marriages should not be declared invalid by court of law. Various suggestions had been made in regard to the Bill. It had been suggested that if they were going to have an Act declaring such marriages valid, then they ought to impose upon the man contracting such marriage the principle of monogamy, that is to say that such a person should not be allowed to marry a second wife outside his caste, when his first wife was alive. Sir Chimanlal said, personally speaking, he was in favour of that suggestion. It had also been said that such marriages should be allowed only in the case of men and women who were adults, so that they might be able to decide for themselves whether they should enter into such a marriage bond or not. That was also a point, Sir Chimanlal said, on which personally he was inclined to look with favour. But all such questions would be considered later on if the Bill was sent to a select committee.

**A Stumbling-Block to Progress.** The February number of the *Vedanta Kesari*, published by the Ramkrishna Mission, Madras, contains a thoughtful paper by Mr. N. Gopalaswami Iyengar on Swami Vivekananda. The paper has for sub-heading "His Gospel of Man-making" and is a summary of a lecture delivered on the Vivekananda anniversary day at the Sri Ramakrishna Math, Madras. Mr. Iyengar observes: "To-day, there is hardly a social reformer in our country who is not imbued with the desire of seeing his nation great and prosperous. Patriotism is widespread and intense; any body who suggested the Europeanisation of India would be put down for a lunatic. The Indianisation of India is the ideal of everybody. A re-action has however set in and to-day the stumbling block in the way of progress is the English-educated bigot who imagines that patriotism consists in justifying everything Indian that exists, in finding new arguments for old superstitions, in exploiting stray sentences in the writings of western sociologists for propping up crumbling edifices of social custom in this country. And they have made sometimes what appears to me to be the extraordinary mistake of annexing Swami Vivekananda to their ranks. This, however, is a familiar phenomenon in history. Great teachers appear and preach the most liberal of ideas. Their followers are in danger of carrying them to excess. The reactionaries seize the opportunity and swing the pendulum back to the other extreme and seek to convert a gospel of life into a gospel of lifelessness." Mr. Iyengar had probably in mind some of the most violent opponents of Mr. Patel's modest little Bill to provide a valid form of intermarriage among Hindus of different castes.

**Widow Remarriages according to Hindu Marriage Ritual:**—The Secretary of the Hindu Missionary Society of Bombay writes to us as follows: "Recently we celebrated two marriages of Brahman widows with Hindu or Vaidic marriage ceremony. In both the cases the bride and the bridegroom being of the same caste, no registration was required. In both the cases the brides were virgin widows. Gangubai (widowed at 9, now 21) was married to Raghav Ramachandra Wanmalwar (aged 28), both coming from Nagpur. Godubai (widowed at 11, now 19) was married to Gopal Vaman Jugdhar (aged 25), both coming from a village in the Satara District. Before marriage, the brides were initiated and given the sacred thread. The daily Sandhyavandana was taught to them and the Gayatri Mantra explained. The Hindu marriage ceremony was performed in the presence of the sacred fire. These were the first widow marriages performed by the Hindu Missionary Society of Bombay."

**A Bill to Prevent Juvenile Smoking.** The Bombay Government Gazette publishes the text of a Bill which the Hon. Major C. Fernandes has obtained leave to introduce in the Provincial Legislative



Council. The Bill makes it punishable with a fine of Rs. 20 for the first offence, and of Rs. 100 for subsequent offences, to sell to a person under the age of 18 years any cigars, cigarettes, tobacco, bidis or cigarette papers. It makes it obligatory on a Police officer to seize any cigars, cigarettes &c., in the possession of any person under the age of 18 whom he finds smoking or chewing tobacco in any street or public place. Major Fernandes gives very good reasons in his Statement of Objects and Reasons against smoking by young persons, and we appreciate his motives in introducing this Bill. In order that a law of this kind may do much good, there should be a strong movement to create a public opinion antagonistic to the habit of smoking and chewing among elderly persons. No doubt, it is easier to prevent juveniles from getting into this dirty habit than to make persons who have contracted it to give it up. Many years ago we were induced to try a cigar by way of an experiment, but the effects were so impressively sickening that we have since felt no temptation whatever to repeat it. We have sometimes regretted our failure, as a great advantage enjoyed by the smoker is that he is not obliged to talk when he feels disinclined to in promiscuous company such as one meets at "social" functions. We fancy most people take considerable pains to get into this habit which is really very repellent to a beginner, because of this unfair advantage which the habit confers upon them.

The sale of cigarettes to persons under 18 is made an offence; but what about a gift of it? We remember to have been horrified not long ago at a member of the Legislative Council—a colleague of the gallant Major's—offering a cigarette to a young boy of his acquaintance who got into the train in which we happened to be travelling. How is the shopman or the Head Constable to know whether a person who asks for, or who is found in the public street smoking or chewing, tobacco is under or over eighteen years of age? Would an action lie against the Police officer for highway robbery if the person deprived of his cigarette proves to the satisfaction of a Court of Law that he is over 18 years of age? Major Fernandes knows that the women of our working classes, like the smart society women of the West, are habitual smokers. Would he empower a Head Constable to take forcible possession of her *bidi* from a young woman of under eighteen? What may happen if the Bill becomes law is this: the Head Constable whenever he is "dying for a smoke" and has not got a cigar in his pocket, may look around him for a youngish person who happens to be smoking, and lay violent hands on him or her on the chance of being able to show that he or she was a juvenile under 18 years of age. Unless Major Fernandes is willing to add several more clauses to his Bill to safeguard the juvenile-seeming public from the vagaries of Head Constables, the Bill is likely to operate as a law for providing the latter with free "smokes." If the Bill is made applicable to all persons and not only to juveniles, it will not be open to any of these objections. After all, smoking is quite as harmful to adults as to juveniles. We do not like attempts to pass on the duties of parents to school masters much less to policemen. Moreover a law which can be evaded as easily as this, is a greater social evil than smoking by persons under or over eighteen years of age. The latter affects only the individuals concerned; the former affects the smoker, the seller and the police officer.

Is this British spirit? We hear a good deal of the importance of maintaining the "British spirit" of the administration, and we admit it, though we do

not admit that that spirit cannot exist in and cannot be communicated to any except persons of British parentage. Indeed, we are sometimes impelled to doubt whether this "British spirit" is to be found in all persons of British parentage at any rate in India and whether in the case of some of them it has not migrated to other, perhaps Indian, bodies. The attempt to put forward the health interests of English women and children as reasons against granting passages to Indian representatives to place the Indian point of view before the British public, now that the reform scheme is to come before Parliament, seems to us to lend support to our scepticism. The endeavour to whip up European feeling against Government for fulfilling their repeated pledges to afford Indians the opportunity of stating their case to the British public, when they were prevented from going to England last year, can be described only by the epithet contemptible. If we were disposed to resort to such despicable tactics after its own fashion, we can say with a much larger measure of truth than the *Pioneer* that the interests not of twenty or a hundred or even a thousand but of several hundred millions of Indian women and children are in jeopardy unless the Indian deputations can at once urge their point of view before the British people and get the reform which will, for one thing, give India a chance of trying a more efficient system of administering the health, educational and industrial affairs of the Indian people. It is a patent fact—Mr. Montagu was forced to admit it at the Sinha dinner—that the present system has not been brilliantly successful in these vital directions. He pointed out that while the benefits of British rule in India could not be exaggerated, education was still confined to a very small minority, industrial development was still in its infancy, and last year no fewer than six million people of India had died of influenza. He suggested that this exceptional mortality had something to do with poverty and consequently with resisting power. Mr. Montagu pointedly suggested that perhaps, in these respects, Indians, if they had a larger share and more potent voice, in the administration, may be able to show better results. We may add that probably more than four out of the six millions who died in the last few months of last year were women and children.

**The 9th Hindi Sahitya Sammelan:** The Honorary Secretaries of the Reception Committee write to us that the 9th Session of the All India Hindi Sahitya Sammelan will be held under the Presidency of the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya during Easter holidays in Bombay on the 19th, 20th and 21st April. His Holiness the Shankaracharya of Karveer Peeth has been elected Chairman of the Reception Committee. The arrangements for accommodating delegates are being vigorously carried on. Bombay is free from influenza, cholera and other epidemics and the weather is never intolerable at this time of the year. The Reception Committee hopes that all the organised literary bodies as well as other bodies wishing to send delegates to the Sammelan will elect their delegates without further delay and inform as soon as possible the Reception Committee of the possible number of delegates from each such district. The address of the Reception Committee is 20, Apollo Street, Fort, Bombay,



## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, APRIL, 6 1919.

## THE DELHI TRAGEDY.

The passing of the Rowlatt Act in the Imperial Legislative Council by the votes almost exclusively of the official members, in the face of the solid and united opposition of Indian non-official members, has created a strong sense of humiliation throughout the country. Some outlet to this large volume of emotion was necessary. Mr. Gandhi who has assumed control of the situation created by the passing of the Rowlatt Act, decided that there should be a day of humiliation and fasting followed by public meetings throughout the country at which resolutions were to be passed regarding the repeal of the Act just passed. The second Sunday after the date on which the Viceroy's assent was given to the Bill was the day fixed in the original announcement as the day of demonstration. Mr. Gandhi seems to have been under the impression that the Viceroy would take some time to give his assent to the measure. Lord Chelmsford, however, gave his assent on Friday the 21st March to the Bill which was passed on the 18th, and the fact was not known until after two or three days. The second Sunday after that would have been the 30th March. There was barely a week to organise this all-India demonstration, and for that reason, we believe, Mr. Gandhi changed the date to the 6th of April. People in Delhi, however, had come to know of the Viceroy's assent earlier than in other parts of the country, and they promptly took steps to observe the 30th March as the day of mourning. When they came to know of the alteration of the date, their preparations had apparently gone too far forward to admit of postponement.

So the Delhi demonstration took place on Sunday the 30th. From all accounts, it seems to have been the most impressive affair. By 10 a. m., according to the correspondent of the *Times of India*, every shop in Delhi was closed. By mid-day, according to the same correspondent, not a single conveyance could be seen in the main streets. A mass meeting which had been fixed for the afternoon was held according to programme, was attended by thousands, and passed off peacefully, notwithstanding the lamentable episode which had occurred between midday and the holding of the meeting. The guiding spirit of the Delhi demonstration is Swami Shraddhanand who, as Pandit Munshi Ram, was the founder, and principal till about a year ago, of the famous Gurukul Academy at Kangri. He retired recently, and entered the order of Sanyasi in order to devote himself wholly to the service of God and humanity. The Sanyasi, as our readers know, owns no property, has no fixed habitation, and is dead to all previous associations and ties. By an act of tremendous volition, he puts aside all interests and ideas which do not survive the death of the body, and though still in the body he ceases to be a body. His name is changed, his garb is changed, and his life is changed. There are, of

course, many impostors among Sanyasis as among statesmen, but the true Sanyasi has from time immemorial exercised an influence and an authority in this country far transcending that of King or Kaiser. No one who knew Pandit Munshi Ram and his life and work, will question for a moment the genuineness of his *Sanyas*. The Delhi masses, Hindu and Mahomedan, would seem in their thousands to have implicitly obeyed the direction of this great Sanyasi. That, except for the sad incident to which we shall presently refer, there was not the least trouble where trouble might have been looked for, *e g.*, the funeral processions attended by thousands of people, is, in our opinion, less due to the police and military precautions than to the moral influence exercised by Swami Shraddhanand and the Hindu and Mahomedan leaders with whom he worked. After a long period of wandering, India is returning to her old allegiance to men who would lose a world to keep alive their souls.

The incident which marred the perfectly peaceful character of the celebration seems to have occurred somewhat in the following manner. Some men at midday went to the Railway Station and tried to persuade or to intimidate the sweet-meat sellers on the platform to desist from their trade that day. The Railway authorities objected, and two of the men were arrested. A crowd of 4 or 5 thousand people demanded their release. The Police sent for troops, and the crowd not having obeyed the order to disperse, was fired upon under the orders of a Magistrate. Some of those in the crowd were killed and some others wounded. The circumstances in which the military opened fire on the crowd at the Clock Tower, are obscure. There, too, some persons were killed and wounded. A large crowd consisting of some thousand of Hindus and Mahomedans followed the biers carrying the dead bodies of those who were killed to the burning and burial grounds. "At the lowest computation," says the correspondent of the *Bombay Chronicle*, "40,000 persons followed the procession, amid scenes of most moving enthusiasm and fraternal inter-mingling, the Hindus and Mussalmans shouldering the dead in a spirit of commendable emulation to their resting or burning places. Roses carpetted the routes of the processions which proceeded in opposite directions but accompanied by Hindus and Moslems without distinction, the strange spirit of unity infused among men by the common and tragic fate the representatives of both communities have met with. They say that their unity has now been sealed with blood." On Friday last after the usual prayers, from the pulpit of the historic Juma Masjid, Swami Shraddhanand addressed a composite audience of several thousands of Mahomedans and Hindus. Never before has a non-Mahomedan been invited to speak from the pulpit of a mosque. It is a landmark in Indian history.

We strongly deprecate any attempt to create ill-feeling towards the Police and the troops at Delhi. These men but did their duty, and the responsibility for any use of force in excess of the requirements of the emergency, must rest with those



who gave them their orders. We cannot say without further information whether there was any excessive use of force. It was the duty of the Police to protect unwilling sweet-meat sellers from being coerced into submission, and even if only one sweet-meat seller was concerned, they were bound to use the whole strength of the State to prevent his being tyrannised over by the populace. Indeed, we are at a loss to know why the two men who were arrested for intimidating the sweet-meat sellers were let off, as has been stated, instead of being taken to the lock-up as they should have been. It does not seem to have been done to pacify the mob, for, in that case, it would have been done openly so that the mob may see and be convinced that the men were free. If the men had been wrongfully arrested, the Police must bear the blame of having by their illegal action started the whole trouble. The occasion, however, is too solemn for idle recrimination. A new chapter in Indian politics has opened, and nothing can be the same as it was before. The Rowlatt Act had done it. Well would it have been if Government paid heed to the warning of Indian leaders some of whom had incurred much popular odium for supporting Government on previous occasions and whose bona-fides is unquestionable. The only chance now of retrieving the situation is for His Majesty's Government to exercise promptly their suspensory powers in regard to the Bill.

Since the above was in type, we have seen the official account published in the daily papers. It says that several hundred men invaded the Railway Station with the object of rescuing the two men who had been arrested. Were these two men actually released as stated in the earlier messages or were they not? The official account is silent on the point. If they were not, as it implies, why was the mob told that they had been released? The Station was cleared by the Police with the help of various British soldiers who happened to be present and a party of 250 Manipuris on their way home from Mesopotamia. As, however, the attitude of the mob was very threatening the Station authorities requisitioned a party of some 20 to 30 British soldiers from the Fort. The vagueness as to the number is not what we should expect in an official account. Apart from that, why did they requisition such a small number in the face of a large mob of several thousand whose attitude was "very threatening"? Why did they not ask for a larger number which would have had the effect of cowing down the mob by demonstrating the futility of resistance, and thus have avoided the necessity of firing and loss of life? Why did they ask for a small party which could only have provoked and encouraged the mob to reckless resistance? Accepting the official version as to the attitude of the mob, we are totally at a loss to account for the absurdly small contingent of military requisitioned from the Fort. We are unable to reconcile the statements that the usual police precautionary measures had been taken and all reserves in the police lines and at the various stations were in readiness, and the reference to the "very sudden

and awkward situation" at the end. What had their Intelligence Department been doing, if the Police had no idea of the magnitude of the demonstration which was to take place on that fateful day? The official account leaves on our mind the uneasy feeling that bloodshed could and would have been avoided if the authorities had not, by requisitioning a ridiculously small number of troops, tempted—unintentionally, we are willing to believe—a totally unarmed mob to resist the order to disperse. Somebody must suffer for this gross neglect of an elementary principle of dealing with mobs of this kind. A display of adequate force is the way to avoid the application of force, and is, therefore, the humane way of dealing with a mob.

#### THE BOMBAY UNIVERSITY AND THE ROYAL COLLEGE OF SCIENCE.

One of the best appreciated features of Lord Willingdon's administration was its most helpful attitude to the University. There is every reason to think that the administration of Sir George Lloyd will be no whit behind its predecessor in this respect. On the contrary, His Excellency's repeated assurances regarding his desire to see Bombay enjoy the fullest measure of self-Government and social reform, encourages the hope that his Government will welcome every opportunity of extending the scope of institutions in which the principle of non-official participation prevails in the largest measure. One, and the most important, of such institutions in this Presidency is the University. The Bombay University like the other Indian Universities, started as an examining body. The original Act of Incorporation contemplated nothing more. The University was established "for the purpose of ascertaining, by means of examination, the persons who have acquired proficiency, in different branches of Literature, Science and Art." This Act remained in force for about 50 years. Lord Curzon realised the insufficiency of this purpose; and enacted the Act of 1904 which enlarged it in all directions. The University was to be deemed to be incorporated "for the purpose (among others) of making provision for the instruction of students, with power to appoint University Professors and Lecturers, to hold and manage educational endowments, to erect, equip and maintain University libraries, laboratories and museums, to make regulations relating to the residence and conduct of students, and to do all acts, consistent with the Act of Incorporation and which tend to the promotion of study and scholarship." The Curzon Act thus struck off the fetters which had so long bound the feet of the Universities. The Act was violently opposed, but the fears of the opposition have been largely disproved by the experience of the last 15 years. The fact is it was not Lord Curzon's measure but his manner which evoked antagonism, though once antagonism was evoked, few people cared to distinguish between the two. Nobody had a greater contempt for the bureaucrat and nobody did more to make the bureaucrat feel that he was merely a



means to an end and not an end in himself than Lord Curzon. Here, one would think was common ground between the late Viceroy and the Indian leaders. But Lord Curzon would not recognise that there was any common ground between him and anybody else. But for this defect—a serious one in a ruler who derived his authority from a democracy and not by divine right—his administration would have been the golden period of British-Indian history. Akbar, as Moghul Emperor, deserves and has received the homage of history. As a British Viceroy, he would have been simply impossible. Lord Curzon's failure was due to his endeavour to combine the two roles, in spite of four intervening centuries, in himself.

If Akbar had passed an ordinance to convert our examining Universities into teaching ones, he would at once have earmarked the revenues of one or two provinces for the purpose of giving effect to it. He would not have left it to his successor to find the funds for his project. Because, in the first place, the Moghul Emperor could look forward to a long reign, and, secondly, because his successor was sure to have projects of his own. Lord Curzon's viceregal life was limited to seven years, and the Secretary of State, and not the Viceroy, has the supreme control of the finances of India. The Universities Act of 1904 enlarged the powers of the Universities, but did not provide the means wherewith the Universities could exercise their new functions. A sum of 5 lakhs given by the Government of India in 1904-05 to enable Universities to fulfil the obligations imposed by the new Act was, of course, utterly inadequate for any appreciable advance. The first real step was taken after the Imperial Durbar in 1911 when, in consonance with the wishes expressed by His Majesty, 60 lakhs a year were set apart for University, secondary and primary education. Other large grants were since made, and then came the war. Since 1912, Indian Universities have made important progress. The University of Bombay, under the leadership of Sir Phirozeshah Mehta and Mr. Gokhale, who were both bitterly opposed to Lord Curzon's Act and, indeed, to his whole administration, was not too hasty in taking advantage of the new powers. Sir George Clarke, as Lord Sydenham then was, roused it from this passive attitude. He got wealthy citizens to subscribe a large sum towards a great institution for teaching Science, and also for a College of Commerce. His original idea was to make these institutions University Colleges, but the petulant pedagogue in his composition led him to change his mind because some of his plans encountered opposition in the Senate. The Sydenham College of Commerce was thus launched as a Government institution. The building for the Royal College of Science had not been quite completed when the war broke out, and it has since been used as an officers' Hospital. Now that the war has come to a close, the building will become shortly available for its proper purpose, and the Government of Bombay have made provision in the Budget for the current year for equipping the college. The Government of Bombay have a unique opportunity for giving practical effect to their desire to help the University to

develop on generous lines, and we trust that it will not be missed. The first condition of University development, as of the development of all institutions, is to be entrusted with a measure of responsibility which will draw forth all its latent powers. The fact that the Colleges affiliated to the University are held to the University only by the meagre thread of an annual College inspection, is a good deal responsible for the tardy progress of Indian Universities towards what every complete University ought to be—a body closely interested in the work of actual teaching and composed chiefly of the men engaged in it and the students receiving instruction from them.

The University of Bombay is starting a School of Economics and Sociology with the help of a grant from Government. It will be its first entrance into direct teaching work. But the work in the institution will be purely post-graduate. While it is impossible to exaggerate the value of the influence which post-graduate studies in a University have upon its whole life, their influence on the regular courses of study can be only indirect. Moreover, as the Haldane Commission have emphasised, post-graduate work should be associated with undergraduate work in order to yield its best results. The Royal College of Science, if it become a University College, with all the regular Science Courses continued and carried up to the research sphere, will mark a momentous stage in the life of the Bombay University. It will give a new motive and a new meaning to the activities and aspirations of the University. Government will be relieved of a responsibility which is different in kind and character from the many heavy responsibilities which devolve upon them: they will give effect to the wishes of the Legislature which has invested the University with the purpose, and, therefore, the duty of teaching work in higher education: and, above all, they will set an example of trust in non-official co-operation in the highest affairs, which will be repaid to them amply in a hundred ways. From the University's point of view, the Principal and Professors of the Royal College of Science will have a more authoritative voice in its counsels as University professors than as professors in an affiliated College: the Senate will naturally trust much more to the hands of its own Professors than to those of an institution with which its relations are formal and external. If the University is to become the organ of the higher teaching in the country, it can only be by means of University Colleges. Government will, of course, have the power to interfere if things are mismanaged. No reasonable objection can be taken to such a precaution. The only serious objection we have heard suggested to the Royal College of Science being handed over to the University, is that the Elphinstone College, the first College in the Presidency, will be without a Science side to it, while the affiliated Colleges in Bombay City have it. It is not right that the only Colleges in the City which teach the Science courses for examinations of the University, should be denominational Colleges. The necessity of a non-denominational College for teaching these courses, is



incontestable. But it really does not much matter if such a College is a Government College, or a University College. We have already pointed out the importance on another ground of linking up undergraduate teaching with research work in the Royal College of Science. If necessary, it may be a condition of the College being made a University College that the students of the Elphinstone College shall have first claim except as regards the research side which will be equally free to all students in the Presidency. We commend the idea to the Government of Bombay in the full confidence that they would not miss such a golden opportunity of speeding the Bombay University on its way to its great goal.

#### A SHORT WAY WITH SEDITION.

In a recent issue, we referred to Sir William Meyer's visit to the Bureau of Prisons in Manila, and to his having been told by the Director that there was absolutely no political prisoner in the ward reserved for that class of prisoners. The secret of this very pleasant state of things, is not far to seek. The United States Government not only do not regard the aspiration for independence—not merely autonomy—as constituting sedition against them, but seem actually to encourage such an aspiration among the Philippines. This leads to the result which appears paradoxical, namely, that the most enthusiastic advocates of Philippine independence are also the most enthusiastic admirers and friends of the United States. The December number of the *Philippine Review* is the best proof of this. The Editor of the *Review*, Mr. Gregorio Nieva, is a member of the House of Representatives, and an ecstatic admirer of President Wilson and the United States. Writing of Philippine independence, he observed: "Two recent arrivals from the States are authorities for the statement that the question of our independence would depend upon our own choice, and that a congressional committee would visit the Island to determine the true will of the people as to a protectorate or absolute independence for the Philippines. The matter of our independence is one now beyond the realm of doubt, in so far as we Filipinos are concerned. As to our political relationship with the United States, we doubt if it could in any way be improved upon. Although our progress could have been faster up to about 1913, no doubt we have wonderfully advanced since that year, particularly since the passage and under the Jones Act, whereby we were given very much greater, almost complete, legislative and administrative responsibility. But, as we had stated once and again, no matter how pleasant such relationship may be, no matter how wonderful our present progress may be, the longings of the people of the Islands can only find their satisfaction in a complete political independence. It is our long-ago-made self-determination. For to live one's own life the worthy way one wishes to, and in accord with and within the limitations of law, order, peace, and mutual respect, is the one supreme aspiration of a people or an individual, that

cannot be curtailed or alienated. It is so self-evident, that whoever may feel otherwise should ask himself if he would find true satisfaction in a different way. So with the Philippine Nation."

An American gentleman, Mr. Milton Krans of Indiana, wrote to the Editor pointing out the risks to which the Philippines would be exposed if she were independent, and the advantages of continuing to enjoy the protection of the powerful United States. He wrote:—"I know that National Sovereignty is a commendable aspiration of all peoples, and I have nothing in condemnation of this spirit of your people but nevertheless I wonder at it as a matter of expediency and welfare of the Philippine Islands. With such powerful aspirations as the Japanese have who are your neighbors, and considering the insecurity of the Philippines should they become isolated, or established as an independent nation, I wonder at the latter's ultimate fate, and how you gentlemen with patriotism consider this aspect. I do not know, of course, but I assume that as an independent country, the Philippines would have more of self-government under the United States than under any nation in the world; and I cannot help but believe that if absolute independence were granted to the Philippine Islands it would only be a question of time when they would fall under the domination of some strong power of the world. If this should be true, why should not the Philippine Islands be contented in its present relations to the United States when upon our part there is a warm friendship and a disposition to grant the broadest liberality to the Islands in self-government? It may be that in commercial circles there is a disposition to hold the Philippine Islands for their own business interests, but others, who are devoted to self-government, and to opportunity to a people, are disposed to be broad and liberal with the Philippine Islands, but I cannot understand why they should, at such hazard to themselves, want to throw off the kindly protection of the United States."

The Editor's reply to this kindly remonstrance breathes a lofty spirit. He is not to be frightened by the Japanese bogey. "In part," he writes, "our first two sub-articles answer this letter, which we are happy to publish now with due apology. In addition we should say that our independence would not mean separation: *physically*, may be, as we are separated now, but *morally* and *spiritually*, the union will be closer and warmer and gratefully eternal. We are not concerned by the unfair "disposition to hold the Philippines for their own business interests". For we hope to be able to control and readjust said interests in the near future *for the good of all*. As to Japan, for obvious reasons we are entertaining no further worry about her after the war. She is an Oriental country, an Allied country, and a sister country, besides, and we are confident she will go by the principles of justice to govern international relations hereafter, and that the happiness, uplift, and prosperity of the whole Orient will be henceforth closer to her heart. The old international policy must give its way to the Wilsonian one, is demanded by the happi-



ness and prosperity of Humankind." He continues : "The constitution of a republic in the Orient out of a dependent people now ready to join the leaders and toilers of Democracy as a nation, and the tremendous influence to be exercised by the Filipinos in the promotion of the welfare and civilization of the so-called *backward* peoples in the Far East—*backward* because they are still denied that opportunity they need so badly for themselves to acquire the instruments for a national life—should be a source of deeper gratification than party selfishness. *The future relation, therefore, between the United States and the Philippines, beyond doubt, will be forever most cordial.* We will always look on America as our protector, as our deliverer from our former dependency, and as our guide and inspiration. We will always need her, and we hope, however small, the Philippines will never cease to be of service to her, either as an Allied nation in the Orient, or as a trade centre in the Far East. And we will be of greater service to her in an independent status and as a friend, than as a dependency. Once more we will say: *Our future will be one in which our union will be still closer than today, warmer than ever in the furnace of gratitude and mutual love and sympathy. Not separation!* Such will be the eventual result of our independence." The italics throughout are our contemporary's. The people of the United States have good reason to be proud of this fervent expression of gratitude and goodwill from a Philippine patriot who insists on independence for his country.

### OUR TRAVANCORE LETTER.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

#### *The Education of the Depressed Classes.*

The little controversy that has arisen between you and Mr. V. K. Nair of Bangalore on the policy pursued by the Mysore Government in the matter of the education of the depressed classes will perhaps attract some measure of attention from the public. As the subject is, however, an important one, I propose to narrate the various stages through which the depressed classes have come up in Travancore and explain briefly the policy initiated and boldly pursued by the Government of His Highness the Maharajah of Travancore. Malabar and West Coast are known as the very citadel of conservative caste Hindus and the customs, usages and prejudices are so peculiar that Swami Vivekananda once lecturing from this "Land of Parasurama" described the people as a set of lunatics. About 30 years ago—I am speaking of Travancore alone from my personal knowledge and experience—no Tiya (or Ezhava) could think of joining a School, and a Brahmin boy had to bathe twice—once for his noon-day meal and the other in the evening after leaving School—if he touched even a Sudra (or Nair) boy. The latitude allowed to a Brahmin boy was so great that, if he had finished his bath in the morning and wanted to keep "holy", he used to be allowed to be represented in the class bench by a book which would be moved forwards and backwards according as the boy's answers gave him a higher or a lower place, the boy remaining standing all the while near his class-room. I have myself had experience of this privilege.

But now the situation has wholly changed. The first step was, no doubt, difficult. The Government were anxious to stop such a privileged system of education. But the difficulty was, as in such cases, the opposition of the people. It could not be helped. The deep-rooted prejudices and sentiments of the people centuries old do not die at the magic wand of a social reformer and cannot be removed even by the mighty machinery of Government. The opening of *separate* schools for depressed classes was the earliest remedy suggested. The advocates of such a reformative measure urged that from the point of view of personal cleanliness, influence of surroundings &c. &c. boys of depressed classes from paddy fields or unwelcome surroundings should not be allowed to mix freely with higher caste boys. The institution of separate schools worked for some time and this method of bridging the gulf had its desired effect. The intolerance of some incorrigibly conservative people gave way and even they began to feel that education ought to be open to all people, irrespective of caste or creed, that *Vidyadanam*, the gift of education, was the most precious even according to Hindu religion. When the mental attitude of the people underwent such a welcome change, the Government in a spirit of sympathy and firmness told the people that their policy was to throw open all state schools to *all* classes of His Highness' subjects, including Pulayas and Parayas who form the "unapproachables", as they have to stand 90 feet or 100 feet away from a caste Hindu.

Indeed, the caste feeling among the unapproachables and untouchables themselves is so keen that an Ezhava or Tiya (who has to stand about 10 or 15 feet away) will not allow a Pulaya or Paraya pupil to study in the same class with him. The people saw the reasonableness of the policy initiated by Government and held public meetings all over the state of members of the depressed classes and showed their practical sympathy with their less favoured brethren. The course of enlightened public opinion was thus cleared of its deep-rooted prejudices and the Government took advantage of the opportunity and began to throw open the State schools. The result of this beneficent policy pursued during the past 7 or 8 years is that out of 2,099 boys' schools in the State—both department and private aided—2,048 schools had children of the depressed classes attending them, while out of 352 girls' schools 196 were open to them till the end of last year. The policy is being persisted in and with the cooperation of the people, every conceivable obstacle is being removed. That the progress of education among the depressed classes during the past eight years has been remarkable as a result of Government insisting on their policy is evident from the following figures:—

	M. E. 1085	1089	1092	1093
1. Ezhavas.	25,502	23,895	45,429	51,114
2. Pulayas.	2,392	2,017	10,913	17,753
3. Parayas.	1,729	1,097	4,955	6,795

The Dewan, Dewan Bahadur M. Krishnan Nair, in giving the above figures at the last session of the Assembly, added that "more than 1,000 schools admitted Pulaya and Paraya pupils for the first time in 1093 without any appreciable opposition from caste Hindus."

This then is the net result of the policy pursued in Travancore. While giving credit to Mr. Krishnan Nair for the personal interest taken and practical sympathy shown, the people also should be congratulated on their praiseworthy cooperation and tolerance without which the above achievement would have been impossible.



## THE ROWLATT BILLS.

To the Editor, The *Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

I have never concealed for a moment my detestation of the Rowlatt Bills. My only regret is that I did not make it public before.

There is one new point which I would wish to add to what has been said. A subtle and very deep evil lies beneath the surface of Indian life, especially in the student world. 'Spying' is already a terror and a dread, but it will become armed with fresh powers of evil, if these Bills are carried into law. To show, by example, what I mean,—while I was teaching in College, two of my own students, whom I trusted, were found out to be paid Government spies introduced into College for that very purpose. I had myself the experience of catching redhanded a Government spy in my own room in College searching my private papers. He confessed to me that he had been sent to spy upon me by the C. I. D. I could give a large number of such personal experiences and there are many others who could do the same. If the Government of India is prepared and deliberately to increase this 'spying' evil and to rely still more upon this weapon, it may do so. But it will lose the respect of those who have wished all along to hold it in esteem.

3-3-19.  
Santiniketan,  
Bolapur.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd). C. F. ANDREWS.

## FEMALE EDUCATION IN MYSORE.

To the Editor, The *Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

It is but natural that a lady like Mrs. Rukminiamma who is known for her capacity and experience, and who is upholding the cause of women, should turn her attention towards finding out the causes of the fewness of girls in High schools and colleges, in spite of lavish expenditure of money over their education for a number of years. While doing so it cannot be that the touch-stone of principle has escaped her notice. But a gleaner deeply interested in the cause of women's education, cannot have patience to wait till she tries to disprove that women's education in Mysore is not based upon necessity, with the help of statistics regarding the percentage of girls in each class in the Middle schools, High schools and colleges who have not to depend upon scholarships, regarding the average monthly income of parents or guardians, regarding the number of girls who will be able to continue their studies in the above institutions even if the Government were to stop scholarships after having given them for a period of more than thirty years. The gleaner rather feels inclined to say that in the long-continued struggle between principle and necessity it is the latter which has got ascendancy over the former, and, if so, how can the effects of education which is the keystone of all reforms be considered as lasting and deep-rooted? This short-sighted cold necessity not only will not help on education but its contagion will be caught by late marriage and other social reforms too. Then, instead, of thoughtful leaders taking the lead of the society into their hands they will entrust it to the hands of cold calculating necessity. Naturally the following will be meagre. The thrill of enthusiasm will not tingle all layers of the society. This cold and calculating necessity cannot call forth sacrifices and martyrs who are absolutely necessary when we have to throw off the tattered rags of some of our old customs. It is not so much the medium of instruction or early marriage which can account for the fewness of girls in High schools and colleges as it is the lack of strong conviction and action to suit that conviction.

GLENER.

## A WIDOW RE-MARRIAGE IN UPPER BURMA.

The *Prakash* of Lahore learns that a widow remarriage took place for the first time in Upper Burma at Mogok under the patronage of Arya Samaj, Mogok, between Shrimati Lakshmi Devi, and Mahashe Nand Lal. The marriage was performed strictly according to Vedic rites. The bride and bridegroom donated Rs. 120 each which was divided between Gurukul Kangri, Veda Prachar Fund and the D. A. V. School, Mandalay.

## ADVERTISEMENTS.

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20-5-17. VAIKUNTH L. MEHTA, Manager.



# INDIAN \* SOCIAL \* REFORMER.

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

## CONTENTS.

—:o:—

Mr. Gandhi Turned Back from Delhi.

Arson and Murder at Amritsar.

Imprisoned Without Trial.

The Canker of Espionage.

Lottery Advertisements.

The Reform Scheme, the Rowlatt Act, and Satyagraha.

Mr. G. K. Devdhar's Visit to England.

Madras Politics.—I

Panchama Conference at Melkote.

The Higher Civilization of India—Its Spiritual Character.

## NOTES.

—:o:—

**Mr. Gandhi Turned Back from Delhi:** Sunday the 6th instant was observed as a day of humiliation and prayer in many places throughout the country, and mass meetings were held protesting against the passing of the Rowlatt Act and praying His Majesty to disallow it. An Associated Press message from Simla, dated the 7th, said that telegrams which had reached Simla were all to the effect that the meetings which were held on Sunday were extremely orderly. The meeting in Bombay was called at the instance of several Associations unconnected with the *satyagraha* movement, and many of the speakers, including the chairman, the Hon. Mr. Jinnah, were persons who have not joined it. Mr. Gandhi was present throughout the proceedings and was one of the speakers. In response to an invitation from Delhi, Mr. Gandhi left Bombay on Tuesday. On Thursday afternoon, considerable excitement was caused by the news that he was arrested for refusing to obey an order of the Punjab Government prohibiting him from entering that province, and was being taken to an unknown destination. What actually happened is thus stated by the *Times of India*. Mr. Gandhi was forbidden to enter Delhi or the Punjab and as he refused to abide by that order he was taken out of the Province again after entering it. The details are as follow:—Mr. Gandhi was at Palwal, a station 37 miles from Delhi, transferred from a train going towards Delhi, to another train running away from Delhi. In this he travelled to Muttra junction, a police officer also travelling in the train to make sure that Mr. Gandhi did not leave it. At Muttra, there was a wait until the arrival from Delhi of the Bombay mail train of the B. B. and C. I. Railway. Mr. Gandhi was placed in this, in a first class compartment, with his doctor. As he refused to promise to continue the journey back to Bombay a police officer travelled in the next compartment to his to see that he did so. When the train reached Baroda, a Bombay Government official spoke to Mr. Gandhi and told him that he was now, on his return to the Bombay Presidency, at liberty to go where he liked absolutely without restriction, so long as he remained within the Presidency, but that the Government of India had issued orders that he was not to

go outside the Presidency and that he would not be allowed to do so. Mr. Gandhi decided to continue his journey to Bombay and he alighted at Marine Lines station on Friday morning and went to his house.

The news of Mr. Gandhi's arrest as first published, led to some wild outbreaks of mob violence and rowdiness in Bombay, chiefly by way of compelling people to close their shops and to get out of tram-cars and victorias, but they were put down without use of fire-arms. Great credit is due to the authorities for the patience and forbearance with which they comported themselves under extremely trying conditions. The splendid feeling which prevails in Bombay today towards them is their best reward. The Police are regarded by the public as friends, almost for the first time in the annals of Indian administration. The name of His Excellency the Governor is on everybody's lips, and the sentiment universally felt is one of high respect and admiration. We are sorry that at Ahmedabad things assumed a black complexion. The mob would seem to have got thoroughly out of hand. A flour mill and other buildings were burnt down, two Europeans were assaulted, and a policeman killed. The crowd could be dispersed only by the use of fire-arms, and there has been some loss of life. In Surat, also, there was some exhibition of rowdiness, but no serious results are reported. The excesses in Ahmedabad are most regrettable, but, on the whole, thanks to the wise attitude of Government, they are exceptions to the general rule in this Presidency. In Delhi the shops continued to be closed up to Friday but no disorders are reported. At Lahore, a crowd of demonstrators were fired upon as they refused to turn back at a certain point of their route when ordered to do so by the Police. On Sunday last, a similar procession was persuaded to obey a similar order by its leader throwing his cap at the feet of the crowd and imploring it for love of country to comply with the directions of the Police.

**Arson and Murder at Amritsar:** But the blackest news of all is from Amritsar. The outbreak in that city, however, does not seem to be connected with any excitement due to Mr. Gandhi's reported arrest. According to the *Civil and Military Gazette*, the excitement was occasioned by the arrest of Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew and Mr. Satya Pal, two men against whom a notice was recently served under the Defence of India Act. A large mob collected in the city and made for the civil station. The mob proceeded towards the railway station where they attacked a European guard, named Robinson, an ex-soldier, who was working as loading inspector at the goods' yard. Robinson was beaten to death with lathi blows. The station master and the rest of the staff who attempted to check the rioters, had to retire. The mob set fire to a part of the outward goods shed. Just at the time a troop train happened to



come into the station, with a Gurkha regiment on board. The Gurkhas were quickly detained and they effectively protected the station buildings against the rioters. The latter proceeded to cut the telegraph wires and made attempts to cut the railway on both the Jullundar and the Pathankot lines by burning the sleepers, and the mail train was delayed for some hours in the civil station. Even more serious damage was done by the mob. The Town Hall, telegraph office and the National Bank buildings were wrecked and, in the case of the last named, two European officials of the Bank, Mr. Stewart, Agent, and Mr. Scott, Accountant, were murdered. The Chartered and Alliance Bank buildings were also wrecked and Mr. G. N. Thomson, Agent of the latter bank, was murdered. The mob were eventually driven out of the civil station back into the city by troops from the Fort and police, and communication between Amritsar and Lahore remained cut from 12 to 4 and again for a short time from about 6 p. m. The mail station of Bagtanwala on the Amritsar-Patti line was wrecked by the mob. We deeply deplore these occurrences at Amritsar, and while we feel that the spirit of murder and outrage should be sternly put down, we also feel that it is to the unexpected action of the Punjab Government in opposing Mr. Gandhi's entrance into the Punjab at the last moment, that we owe the turmoil caused in this Presidency. If Mr. Gandhi had not been interfered with, the loss of life at Ahmedabad and Lahore would not have happened. His presence everywhere has the most salutary effect in keeping down violent spirits.

**Imprisoned Without Trial:** A Reuter's telegram of the 19th March reported that replying to Commander Wedgwood in the House of Commons, Mr. Fisher stated that Mr. Montagu had requested the Government of India to supply as soon as possible a return of the number of persons interned and imprisoned without a trial in India during the war and the number released since the Armistice. The information which Commander Wedgwood asked for was given on the 21st March in the form of a statement in the Imperial Legislative Council in reply to a question from the Hon. Maharaja Sir Manindra Chandra Nandi. The total numbers of persons whose movements were restricted during the war are as follows: Under the Defence of India Act, 1906, of whom 1196 were in Bengal, 145 in the Punjab, 125 in Burma, 57 in Bihar and Orissa, 20 in Bombay, 16 in the United Provinces, 14 in Assam, 11 in Northwest Frontier Province, 9 in Central Provinces, 8 in Delhi, and 5 in Madras; under Regulation III of 1818, the numbers were 139 in Bengal, 3 in Bihar and Orissa, and 1 each in the United Provinces and in Madras; under Madras Regulation II of 1819, 12, all in Madras, these persons being all Mapillas, interned or imprisoned mostly in connection with the Mapilla outbreak of 1915. On the 31st January last, the numbers were under the Defence of India Act, 619, of whom 522 were in Bengal; 45 in Bihar and Orissa; 12 in Assam, 11 each in the United Provinces and the Punjab; 7 each in Bombay and Burma; and 2 each in the Central Provinces and Delhi; under Regulation III of 1818, 102, of whom 98 were in Bengal, 2 in the Central Provinces, and 1 each in the Central Provinces and Madras; under Madras Regulation II of 1819, 7 Mapillas; and under Bombay Regulation of 1827, 2 persons in Bombay implicated in a murder in a Native State. Omitting the persons interned under the Madras and Bombay Regulations, there were on the 31st January last, 721 persons whose movements were restricted under the Defence of India Act and Regulation III of 1818. Of these no less than 620 were in Bengal. With reference to this last number, the following remark is made in the statement; "Of these 142 were

under orders of release as soon as security was furnished. The figure 522 (of those dealt with under the Defence of India Act) has since (31st January) been substantially reduced." How many of those already "released" have been under security? Is not the security itself a restriction on a person's movement which should only be imposed after a judicial trial in a Court of Law?

**The Canker of Espionage.** The *Madras Mail* demands that Government should call upon Mr. Andrews to prove his statements in the letter which we published last week. It adds that his statements should be impaled on the spot, as otherwise there may be some people foolish enough to believe them. What irks our contemporary is that these statements, if true, would show that the Government of India, like the late German and Russian Governments, keeps an army of spies. Mr. Andrews, it will be remembered, gave two instances from his own personal experience when he was teaching in St. Stephen's College, Delhi. In one of them, two of his own students, whom he trusted, were found out to be paid Government spies introduced into the College for that very purpose. In the other, he caught red-handed a Government spy in his own room in the College searching his private papers, who confessed to him that he had been sent to spy upon him by the Criminal Investigation Department. Mr. Andrews added that he could give a number of such personal experiences and there were many others who could do the same. When Government undertake the enquiry demanded by the *Madras Mail*, they may also include in its scope the statements made by the Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastry in his speech on the introduction of the principal Rowlatt Bill in the Imperial Legislative Council, His Excellency the Viceroy presiding. He had known Mr. Sastry said, the best, the noblest Indians, the highest characters amongst us, brought under suspicion, standing in hourly dread of the visitations of the Criminal Investigation Department. He remembered a very valued friend of his, a saint amongst men, telling him with tears in his eyes that he had borne a good character all along but he had recently become a suspect of the Criminal Investigation Department and his life was passed in bitterness and in sorrow. "I can remember, my lord," Mr. Sastry went on to say, "in the year 1908 when I went round organizing district Congress Committees, such a blight had fallen on the political world, the Criminal Investigation Department had been so active, the repressive policy of Government had been so manifest, it was impossible in many places to get people to come together to a public meeting. A gentleman high in office at that time and about to retire from service met me in the middle of the night on one occasion. I was quite surprised, and he told me—'My dear fellow, I have been longing to see you these three or four days that you have been here, but this place swarms with spies and informers. I am nearing my pension and have many children, I do not wish to be mixed up with a member of the Servants of India Society to their knowledge.' Mr. Gokhale was alive then and first Member of the Servants of India."

**Lottery Advertisements:** A Bombay Government Press Note says: "It has come to the notice of Government that advertisements containing proposals for the sale of tickets in public lotteries to be held in Native States and unauthorised by Government were recently published in several newspapers of the Bombay Presidency. The publishers of all newspapers are, therefore, hereby warned that publication of such advertisements constitutes an offence under section 294-A of the Indian Penal Code, even though the lottery is proposed to be held outside British India."



# INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, APRIL, 13, 1919.

## THE REFORM SCHEME, THE ROWLATT ACT, AND SATYAGRAHA.

### WHITTILING DOWN THE REFORM SCHEME.

It is now nearly a year since the Montagu-Chelmsford report on Indian constitutional reform was published. Apart from rumours, there have been evidences of a desire on the part of responsible authorities to whittle down the scheme embodied in it. From the first, many critics, even friendly ones, were sceptical as to how the system of diarchy will work in this country. In any country it would be difficult to work. It should be especially so where, as in British India, the official part of the Executive Government will have a preponderant English element, while the other half of it will be preponderantly Indian. The Moderate Indians who have now formally taken the designation of Liberals—a name originally suggested in these columns—supported the scheme, notwithstanding the difficulties present to their minds, because they hoped that most of these difficulties could be overcome by the sympathetic co-operation of the British element in the administration, of which they were assured by the distinguished authors of the scheme. It has since become abundantly clear that the Secretary of State and the Viceroy were over-sanguine, if they were not misled, in their estimate of the probable attitude of the bulk of the Indian Civil Service towards their scheme of reform. This has weakened the confidence of many supporters of the scheme, more especially owing to the concessions to the demands of the Indian Civil Service which, under the guise of safeguards, were announced by the Viceroy in opening the last session of the Imperial Legislative Council. These safeguards greatly detract from the authority of the Ministers under the scheme. One of them in particular, namely, that about the Secretaries to Government having direct access to the head of the Government in case of a difference of opinion with their Chiefs, is so subversive of constitutional principle that to speak of responsible government in connection with it is camouflage. It is quite true that the Viceroy's opinion in this case may not find acceptance, but we are bound to presume that His Excellency spoke in consultation with the Secretary of State, though we must say that the tone of the Mr. Montagu's reference to the subject at the dinner in honour of Lord Sinha was unexceptionable. The appointment of Lord Sinha as Under Secretary of State for India and his elevation to the peerage, went a great way towards reassuring the people of India of the determination of His Majesty's Government to stand by Mr. Montagu in carrying through his scheme of constitutional reform for India. As against this, again, we have to place the dissatisfaction aroused by the promise or prospect of considerable increases in the salaries and pensions of the services recruited in England, the constitution and

conduct within closed doors of the proceedings of the Indian Medical Services Committee, and the largely illusory concessions made, after a good deal of fuss, in the administration of the Arms Act.

### THE ROWLATT ACT.

But the greatest disturbing cause has been the introduction of the two Rowlatt Bills and the passing of one of them in the face of a solid Indian opposition within and without the Imperial Legislative Council, and almost entirely with the help of an official non-Indian majority. As a rule we avoid raising racial issues but it is impossible to do so in this case. The responsibility of forcing those who, like us, have, as far as in them lies, striven all these years to bridge the gulf between the English and the Indian communities, to raise such issues, rests with the Government of India. If nothing else, this aspect of the effect of passing a Coercion Act almost entirely by English votes, should have weighed with Government. Most of those who voted in favour of the Bill at the several stages in the Legislative Council are English members of the Indian Civil Service. A considerable proportion of those whose movements have been restricted under the Defence of India Act are Indian students. Few English officers of the standing of the members of the Imperial Legislative Council have children of that age residing in this country and attending schools in this country. These gentlemen in voting for the Bill were absolutely free from the thought, present to the minds of every Indian member, that the provisions of the Bill may be abused in relation to persons in whom they may be interested. It is the curse of Indian administration that policy is settled by one set of persons and the effects of that policy have to be endured by a totally different set. The evil effects of this anomalous state of things is nowhere so deplorable as in education and in matters arising out of or having a bearing upon educational policy. Several leading Moderates opposed the Bill. Some of their names may be mentioned. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, Sir Dinshah Wacha, Sir Hormusjee Wadia, Mr. Surendranath Banerjee, Mr. Gokuldas Parekh, Mr. Srinivas Sastry, Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru, Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis, Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy were among the staunchest opponents of the Bill. Government, however, turned a deaf ear to their representations. The position of the Moderates in Indian politics becomes untenable unless they can show that their methods are more efficacious than others in obtaining redress of popular grievances at the hands of Government. In other words, the task of persuading people to adopt a policy of patience and trust becomes impossible unless those who advocate it are able to point to a reasonable measure of success for their method. It is not too much to say that the position of the Indian Moderates has never before been more seriously undermined than by the unbending persistence of the Government of India in passing the principal Rowlatt Bill. Yet they could have accepted the Moderate position without the least deviation from



their purpose in passing the Bill. That purpose was to provide against a recrudescence of anarchic crime. The Moderates, while hoping that the introduction of reform might make such recrudescence impossible, had repeatedly pointed out that Government had ample powers to meet any emergency in the Ordinance powers of the Governor-General.

#### THE DISCOMFITURE OF THE MODERATES.

The declaration of *satyagraha* at this juncture by Mr. Gandhi completed the discomfiture of the Moderates. They were obliged to repudiate it promptly but, in view of the severe rebuff they had experienced at the hands of Government, they were powerless to prevent the rapid spread of the movement. They could, under the circumstances, adduce only one reason against it, and that a very poor reason, namely that it may prove injurious to the reform scheme. As if the Act does not take away far more than the reform scheme can give. In the presence of a law which puts in the hands of the Executive Government the power to determine by proclamation the guarantees accepted in every civilised country as the right of the subject in respect of his person and property, a reform scheme which proposes to place the control of roads and schools and sanitation in the hands of elected Ministers, even without any attempts at whittling it down, loses much of its attractiveness. The Magna Charta was obtained centuries before the British people got the right of returning members to Parliament. We regard the Rowlatt Act as gravely imperilling the success of constitutional reform. The privilege of a few Indians being able to attitudinise as Ministers is dearly bought at the price of the possibility of citizens being thrown into prison without an open trial in areas which, the Executive Government declare, are prone to anarchical and revolutionary crime. Attempts to get the term "anarchical and revolutionary crime" defined in the Act were resisted. The danger to the reform scheme owing to *satyagraha*, even if real, does not trouble us much. We are strongly of opinion that no reform can have a fair trial with such an Act on the statute-book. Indian politics has become largely a matter of making the British public believe this or the other thing of India and her people. This is true of both opponents and supporters of constitutional reforms. If we take care that the people of India have the qualities required of a people striving after responsible Government, there will be no scope for opponents to deny nor need for supporters of reform to assert that they are fitted to exercise the functions of self-Government.

#### SATYAGRAHA.

As regards *satyagraha* itself, so far as it is merely disobedience to laws, we stated our view in unmistakable terms during the controversy on the Kaira famine last year. On the present occasion, a Committee has been appointed to select the laws to be disobeyed. But the masses cannot discriminate. They are moved by habit, and a breach in the law-abiding habit leads to the formation of a habit of law-breaking. But *satyagraha* is an im-

mensely greater and nobler idea. *Satyagraha* is the being true to the death. It may involve, as an occasional incident, the breaking of a law which is not in line with truth. Such incidents are to be avoided if possible; if not, they are not to be made too much of. For *satyagraha* is very much more than the breaking of any law, though to the popular mind this is likely—and therein lies its great danger—to appeal as its most prominent feature. Few persons have the right to disbelieve Christianity, wrote Renan in the preface to his book controverting most of the facts on which Christianity is based. George Eliot put the same thought in a more general way when she wrote that the right to rebel is the right to seek a higher law. *Satyagraha* is the right to seek the higher law. It follows that only those who have the knowledge of the higher law can safely break the lower laws. It is obvious that the knowledge of the higher law does not come merely by breaking the lower ones. The law-abiding character is the product of a long evolution. It can not be easily uprooted from human nature, at any rate in ancient communities like those of India. It is for this reason that we attach slight importance to the bogey of Bolshevism spreading among our masses. The danger in India of the spread of *satyagraha* in its popular acceptance of disobedience to laws on the statute-book, is not Bolshevism, but reaction towards social customs which we are slowly giving up as unjust and oppressive. The progress, so laboriously and so inadequately achieved in the education and status of women and in regard to the barriers of the caste system, will be the first to feel the shock of such *satyagraha*. We may call attention to the remarkable fact that Mr. Gandhi himself in his progress in *satyagraha* is inclined to entrench himself in ancient institutions which have outlived their utility, such as *varnashrama dharma*. Rightly conceived, *satyagraha* is just the programme of social service which we have been recommending for the platform of the political party which aspires to be of the greatest service to the country. *Satyagraha* has a vast field of usefulness and the true *satyagrahi* is the true reformer.

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#### MR. G. K. DEVDHAR'S VISIT TO ENGLAND.

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Mr. G. K. Devdhar writes to us under date March, 16, 1919 from London:—

I find that both the Renter's Agency and the London correspondent of the "Times of India" have kept you informed to some extent of what I am doing here. I must have addressed here so far about three dozen meetings in places like London, Manchester, Oxford, Cambridge, Colleges for Women, Bristol University and Ilkley &c. &c. on various subjects concerning practical work that is being done in India and political situation there. A good deal of interest is roused here relating to Indian questions and all kinds of audiences of which women form a considerable number are anxious to hear speeches. I have addressed a meeting of Russians on "Modern India"



of Ceylonese on "Press and National Development," and of the Union (Foyer) of continental students in London on "Co-operation". The subjects on which I have spoken more largely are (1) "the Women's work and their education in India" with special reference to my "work of the Poona Seva Sadan" as as they have come to know of my connection with it, (2) The "Servants of India Society and its work", (3) the 'Co-operative movement in India', (4) "social service, being the need of the age" &c. &c. Women who have now secured the vote which means real power to influence the affairs of this country and of those that are connected with it, have shown equal keenness with men in knowing about India, and on that account I was invited to speak in many cases to large audiences on the subject of women in India and their education and work at the following places.

- (1) National Indian Association, London,
- (2) Head Mistresses' Association, University of London,
- (3) Women's Freedom League, London.
- (4) Women's Indian Study Association, London.
- (5) Britain and India, London,
- (6) Oxford Indian Mujlis, Oxford.
- (7) Dr. Miss Mary Wood's Training College Cambridge
- (8) Newnham College for Women, Cambridge
- (9) Women's University Settlement, Bristol,
- (10) Women's Indian Study Association, Tunbridge Wells.

I have yet some lecturing engagements to fulfil. But owing to pressure of other work I may have to drop some of them. On many occasions I have spoken about the political situation in India, emphasizing the Moderates' point of view with regard to the Indian Reforms. I have talked with several important people here about our needs. In my lectures and private talk I have tried to correct a vague impression that we in India are very backward and do not quite realize our share of responsibility in regard to problems of national reconstruction. It is really a great pleasure to talk to many people; they quickly understand your point of view and readily appreciate it if they agree with you. But this is really a part of my work here. I am also engaged in visiting many useful institutions of different kinds which the people very gladly show you and give you all information and literature regarding these. Leaving aside large organizations and movements in the spheres of politics and economics, there is a very vast stream of purely private effort conducted by men and women, rich and poor, in the directions of education, medical relief, charity and pure philanthropy, all aiming at the solution of new problems that face this very active and virile race. One thing that strikes even a superficial observer here is that, whenever a question arises, an attempt is made to solve it by voluntary efforts and thus to lead the State. This seems to be the history of many prominent social movements and a large body of social legisla-

tion. It will be difficult for me to give you an idea of the number of institutions which I have visited. Here everything is organized on a large, systematic and business-like basis. I have collected a good deal of useful literature and photographs to illustrate the work of some of these institutions here.

I have been away for a long time and am anxious to return to India soon. But there is the question of getting return passage in these days. I hope, however, that the India Office would manage it for me without much difficulty. I propose to start for Denmark on or about the 21st instant if no difficulty crops up. It takes three days to reach there. It is a country the agriculture in which is most highly organized on a co-operative basis. I intend to spend a week there. On my return here again I propose to do some more useful work in connection with the Poona Seva Sadan, visit some more institutions, address a few more meetings and keep myself in readiness to start for India, because I have intimated to the India Office that I would like to start by the middle of April after enjoying a few early days of the most beautiful spring in England. As compared with the winter here, of which I have now realized a great deal, when you have wonderful variations of weather during the same day, all unpleasant; England looks quite fresh, picturesque and most beautiful in spring. After the bitter cold that I have experienced throughout this winter I am advised by friends to see something of the spring. Thus I hope to be again in your midst by the middle of May if everything goes on all right.

In the hurry of finishing this long letter I forgot to write to you one very important thing I did in my stay here. I paid my homage and warm tribute to the memory of the three great Indians and one Englishman who strenuously laboured for the good of India, and laid their remains here. As a mark of respect and love I laid wreaths on their graves and shrines. (1) Raja Ram Mohan Roy at the Bristol cemetery, a most charming place, during my visit to that beautiful town for a lecture on Servants of India Society to the university students. (2) Mr. Jamshetjee Tata and Sir Ratan Tata at Brookwood Cemetery and (4) Sir William Wedderburn at Tebturn near Gloucester. These places are really holy to Indians coming to England and a pilgrimage must needs be made to them. In the Bristol Cemetery where the Raja's remains were removed from the place where he died some years after his death, a beautiful temple-like structure is erected, and there is a quiet dignity and grandeur about this shrine just in keeping with the life of this great nation-builder. There is a Visitors' book kept there for those who visit Raja Ram Mohan Roy's tomb and I would like to see therein the names of many more Indians entered. I am trying to secure a photo of this great and historic spot. You will be glad to hear that I had with me that day the issue of the "Social Reformer" in which you have quoted the Raja's views on the need for political Reforms, which I read to my audience at the close of my lecture at the University of Bristol.



## MADRAS POLITICS. I.

## A POINT OF VIEW.

(By 'Union.')

Madras bids fair to become the barometer of Indian Politics. Herein seem to originate, first, all controversies and then all personal bickerings and explanations. But, on that account, it is sought by some not the less guilty, to put on the garb of a saint, of innocents injured. These indulge in a sort of affected squealing like that of a spoilt child and delight in drawing on Madras platforms and audiences attacks for unmannerly behaviour and for passing the bounds of decency in public meetings, and all this, so that they might escape the consequences of their naughtiness and aberrations. Have we ever heard of such undignified or petulant squealing on the part of Lord Haldane, Viscount Grey or Ramsay Macdonald or such unseemly attacks on the electors of England? The Madras audiences are no more unmannerly than audiences elsewhere and we wonder what Lord Willingdon, Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy and Sir D. E. Wacha have thought of certain meetings in Bombay.

In the present instance, Mrs. Besant who plumed herself on being an arch-agitator, because the people refused to toe the line to all her passing whims and fancies and to her ever-changing opinions, has the temerity to turn round on those very people who were her blind followers and supporters till now. Of course, we do not forget the great services she has rendered to the cause of the country. But what pains us most is the lighthearted manner, begotten of impatience and vanity, in which the rebellion of the people from her standard is attributed to the organised conspiracy of some wicked men. Not to speak of the gross libel on much-loved and revered leaders, which this wicked suggestion of a conspiracy implies, this carries a perfect ignorance of the psychology of the mob. The mob was a good and sedate one when it truckled to Mrs. Besant's conjurations. Now when on very sensible grounds it refuses to be guided by her, the mob has, as a whole, become demented and been led away by conspirators! Was it not the same mob that gave no end of trouble to the Government during her internment to get her released and did not the Government and Anglo-India despair of the people, led by her, ever conducting themselves in a sensible and rational manner? Past services and past agreements are clean forgotten and, in a trice, her inveighings seem after the heart of Anglo-India. A few of the Moderates are congratulating themselves on the capture of a stalwart, though unstable, leader. Mutual defence societies and mutual admiration societies are formed and, when a Moderate "leader" is attacked for his spinelessness, Mrs. Besant cries "hands off" not fully knowing whether he is a friend or foe. Now when her views and methods are honestly questioned, certain interested people cry out in a pontifical manner against, what they allege, the campaign of calumny towards her. Perhaps, these are the tactics for saving one's skin by creating new splits and hence, new friendships and new parties so as to cover their egregious and questionable acts. Honesty is not the monopoly of one party nor "personal malice" and "sordid intrigues" the characteristics of the other party. Perfectly dishonest men have got the knack of so shrouding their dishonesty as to pass off as very honest. In time, they will be discovered. Till then each party can afford to charge the other with conspiracies and calumnies. One thing is certain, the people at large are never controlled by this set of conspirators or that, but always possess an uncanny instinct for detecting the inconsistencies and sordid tricks of politicians of either party, of either sex, and the present temper of Madras

is against such escapades. It is, therefore, betraying a downright degeneracy of mind and cowardliness to foist on a people the consequences of their indiscretions and schemings. In this connection, it only remains to ask when did this dissatisfaction with the Madras public begin? Did it begin some years ago when the Home Rule flag was unfurled or at the time of her internment or did it date only from the Conjeeveram Conference or from the Delhi Congress? The answer to this would only reveal an uncharitable, ungrateful and egotistical frame of mind.

Now that Mrs. Besant threatens to burden Madras and India with another party of her own choosing, it will be interesting to go to the root of things. On the former occasion of the Conjeeveram Conference, Mrs. Besant was ashamed of her own child. Being herself the arch-apostle of extremism or the super-extremist as it is put nowadays, it was only natural that her followers should show an excess of zeal. How she utilized the occasion to become a martyr, how she allowed herself to be applauded by Anglo-Indians, how she began to condemn in no uncertain terms the Madrasees and the Tamils in particular, fully ignoring that they had tenaciously worked and agitated for her release and subsequently they made her Congress President, is well-known to all. It was with perfect consternation that I, amongst others, looked on the mischievous manner in which harmless difference of opinion or split was exaggerated on the one hand, on the other, equally dishonest was the use made of this to bolster up a Moderate Conference as, otherwise, the elders would be roughly handled in a united Conference or Congress. Here I express no opinion on the need of a Moderate Conference for discussing the Reforms Scheme. On the other hand, I am not against it. But what was disgusting was the inane and childish manner in which certain political stont-hearts used this extraordinary plea of rough handling. On the present occasion, she has outdone herself and on a matter of life and death importance she has conducted herself in an inexorably cynical manner. We of Madras care a fig for all the differences on the Reforms scheme, on complete autonomy, etc.; but what made Madras rebel was the libel on the Congress that, by dropping the Resolution on the Prince of Wales' visit in the Subjects Committee—mark you! in the Subjects Committee only—this hoary body has become disloyal. A lady whom Sir P. M. Mehta and Gokhale wished to keep out of Indian politics altogether and whom, in spite of her present moderate friends, a whole nation placed in the exalted position of Congress President and who, more curious still, was never tired of calling herself Congress President till the 24th December last, she has almost crowned her political career by denouncing the Congress itself within ten days after her period of 'Presidentship' was over. She has not yet chosen to withdraw her imputation although the explanation of famine and scarcity was long ago given. Not Sir Pherozeshah Mehta nor Sir William Wedderburn would have laid a like charge under similar circumstances. This was enough to put her out of court; no condemnation will be too great for the maladroitness. Madras is rightly incensed at her and she has become more or less a lost leader, whatever her pretensions or past services may be, for her charge of disloyalty has been sedulously taken up by the *Times*, and even by the *Times of India*.

## PANCHAMA CONFERENCE AT MELKOTE.

(FROM THE SECRETARY, MYSORE CIVIL AND SOCIAL PROGRESS ASSOCIATION.)

Melkote is one of the chief centres of Vaishnava pilgrimage in Southern India. The founder of Vaishnavism, the great Sir



Ramanuja Chari lived there for over 12 years. It is the seat of the Parakala Swami, the Guru of the Royal House of Mysore. Perched on top of a mountain ridge and surrounded by fertile and well watered valleys, it is one of the most picturesque little towns; every peak has its little shrine, every road its holy association, and turn where one will, the view is supremely beautiful. The great shrine Narasimha, almost a fortified stronghold, towering with its huge Gopuram on top of its highest peak, is visible miles away as one approaches his historic and holy town and the pilgrim's soul is attuned to the divine by constant iteration of "Govinda, Govinda" all through the 19 miles from the Railway Station at French Bazaar to the temple of "the beautiful" (Cheluvarayana Swami) at Melkote.

Ramanuja was great for many reasons. His great tenet of bhakti and the satisfaction of the longing in the human soul was not alone his highest achievement. His was the prophetic vision arrived at welding the numerous castes and subcastes into one "Tirukal" and even the Panchama, the humble outcaste, could become an Alwar and almost a diety. Distinction of caste was abolished among his followers and the Panchama is even to this day admitted into the temple for three days during Rathotsavam.

It is common knowledge that the successors and followers of Ramanuja had neither the greatness of soul nor the breadth of vision of their great Guru. Caste triumphed and the Srivaishnavas are divided into numerous castes with the added bitterness of Tengale and Vadagale Namams, a disputation about a quarter inch of white paint often entailing the expenditure of lakhs in Civil Courts. The Panchama, who was chiefly instrumental in bringing the idol to Melkote and who was promised access to God, soon found that he did not cease to be a Panchama by wearing the Namam but even the three days of worship that he is allowed to put in every year, is so valuable a privilege that numbers flock every year to the great festival.

This opportunity has been seized to organize a Panchama Conference every year and this year the sixth conference was held on the 16th instant under the Presidentship of Mr. V. V. Narasimhaiengar, so well known for his life work in the cause of the depressed. The Conference was held in a great pandal erected for the purpose, gay with flags and bunting. The president-elect arrived punctually at 3 p. m. amid great enthusiasm and was conducted to the seat. Mr. Bannerjee, the Dewan with his Private Secretary, Mr. N. Madhava Rao arrived in motor from Mysore and were heartily welcomed by the President and the delegates. All the District Officers were present as also several of the distinguished gentlemen from all parts of Southern India. Mrs. M. A. Narayanaengar, Mrs. Chokkanna and several other distinguished ladies were also present. The conference began with a prayer by a Panchama student of the Panchama Boarding Institute, Mysore; followed by two Kirtans by two of his fellow students. Mrs. Vanajamma, Superintendent of the Depressed Classes Mission, Mysore, welcomed the delegates and complimented the Dewan on his kindly interest in the cause of Depressed untouchables. Mr. Venkatadas of Mysore, a Panchama teacher, then delivered a stirring speech dwelling on the necessity for concerted action for the uplift of the Panchama. Two short papers on the question of Government aid to the Panchama, and education of Panchama girls were read by Messrs. Rangadhamiah and F. Dasi of Mysore. Mr. Narainsami of Bangalore, a Panchama Photographer and Artist delivered a brilliant speech dwelling on the unity and brotherhood of man and pointed out that the sentiment of untouchability had no foundation in reason or religion. The Secretary now read the report of the last conference. The Economic Superin-

tendent spoke on various subjects of interest in the economic uplift of the Panchama. Mrs. Vanajamma thanked the Dewan Sahib for his kind interest in the cause and expressed the gratitude of the Conference for his presence at the deliberations. The Conference rose for the day and the Dewan Sahib left for Mysore where his presence was urgently required.

The conference resumed its sitting on the 17th at 3 P. M. and proceeded to business. Mr. Siddalinga Devaru, the well known lecturer of Srirangapatam, addressed the audience and exhorted them to turn their attention to economic improvement.

Four resolutions of great interest were passed. His Highness has recently ruled that the Panchama, like any other citizen of the State, is entitled to attend all Government Schools. This Magna Charta of the depressed classes has given universal satisfaction among the Panchamas and the resolution to thank His Highness and His Highness the Yuvaraja for this great boon was enthusiastically passed. The Boarding Institutes in Mysore, Hassan and Tumkur feed, clothe and educate the Panchama at State expense and Government have also sanctioned similar institutions being opened in other District Head Quarters. A resolution thanking the Government for this generous measure, whereby a large number of Panchama young men will be uplifted, was also passed with special fervour.

It is said that in former years the Panchamas were admitted into the Cheluvarayana Swamy Temple up to the 2nd door which is almost 15 feet from the idol. This was permitted in the Narasimha Swamy Temple even this year but in Cheluvarayana Swamy Temple, the authorities shut the 3rd door which is more than 100 feet from the idol and asked the Panchama to worship through the gratings of the door. The delegates passed a resolution requesting Government to enquire into the matter and determine how for the Panchama is entitled to go into the temple. The present tendency of the temple authorities is to restrict the privileges of the Panchama and it was felt that if the right was left unrecorded, it may slowly and imperceptibly disappear. Mr. Shamiengar made a few remarks discouraging the resolution as it may irritate the non-panchamas and may lead to the loss of the privilege which was now being enjoyed by the Panchama, but the delegates were unanimous in desiring a clear definition of their rights.

The third resolution prayed that Panchama representatives may be nominated to all the popular assemblies in the State including the Local and District Boards and Municipalities. This measure will not only secure better recognition of the wants of the Panchamas but will remove the disinclination of the Non-Panchamas to mix with the Panchamas.

The fourth resolution prayed that girls be given the same facilities as boys by the opening of a Panchama Institute for them at Mysore.

Mrs. Rangamma, who has spent years of selfless labour for the depressed classes, then rose and appealed for unity and progress. Mr. M. Rama Rao, Secretary, Civil and Social Progress Association, urged on the members the necessity for self-help. He said that communities like individuals could thrive only by self-help and that outside help could only lift us a small way. He urged his hearers to work calmly and steadily and assured them that success was certain. He asked them to convene meetings in every village and explain these ideas to the people at large.

The president then rose and made a great speech which was listened to with rapt attention. He traced the sentiment of untouchability to political causes and compared the treatment



of the blacks in Africa by the white Settlers. He sketched the steps taken for the amelioration of the Panchama in Mysore and exhorted the hearers to patience and continuity of effort. Customs ingrained in the people for centuries could not be removed in a day but things were improving and there was every reason to hope. He concluded by calling for three hearty cheers to the King Emperor, His Highness the Maharaja and His Highness the Yuvaraja of Mysore. The conference was a great success. Arrangements had been made for feeding the Panchama delegates and a small exhibition of articles manufactured by Panchamas has also been arranged.

### THE HIGHER CIVILIZATION OF INDIA—ITS SPIRITUAL CHARACTER.

The Editor, The *Indian Social Reformer*,

Sir,

Truth is no man's property nor can any country or nation claim it as exclusively its own. And yet you cannot deny that there is a predisposition to take to it easily by certain minds, and the evolution of that state of mind is to be found in certain countries as a more natural outcome of the life led by the people there than anywhere else. The characteristic of Indian civilization is spiritual. This spirituality is the basic principle and ultimate goal of the Indian civilization. The Hon'ble Mr. P. Ramanathan of Ceylon says: "By means of these sacred institutions of civilization called home, school and profession, married life and society, industrial arts and amusements, He (God) bade us to attain the fullness of individual development called *Perfect Love, Righteousness, Peace or Spirituality*. If we bear in mind that these great institutes of civilization were granted to us for the purpose of working out our salvation to the best of our power, *by always preferring the needs of the Spirit*,—by subordinating the demands of the body to the requirements of the Spirit, we shall walk straight, progress direct to Spirituality."

"Progress" itself means "*the process of walking straight-way to God*."

"This doctrine of True Life," he further explains, "is not an idle thing nor useless to man individually or nationally. The practice of the doctrine of Progress in the illuminated path develops character in the individual and strengthens him immensely for worldly work, and it prolongs national life and prosperity."

If you realise the truth of this you cannot and will not speak of "Standards in political (not in cultural) matters" as though "Politics" is anything but a means of that true culture which leads one straightway to the goal which is Spirituality. In my Tamil Magazine, the *Vivekachintamani* for November, I have written an article on the problem of Reconstruction which brings out those characteristics of the Indian mind which are the direct outcome of her Spiritual civilization which has made it so enduring from time immemorial in spite of so many changes of Government. The English institutions themselves are the outcome of the various stages of social evolution which they have undergone in the past, but they are not the ultimate triumphs of her civilization, which is based on a worship of their national goddess which Mr. Ruskin has so well and clearly pointed out is still "the Goddess of Getting-on." This worship has inevitably stamped the character of the British whose genius for "*muddling through*" things is phenomenal. This "*muddling through*" character has so far served them well in times of crises including the present great world-war, just brought to a close, but at

what cost to themselves and others! There is no use blaming the Kaiser for his Imperialism, any more than blaming the Briton for worshipping his "Goddess of Getting-on" which Mr. Ruskin again characterises as nothing else but "Britannia of the Market." I point out to them the pitfall which the Allied Powers assembled in Peace Conference should be very careful to avoid lest they in turn, by setting up a "new absolutism" with "Britannia of the Market" as its presiding deity, come to share the common fate of every new and successive absolutism which has essayed to follow in the wake of its predecessors inscribing in its banner "the inexorable motto which is inherent on the conception and which drives them all to their fate 'World. Powers or Downfall.'" The problem of Social Reconstruction has, to avoid such pitfalls, always been handled in India by seers and sages who could bring to bear on the problem "that spiritual integration of mind which has raised the conception of Right to the plane of the universal." I trust this aspect of the question will receive that consideration which it so imperatively demands and deserves.

"Lalitalaya"  
Mylapore  
4th Dec. 1918.

C. V. SWAMINATHAIYAR, K. S. S. A.

### ADVERTISEMENTS

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not  
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

## CONTENTS.

Intermarriages between Indian Christians and Non-Christians.	A Misconception about the Rowlatt Act.
A Strange Demand.	The Vernacular of Behar.
"Nationalisation of Women."	The Calm after the Storm.
The Rights of the Illegitimate Child.	A Great Christian Indian Missionary.
The Norwegian Model.	Madras Politics.

## NOTES.

**Intermarriages between Indian Christians and Non-Christians.** In commenting on certain proposals for a new Indian Christian Marriage Act, we took exception to the definition proposed of a Christian, as a person "who has professed the Christian religion and has not been admitted to membership of another religion, and the fact of his submitting to the ceremony of marriage by non-Christian rites shall not be held in itself to prove that he has ceased to be a Christian." A correspondent who, we may say, is exceptionally well qualified to express an opinion on the point, supported our criticism on additional grounds which he mentioned, and suggested that the proposed Act should define "a Christian marriage" and not undertake the difficult task of defining a Christian. The *Harvest Field* for April comments upon our criticism and the suggestion of our correspondent. As regards the latter, it says that the suggestion may meet the difficulty "but it makes a marriage between a Christian and a non-Christian impossible." "It is well-known," we are told, "that, when it is difficult for some Christians to provide what they regard as suitable partners for their sons or daughters they select a non-Christian and get a Hindu priest to perform a marriage ceremony." Apart from the context in which this statement is made, it has an importance as an indication of the tendency of thought among the Christians concerned as regards the value of the environment of Hinduism and Indian Christianity in producing good wives and husbands. And what is even more significant is that the *Harvest Field* avows that its suggestion is intended to convert such marriages into "monogamous Christian marriages," an object which our correspondent's suggestion will, it fears, not effectuate.

**A Strange Demand.** In answer to our objection that the law cannot insist on regarding as a Christian a person who, by marrying by a non-Christian rite, had given the best proof of his not being a Christian, the *Harvest Field* makes the further admission that, in most of the cases referred to by our contemporary, the party concerned comes back to the Christian Church and claims to be a Christian. "He has taken an unusual step to overcome a difficulty but has no desire to remain a non-

Christian." The only meaning we can attach to this is that a person in this position thinks Christianity good enough as a system of personal belief but not good enough as a basis of the social life of an Indian community. If that be so, what business is it of the Indian Legislature, may we ask, to help Indian Christianity which is admittedly powerless and, indeed, is not willing either to stop such marriages or to reject the "claims" of parties who have contracted them to be "Christians", to compel—for it practically comes to that—the non-Christian party to become a Christian in the eye of the law, though he or she continue to be a non-Christian in faith and even in the profession of it. There is a serious gap in the demand which can only be filled in by reading into it something which, we are sure, the *Harvest Field* will repudiate and, indeed, will scorn to entertain. An Indian Christian Marriage Act should aim at regulating marriages among Christians. The present Act, by providing for the celebration of marriages between a Christian and non-Christian by a Christian priest, violates the principle of religious neutrality, and in any new law, this part will have to be omitted. The *Harvest Field* is in error in thinking that monogamy is recognised by the Indian Legislature as the special attribute of Christian marriages. It is an incident of all marriages which owe their origin to or have been specially recognised by the Indian Legislature, with, so far, a solitary exception—the Anand Marriage Act—against which we protested at the time of its passing, as we protest to-day against passing Mr. Patel's Inter-Caste Marriage Bill without the introduction of the principle of monogamy.

**"Nationalisation of Women."** Exaggeration and misrepresentation defeat their own ends, owing to the fact that the most constant factor of human nature is love of truth, though it may be temporarily obscured by passion and prejudice. This is illustrated by the protests in several English journals against some of the wild imputations against the Bolsheviks indulged by a section of the Press. A proclamation for the "Nationalisation of Women," purporting to have been issued by the Bolsheviks, was published by the *Times*. This was reproduced in newspapers in this country, among others, by *New India* of Madras. Our contemporary in a recent issue notes that both the *New Statesman* and the *Labour Leader* deny the truth of the proclamation. It seems that Mr. John Rickman, who was working in Russia for the Friends' Relief Fund from September, 1916, wrote to the *Times*, pointing out the nature of the proclamation, and giving the decrees on marriage and divorce of the highest Soviet Council, but the *Times* would not publish his letter. The *New Statesman* says: "The actual law as to marriage and parentage passed by the Soviet Government for all Russia differs little from our own, save that it gives illegitimate children the same claim on their parents as legitimate children. Civil marriage is



absolutely obligatory, and an ecclesiastical marriage in addition is an affair resting with the individuals concerned."

**The Rights of the Illegitimate Child.** As regards the legitimising of illegitimate children, the following from an editorial in the February-March number of the *Shield*, the organ of the great movement started by Mrs. Josephine Butler, shows that there is great dissatisfaction with the law regarding bastardy in England. "The registered illegitimate births for England and Wales are between 37,000 and 40,000 a year. These shows an annual death-rate under one year of age of about 250 per 1,000 births. Thus some 10,000 illegitimate infants die every year and of these the majority die from diarrhoea or wasting diseases. Compared with the legitimate infant death rate of 1 in 8, the illegitimate, is 1 in 4, or just double, so that, even allowing for the normal average death rate amongst infants, by our cruel neglect and penalisation of the illegitimate, we condemn not less than 5,000 pitiable little babies every year to unnecessary and preventible death from cold, dirt and semi-starvation. It is certain the cause of good morals is not promoted by cruelty to babes and women. The English Bastardy Laws are almost the worst in Europe, and it will reflect gravely on the wisdom of the new women voters if they do not speedily bring the House of Commons to recognise that fact and make an end of it."

**The Norwegian Model:** Our contemporary suggests the amendment of the English law on the lines followed in Norway where an illegitimate child has practically the same legal position in regard to its father as to its mother. It has the right to the father's family name, and whichever parent has the care of the child must provide for it as if it were legitimately born. It has equal rights of inheritance from the father as from the mother, and it has to be brought up and educated according to the conditions of whichever of its parents is the more well-to-do. The enactment of this law in 1915 has led this year to an alteration in the Norwegian marriage law. Both parties to the marriage must now make a written declaration as to previous marriages and children born out of wedlock, and also must declare in writing that they are not suffering from epilepsy, leprosy, syphilis, or other venereal disease in an infectious form. The marriage may be nullified if false declarations have been made or obstacles concealed, and this also applies whether the child of the irregular union of either party is born after or before their marriage.

**A Misconception about the Rowlatt Act:** The Rowlatt Act, it has been urged in criticism of the movement for its repeal, does not come into force until and unless the Government of India proclaims the country or any part of it under one of the first three parts of the Act. This is true, but there is an important exception. The 39th section of the Act provides that, on the expiration of the Defence of India Act, every person in respect of whom an order, under the rules made under that Act, was in force immediately before the expiration of that Act, and who has in the opinion of the Local Government been concerned in any scheduled offence, "shall be deemed to be a person resident in an area in which a notification under section 21 is in force and the provisions of part II shall apply to every such person accordingly," and every person who is at such expiration in confinement in accordance with the provisions of Regulation III of 1818, shall be deemed to be a person resident in an area in which a notification under section 33 is in force, and the provisions of part III

shall apply to every such person accordingly. There is a similar provision as regards persons against whom an order is in force under the Ingress into Indian Ordinance of 1914 as continued in force by the Emergency Legislation Continuance Act. In regard to all these persons, the Rowlatt Act, which has been just passed, will automatically take the place of the Acts under which their movements are restricted, the moment these latter cease to have force. So far as they are concerned, the Act does not require a Government of India notification to be brought into force.

It may be said, these men are revolutionary criminals, and no sympathy should be wasted on them. But the point to remember is that their revolutionary crimes have not been proved before a Court of Law. In the special conditions of the War, Government proposed, and non-official opinion supported their proposals, to adopt certain summary methods as sufficient substitutes for a regular judicial procedure. We are sure that Government would not have been able to secure the unanimous non-official support which they obtained for their proposals, if they had proposed that persons incarcerated under these methods will be continued in their incarceration without being brought to trial even after the cessation of war conditions. These men are entitled to be released unconditionally on the expiry of the Acts. They will then be in exactly the position of every other subject of His Majesty, and if they are to be put under further restraint, this should be done by regular process of law. The Rowlatt Act has deprived these men of their rights—the Legislature has usurped the functions of the judiciary. It is likely that few persons will remain interned at the expiry of the war emergency Acts, but the orders as to security made under the Defence of India Act are continued in force as if made under the Rowlatt Act. We had to be satisfied with strong suspicion as proof of guilt in a time of war which was a time of danger to the State, but surely, it is not right to force us to be content with the same unsatisfactory standard of proof in a time of peace against even these persons.

**The Vernacular of Behar.** Hindi is officially designated the Vernacular language of Behar, but Mr. R. Roy, writing in a recent number, of the *Behar Herald* points out that Behari the spoken language of the province differs considerably from Hindi. He says: "The school children in Bihar read Hindi in schools, hear a mixed language of Hindi and Urdu while conversing with educated Biharis and the Bihari language while conversing with the masses. In other provinces children experience a little difficulty where the dialect of the child differs much from the vernacular language but in Bihar the dialects do not belong at all to their so-called vernacular Hindi. Whenever the school children in Bihar get opportunity they speak the Bihari language. Then they appear to be in their element. This is the case even with educated Biharis. When they talk with a Bengalee gentleman, they speak Hindi, with a Muhammedan gentleman they speak Urdu but with their relatives they speak Bihari. Even these educated Biharis appear to be in their element when speaking Bihari. They can express their ideas fully and beautifully. They consider for all intents and purposes Hindi to be a foreign tongue to be used only while talking with strangers but not with friends. Is then Hindi the vernacular language of Bihar? The answer of the school children will certainly be a big "No." They will prefer Bihari to Hindi." The writer adds that the Biharis had broken away long ago from the Hindi-speaking people by modifying the Devanagari character into Kaithi as Gujarathi has done in western India.



## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, APRIL, 20, 1919.

## THE CALM AFTER THE STORM.

## THE SITUATION IN BOMBAY.

Since last week, there have been no disturbances in this Presidency. Bombay City has resumed its normal life. Details of the occurrences in Ahmedabad show that the loss of life in putting down the riots was much greater than was at first thought. An official communique from Simla gives 250 as the number of casualties. Rumour in Bombay on Sunday gave the number killed as 500, while the *Times of India's* special correspondent, writing on Monday from Ahmedabad, put the number of deaths at 20, and the wounded at 250. The Government of Bombay have issued no statement. The *Times of India* corrected on Friday the statement of its correspondent, which had been made in previous messages from other sources, that a Flour Mill was burnt down. So far as we can gather, an Indian Policeman and an English police sergeant lost their lives. Englishmen were handled roughly, but the principal work of destruction by the Ahmedabad mob seems to have been setting fire to Government buildings of which some were burnt down, and cutting telephone and telegraph wires. Some rails were removed from the railway between the Utarsand and Nadiad stations with the object, it is believed, of derailing a troop train bound for Ahmedabad from Bombay. Pirangaum Railway station, farther north, was burnt down, the Aval Karkun, an Indian, killed, and several aggons of grass for famine-stricken cattle burnt down by the mob which is said to have come from Kaira. Mr. Gandhi and Miss Anusuyabai Amhalal arrived at Ahmedabad and their presence and speeches had a marked effect in quietening the situation. Miss Amhalal is a well-educated young lady belonging to one of the wealthiest Jain families in Ahmedabad. By her disinterested service among the poor of the city, she has secured a strong hold on the affections of the masses. She is an enthusiastic co-worker with Mr. Gandhi and it had unfortunately got about that she had been arrested. This, of course, was not true. His Excellency the Governor met the citizens of Bombay on Wednesday evening and impressed on them the necessity of using all their influence to put down mob violence, while expressly disclaiming any desire on His Excellency's part to interfere with constitutional agitation against the Rowlatt Act. By his statesmanlike handling of a difficult as well as delicate situation, Sir George Lloyd has established an indefeasible claim on the citizens of this Presidency, and his appeal for co-operation was met with prompt and cordial response. We would respectfully suggest that a connected and correct account of the happenings in Ahmedabad and Pirangaum and the loss of life and property in these places, should be published at once by Government. The policy of taking the public fully into the confidence of Government, which His Excellency has declared his intention to follow, will abundantly justify itself by its

results. Outside of this Presidency, Calcutta was the scene of some trouble, involving firing into the crowd. The Marwadis had organised a day of mourning on account of Mr. Gandhi's arrest. In its inception at least the demonstration was on entirely unexceptionable lines as the following quotation from a private letter shows: "I arrived here this (the 11th) afternoon after 12-30 P.M., the train having been delayed in the way. We took a taxi, but when we were passing Harrison Road, we found that all the shops were closed on account of Mr. Gandhi's 'arrest,' and there was a big crowd of Marwaris and others who approached our taxi and requested us to go on foot. When we complied, they expressed satisfaction, and one of the men even suggested that we could walk a few yards and thereafter get into the taxi again. We, however, discharged the taxi, and walked half way and took a horse carriage. There seems to be a good deal of excitement here." Mr. B. Chakravarti, a leading Barrister-at-Law of Calcutta, has published a statement which confirms the impression conveyed by this quotation from a letter which had no other reference to public affairs. The Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta, Mr. Keays, took the right measure of their conduct when some of the young men arrested in the crowd were placed before him. He is reported to have let off some and imposed nominal fines on others, remarking that in their position he would have done the same thing, and that boys will be boys. In Delhi, the shops continued to be closed notwithstanding the efforts of the Administration and Indian leaders to get them opened. The continued closure of the shops seems to be telling on the masses. We hope that the situation will be relieved without the use of force and violence.

## THE SITUATION IN THE PUNJAB.

The situation in the Punjab has developed with alarming rapidity. The Punjab Government followed up the order prohibiting the entrance of Mr. Gandhi into the province by deporting Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew and Mr. Satya Pal, two popular leaders of Amritsar. On Thursday, the 10th instant the sudden removal of these two gentlemen, aggravated no doubt by the news of the alleged arrest of Mr. Gandhi, would seem to have let loose the evil passions of the mob which killed five Englishmen, burnt a part of the Railway station, endeavoured to destroy the permanent way at various points, looted Banks and wrecked a small station on the main line and another on a branch line. It had to be dispersed by the military who fired on it. The total number of killed among the crowd was between twenty and thirty. The same evening there was an outbreak at Lahore which was also put down by firing. The mob here does not seem to have wrecked anything or killed anybody, the only casualty, not caused by the firing, being that of a European being hit on the head by a policeman in mistake, and having to be bandaged. No further trouble was reported after these outbreaks, and it was, therefore, with



surprise that we read in Wednesday's papers the announcement that, being satisfied that a state of open rebellion against the authority of Government exists in the districts of Lahore and Amritsar, the Governor General in Council had brought into force Bengal Regulation of 1804 for the trial by courts martial, instead of the ordinary criminal courts, of persons taking up arms against the State. An ordinance issued on the same date substituted a Commission of three persons appointed by Government for the court martial prescribed by this ancient Regulation. Another telegram of the same date from Simla reported that the Amritsar mob had again broken out in a violent attack against the authorities and that the rebels were repulsed by the military and suffered 200 casualties. Farther outbreaks and casualties were reported from Lahore. On the 15th news came that the mob attacked a train in Gujranwalla (Punjab) and burnt the railway station and cut the wires. Aeroplanes went out from Lahore and dropped bombs, and machine-gunned the crowd. Martial law was proclaimed in the Gujranwalla district. The Punjab Government has stated in a *communiqué* that the only place where aeroplanes used bombs was Gujranwalla. It also contradicts as being without foundation the rumour that the Golden Temple at Amritsar and Lahore were bombed. Some railway stations in the Punjab are reported to have been wrecked. The Prevention of Seditious Meetings Act has been applied to the Multan and Jullundur districts in the Punjab. Three Indian leaders in Lahore, Lala Danichand, Bar-at-Law, Lala Harkissen Lal, Bar-at-Law, and Pandit Rambhuj Datt Chowdhry, Pleader, were deported on the 14th instant to an unknown destination. Attempts to wreck some other railway stations are also reported. The latest news is reassuring. The excitement seems to be subsiding. Such is a rapid summary of happenings in the Punjab. They reveal a serious state of things, and Government will have the full support of public opinion in all reasonably strong measures which they may adopt for the suppression of murder, arson and other outrages by the mob. There seems to be a feeling in the Punjab, however, that Government measures rather tend to err somewhat on the side of excessive severity. We have received from the Secretary of the Lahore Dev Samaj, a body whose loyalty is beyond question, copies of two resolutions passed at a special meeting of the Executive Council of the Samaj at Lahore on 14th instant. They are as follows:—"Resolved that the Executive Council of the Dev Samaj in a special meeting held at Lahore on the 14th April 1919, while supporting the right and principle of constitutional protest against any harmful law or measure of a constituted Government, expresses its deep abhorrence and strong condemnation for the acts of violence such as murders, setting fire to buildings, looting banks and wrecking Railway lines etc., committed by the mob in connection with agitation against the most ill-advised Rowlatt Act, and gives expression to its deep sympathy with the sufferers.—II. That this

Council, while advising its own countrymen not to adopt such a form of protest against any measure of Government as is likely to cause needless dislocation of trade and inconvenience to the public, or to lead to social hatred and breach of peace or order, respectfully requests the Government not to adopt such drastic measures as are likely to cause needless irritation and ill-will in the public mind and shake public confidence and mar the spirit of co-operation between the Government and the people, and make the Administration more difficult or needlessly unpopular."

#### ANTI-ENGLISH OUTRAGES.

We venture very respectfully to suggest to some of our political leaders that we shall not get to the heart of the matter if we regard the several important issues involved in these tragic events, with reference principally to their probable effect on constitutional reform and to the impression they may make on the British public. These things are important, but what is much more important is the workings of the mass mind, which they reveal in several parts of the country in response to and in reaction from the influence and forces in operation at the present day. At any rate the fate of the reform scheme and the impression which the British public may form, interest us far less at the moment than the seeking of the truth behind the manifestations of mob violence, on the one hand, and organised force, on the other, leading to considerable loss of life and property and, what is many times worse, leaving a legacy of bitterness and hate which it will take long to efface. The most hideous and sinister feature of these outbreaks is the murder of and assaults on Englishmen. No people entitled to admission in the comity of civilised nations in whom the idea, that the person and property of strangers and foreigners are as sacred as and, indeed, more sacred than those of their own, has become so habitual and so ingrained that state men and leaders may safely leave the possibility of any violation of it out of account in the calculation of the effects of popular upheavals. The present outbursts show that we, in this country, are not in that position. This is extraordinary considering that the immemorial traditional attitude of the Indian people, as reflected in the settled policy of Indian rulers, has been one of the largest toleration to all races and creeds who were freely admitted into the country and permitted to exercise their religion and to carry on their businesses without let or hindrance. The Jews, the Syrian Christians, the Parsees, are ancient communities in India illustrating the operation of this policy. There is no record in Indian history of any anti-Semitic, anti-Christian or anti-Parsee outbreaks. This ancient principle of Indian policy was eventually adopted by Indian Mohammedan rulers also, so that it is consecrated by the practice of two great sections of our population. The position of the English, and of Europeans generally, in modern India is, no doubt, different in some essential particulars from that of the communities mentioned above. Those communities, for one thing, settled down in the country, so that there was no question



exploitation. Then, the Europeans enjoy a privileged position in some ways. Then, again, the English press in India, with honourable exceptions, is not very considerate to Indian rights and susceptibilities. To take a recent case, a name universally venerated in India by all races and creeds as that of a patriot and nation-builder, Dadabhai Navroji, was cruelly and wantonly aspersed the other day by the *Calcutta Free Press*, which it would not have dared to do in any other country. Another English journal in Calcutta caused a commotion some time back by its irreverent allusion to the Prophet of Islam. We regard it here as our deliberate conviction that the English feeling of which we have had these outrageous manifestations, is alien to the instincts of the Indian people, and that it is largely the outcome of the unbridled license arrogated to themselves by a section of the English press in India. The fact that Indians are willing and glad to accept the leadership of Englishmen—and even of so erratic an Englishwoman as Mrs. Besant—in their national movements, is clear proof that the Indian people as a whole has no antipathy to the English people. On the contrary, there is considerable common ground between the two races, so outwardly distinct from each other, in the conservatism which lies at the root of their national characters, in their respect for social order and family life, in their distrust of Government interference beyond the bare requirements of protection of life and property. We are unable to suggest any means whereby the tone of English Journals in India can be raised to a uniform level of goodwill and respect for Indian feelings and sentiments. But we regard such an improvement as an essential factor in allaying the anti-English feeling in the country. In any rate, Government can make it unmistakably clear that they regard English Journals which make a point to be too offensive to Indians with disapproval. Meanwhile, we very deeply regret the loss of life among Europeans, and would like to express our sincere sympathy with the families of those who were done to death by the mob. The other features of these outbursts are the burning down of public buildings, the destruction of railway stations and lines, and the cutting of telegraph wires. We wonder from where the mobs obtained their supply of kerosine oil which they seem to have freely used, when we in Bombay are experiencing a famine so illuminant. While these are serious crimes to be sternly put down by means of exemplary sentences, we regard them as of less grave consequence than the murder of and outrages on Europeans. Possibly, the anti-English feeling has had something to do with destruction of establishments closely connected with English enterprise and English authority.

#### MOST INOPPORTUNE LEGISLATION.

Writing on the 9th February on the Rowlatt Bills, we observed: "We are convinced that so far from putting down revolutionary crime, these Bills, if passed into law, will give a fresh and powerful impetus to it. We oppose the Bills because they are

bound to defeat their own object." What has happened has not changed this opinion, but only confirmed it with an emphasis which, we confess, is as painfully surprising to us as it will be to our readers. How did we come to make the statement? We were not in the confidence of the Ahmedabad and Amritsar mobs. We had no idea that there will be trouble in Delhi, that Mr. Gandhi will be called to pacify the mob in Delhi, that the Punjab Government would turn him back from Palwal, that the telegram that he was arrested and sent to an unknown destination will be flashed over the country. We are no clairvoyants, we have no dealings with Himalayan Mahatmas. Our opinion was based on some study of history which, of all studies, helps the publicist most to forecast the effects of particular events or measures; some knowledge of the stress and strain on public feeling; and some experience of human nature in officials and non-officials. Apart from the contents of these Bills, the occasion chosen for their introduction could not have been more inopportune. The country had cheerfully borne her share of the burdens and hardships consequent on the war. She had given freely of men and money and materials to the cause of the Empire. She was suffering acutely from high prices. The rains had failed. A famine exceeding in severity, in the opinion of some authorities, the famine of 1899-1900, had the people in its grip. A terrible epidemic of influenza swept over the country taking away six million men, women and children. Local epidemics, like cholera in Bombay, added to the distress of the people. Strikes in some of the principal industrial centres such as Madras, Bombay and Ahmedabad, had induced a state of unrest in factory workers. The Mahomedan population was disquieted by the fate of Turkey and the future of the Holy places of Islam. The non-Brahmin movement in the Madras presidency and in Maharashtra, was severely straining the traditional ideas of the people. The depressed classes were awakening to a consciousness of their wrongs. The women of India were also beginning to look forward to a wider life than that of wife and mother. In these and other ways, the country was in the throes of a new birth. It was looking forward eagerly to the introduction of constitutional reforms to give it the opportunity of applying the power and resources of the State to solve its problems of national reconstruction. It was such a time that was chosen to introduce the Rowlatt Bills. The organs of Indian opinion at once sounded a note of warning. "The situation at present," we wrote on the 26th January, "is one which demands sympathetic and soothing measures. High prices, epidemics, famine, are bearing heavily upon the people. They ask for bread, not for the stone of repressive legislation. No Government which is not entirely out of touch with the actual state of things in the country, will proceed with such proposals at such a time." The Imperial Legislative Council met. When the principal Bill came on for the first reading, it was met by a storm of opposition from all the Indian members. It was



clear that Government had not expected it. Sir George Lowndes, the Law Member, admitted to the Council that Government had practically the whole opinion of non-official members against the Bills but, he maintained, it would be impossible for Government to surrender their judgment even to the unanimous opinion of non-official members. The Bill was referred to a Select Committee. Government accepted in the Select Committee two amendments which, we are bound to say in fairness to them, they were led to believe, would make the Bill acceptable to a section of Indian non-official members who, however, afterwards refused to regard them as in any way affecting their opposition to it. The two amendments were, the limitation of the period of duration to three years, and the limitation of the scope of the Bill to anarchic and revolutionary crime. As to this latter, however, we must say at the same time that the refusal of Government to define "anarchic and revolutionary crime" in the Act, virtually deprived the amendment of any significance. When the Bill, as revised by the Select Committee, came before the Council, there were about two hundred amendments to be disposed of and the Council had to sit late into the night one day to clear off the amendments. The non-officials were fighting a losing game but they were determined to leave no loophole untried for delaying, if they cannot defeat, the Bill. At the third reading, as a last resource, they prayed the Viceroy to withhold his assent to the Bill. His Excellency could have easily done this. There was the Bill, passed through all the stages in the Council. There is no obligation on the Viceroy, so far as we can see, to give his assent to it within any period of time. He could have held it over, till the occasion for applying the law arose, and given his assent to it immediately before he sanctioned the application of its provisions to any part of the country. There would then be before the public a clear proof of the necessity of the law and the action of Government would have evoked public support. Unfortunately, the Viceroy did not take this view. He gave his assent to the Bill. Why do we recapitulate these things? Not certainly in a spirit of recrimination. We do so because it is being said that the outbreaks are the result of external instigation. There may be external instigation or not; we do not know and we cannot say. If there was, the action of Government helped the endeavours of the instigators.

#### MR. GANDHI AND SATYAGRAHA.

Mr. Gandhi had appealed to the Viceroy to drop the Bills and had conveyed to His Excellency the intention of himself and his friends to offer *Satyagraha* and commit civil disobedience of such laws as a committee to be formed among themselves might select, in the case of their being passed into law. Mr. Gandhi has had personal experience of Lord Chelmsford's high conscientiousness, exalted sense of duty, and unswerving allegiance to truth, in connection with the Champaran troubles. In regard to the condition of Indians in Fiji, His Excellency's views, it is well-known, underwent a complete change

when he came to know of the actual state of things there. No wonder that, in Mr. Gandhi's personal feelings for the Viceroy are mingled admiration and affection, and that he speaks of him as of a brother *Satyagrahi* from, of course, His Excellency's own point of view. It is the sincere belief of everyone who has come in contact with Lord Chelmsford that, if he is convinced that a course of action is wrong or unjust, he will not let any consideration, and certainly that of so unsubstantial a thing as prestige, stand in the way of a prompt and peremptory reversal of it, whatever may be the consequence of such action. Mr. Gandhi was invited by the Viceroy to discuss the position personally, but the interview was infructuous though most friendly. The *Satyagraha* vow runs as follows: "Being conscientiously of opinion that the Bills known as the Criminal Law (Amendment) Bill No. 1 of 1919, and the Criminal Law (Emergency Powers) Bill No. 2 of 1919, are unjust, subversive of the principles of liberty and justice, and destructive of the elementary rights of individuals on which the safety of community as a whole and the State itself is based, we solemnly affirm that, in the event of these Bills becoming law, we shall refuse civilly to obey these laws and such other laws as the Committee to be appointed hereafter may think fit until the said measures are withdrawn, and we further affirm that in this struggle we will faithfully follow truth and refrain from violence to life, person and property." The motives with which Mr. Gandhi conceived this movement were thus set forth by him in a private letter several days before the public were invited to take the vow: "If you do not provide the rising generation with an effective remedy against the excess of authority, you will let loose the powers of vengeance and the doctrines of the cult of violence will spread with a rapidity which all will deplore. Repression answers only so long as you can overawe people. But even cowards have been known to exhibit extraordinary courage under equally extraordinary stress. In offering the remedy of self-suffering which is one meaning of *Satyagraha* I follow the spirit of our civilisation and present the young patriot with the remedy of which he need never despair." Mr. Gandhi is perfectly right. It is the instinct of the Hindu to attribute all inflictions on him to his own past misdeeds, his own Karma in previous births, and not to Government or to any outside agency. The remedy, of course, is to suffer uncomplainingly and to inflict some additional hardships voluntarily on oneself by way of penance to expedite the exhaustion of the force of the evil past. The idea of breaking windows or burning down buildings is absolutely inconceivable to a *Satyagrahi*; much more, of course, is the thought of taking away life. Those who do not believe in *Karma* and rebirth, yet hold the same belief in the shape of the doctrine of vicarious suffering. The suffering need not be in the person of the sinner. Christ died to redeem the world from sin. The patriot calls down suffering upon himself in order to save his people from it. The soldier dies to



ave his country. The doctor catches the infection in trying to save his patient. All the vocations, except those termed commercial, place before their votaries, in the last resort, pain and death as an alternative to be inexorably preferred to dereliction of duty. Patriotism without such an ultimate alternative will really be the last resource of the scoundrel. India owes Mr. Gandhi a debt immense of endless gratitude for placing before it in all its stern severity the trait and narrow way which persons who choose public life must tread when occasion demands it. Who can say that India stood in no need of the lesson? When the standard of public life and public morality which Mr. Gandhi has set before us, comes to be common in India, there will be far less scrambling for public positions, and those who aspire to lead the people will realise the meaning of the great saying that he who would be the first among his fellows should be as the least.

#### SUGGESTIONS FOR IMMEDIATE CONSIDERATION.

Mr. Gandhi, with that fearless recognition of truth which is the mark of the true *Satyagrahi*, has suspended the movement for, as he frankly admits, he finds that he underrated the forces of evil when he embarked upon a mass movement. We entirely agree with him that the Ahmedabad and Viramgam outrages would not have occurred if the Punjab Government had not prevented his going to Delhi. Delhi, too, would in all probability have resumed its normal life immediately. Mr. Gandhi points out in his letter announcing the suspension of the movement that, in the course of the Satyagraha struggle in South Africa, several thousands of indentured Indians had struck work. That was a Satyagraha strike and, therefore, entirely peaceful and voluntary. Whilst the strike was going on, a strike of the European miners and railway employees, etc., was declared. Overtures were made to Mr. Gandhi to make common cause with the European strikers. As a *Satyagrahi*, he did not require a moment's consideration to decline to do so. He went further, and for fear of their strike being classed with the strike of the Europeans, in which methods of violence and the use of arms found a prominent place, it was suspended, and Satyagraha from that moment came to be recognised by the Europeans of South Africa as an honourable and honest movement, and in the words of General Smuts "a constitutional movement." "I can do no less" adds Mr. Gandhi, "at the present critical moment. I would be untrue to Satyagraha if I allowed it, by any action of mine, to be used as an occasion for feeding violence, for embittering the relations between the English and the Indians. Our Satyagraha must, therefore, now consist in ceaselessly helping the authorities in all the ways available to us as *Satyagrahis* to restore order and to curb lawlessness. We can turn the tragedies going on before us to good account, if we could but succeed in gaining the adherence of the masses to the fundamental principles of Satyagraha." We applaud this wise decision though we regret that the considerations, which have impelled Mr. Gandhi to it, did not occur to him at the outset. Our difficulty from the first has been that in Satyagraha

against the Rowlatt Act, it was impossible to differentiate, so as to make the distinction clear to the masses, between its aim which is one we all approve of, and its method which we all detest. Its aim, the putting down of anarchical and revolutionary crime, is one which is as dear to Mr. Gandhi's heart as to that of any one else. It is its method, that of doing away with the ordinary judicial safeguards for the protection of the innocent, which has aroused opposition. Unless we find a means of clearly distinguishing between the two, the opposition to the method or plan of the Act would be confounded by the ignorant masses, as we fear it has been with opposition to the aim of the Act and, consequently, it may be mistaken for sympathy with anarchical crime. The idea of resisting other Acts for the mischief of the present one is open to a very similar objection. *Satyagraha*, if anything, is a movement of educating the people. Now, one of the first principles in education is that the sequence of cause and consequence, should be presented to the pupil in such simple and direct association that he cannot possibly ever after make a mistake about them. We have full faith in *Satyagraha* as is shown by the quotation from Garrison which has been printed for many years past at the head of the *Reformer*. But each *Satyagrahi* must give effect to the principle in his own proper sphere. It is only thus can he give most effect to it. The Editor of a journal, for example, will best serve the cause by telling the truth in his columns, and nothing but the truth, whether it pays to do so or not. He cannot serve it equally well by selling in the streets prohibited publications. We suggest to Mr. Gandhi that this point must be considered during the present suspension of the movement. Civil disobedience to a law is not always more onerous than a strict adherence to truth in a public man, especially when Government refuse to be dragged into action by every little urchin who hawks about half a sheet of cyclostyled foolscap professing to be an unregistered newspaper. We hope that, though *Satyagraha* is suspended, there will be no relaxation in the effort to get the Rowlatt Act disallowed. Sir George Lloyd was right when he said that all constitutional means of getting the Act disallowed have not been exhausted. We suggest that a deputation of representatives from all parts of the country should wait on His Excellency the Viceroy, and it should, while expressing its strong condemnation of and deep regret at the recent outbreaks of lawlessness, and its determination to support Government, beg him to advise His Majesty to disallow the Act in view of the strong feeling among the Indian leaders against it. After all, as His Excellency well knows, revolution and repression are not new things in the world. Where experts in repression like the Sultan of Turkey and the Tsar of Russia ignominiously failed, an amateur in the art like the Government of India can hardly hope to succeed. Let us, therefore, be done with repressive measures, and let us whole-heartedly embrace the policy of broad-basing the administration



on the affections of the Indian people, which is the only policy consistent with British tradition and calculated to breed contentment and a sense of security among us, and the only policy which can bind India by the silken ties of love and loyalty to the British Empire.

### A GREAT CHRISTIAN INDIAN MISSIONARY

Since Indian Christians form the third largest element of India's population, all sections of our country are interested in seeing representative Indian Christians coming to the front, and taking their due share in our common national life. We call attention to three Indian Christians in different parts of the country. Principal S. K. Rndra, M. A. of St. Stephen's College, is a representative in North India. There is a noble Christian College in Delhi of which Principal Rndra is the distinguished head. A unique feature of that institution is that English Professors delight to work as colleagues of their intensely nationalist Indian Principal. Association with Principal Rndra was undoubtedly the spark which kindled in Mr. C. F. Andrews (once a Professor in St. Stephen's College) his active devotion to and ardent advocacy of Indian interests. Mr. S. K. Datta is, another great Indian Christian, who has proved that the profession of Christianity is not a hindrance but a help to his Indian patriotism.

Yet another Indian Christian who has attained an international position of which all Indians may be proud, is Mr. K. T. Paul. In his earlier years he was a tutor in the Christian College at Madras. By force of intellect and character, Mr. Paul has become a leader of the Indian National Missionary Society which conducts Missions in many parts of the country. But it is as General Secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association that Mr. Paul is best known, and has done great work. For some years an American gentleman, Mr. E. C. Carter, was its General Secretary in India. Mr. Paul was, first, Mr. Carter's assistant, then Associate General Secretary, and finally, when Mr. Carter left India, he became the General Secretary, superintending American, European and Indian Secretaries. American and European Secretaries are as glad as Indians to work under Mr. Paul, and Mr. Carter who, during these War days, has been the General Secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association in Europe, has said that if he should return to India he would be proud to serve as Mr. Paul's assistant.

In Western India the Indian Christian community has not produced as outstanding a representative as Principal Rudra, Prof. Datta or Mr. Paul. It will be interesting to investigate why it has not done so. It may nevertheless lay claim to the Rev. Dr. R. A. Hume, who by birth and in spirit is and who considers himself and is considered by his countrymen, to be a true Indian. Dr. Hume often says that while he is "a Scotch-American-Indian", since his grand parents were born in Scotland, his parents in America, and he in Bombay, yet he is especially

proud of being an Indian. In many ways Dr. Hume has shown that brotherliness to Indians is in him. Many years ago when he was about to start on a train from Madras to his home in Ahmednagar he was introduced to an Indian Christian who was travelling by the same train. As they approached Dhond Junction, where both had to change for their journey northward, Dr. Hume pressed his newly-Indian brother to break his journey at Ahmednagar. They reached the missionary's bungalow at 10 o'clock at night. Dr. Hume's family was in bed and no preparation for a guest had been made. The missionary begged his Indian brother to sleep in the same bed with himself. This illustrates how the man with a white face could freely fraternize with a brown-skinned Indian, shows why we know Dr. Hume to be at heart as well as by birth a genuine Indian. For 45 years Dr. Hume has laboured as a missionary in Western India in connection with the American Marathi Mission which has its headquarters at Ahmednagar. There his name has become a household word among all sections of the Indian people, and throughout the Presidency it is held in high honour, as that of a true son of God. During the last three great famines, he was able to secure and distribute over a lac of rupees among the starving people in his district irrespective of their religious persuasions. At one time Dr. Hume was a member of the Indian National Congress, and while striving as a missionary to promote the spiritual welfare of the people of this land (which being the land of his birth, he delighted to call his native land) he has earnestly endeavoured to advance their industrial, social and political well-being. At the same time, he has always been a loyal supporter of Government and a firm believer in the benefits to India of the British connection.

Dr. Hume is going to America on furlough, although he ardently desires to end his days in India. Under circumstances, it is feared, may possibly stand in the way of his return. We trust this fear may never be realised. One of his objects in going to America is to enlist the active sympathy of the American people in contributing towards a Famine Relief Fund for which an appeal has been made by the National Missionary Council of India. This reconciles somewhat to what we should regard in any other American or Englishman who has, by his life and work in this country, attained a position of influence among us, as rather quitting a post of high duty at a time of especial crisis when his—or her—presence here is most needed, and is likely to be most useful.

Another object which Dr. Hume has at heart is to arouse the spirit of missionary enterprise among men and women of the American Universities with a view to encouraging them to come out to India in large numbers. Almost every foreign Missionary Society working in India is calling out for more men, partly on account of the burden which they may have to shoulder in carrying on the work laid down by the German Missionary Society. We trust that Dr. Hume's efforts in this direction



will meet with much success. Apart from their proselytising efforts, the Christian Missionaries in India, English and American, are the representatives of the spiritual basis of Western civilization. Western civilization is essentially spiritual at its root, or it will not be a civilization, whatever else it may be. Without them, Western civilization in India will be represented only by planters and merchants who are here to make money, and the officials who are finding it increasingly the easier way to rely on the arm of the flesh to uphold their authority in this country. It may be that all Christian Missionaries do not always fully realise that they are here to represent the Christ-side of western civilization, and that, sometimes, following the line of least resistance, they act as if they were but a part of the paraphernalia of the dominance of coloured races by white races. In so far as they fail to realise that they have a higher and nobler mission than to further the commercial and political exploitation of the East by the West, and that they owe it to their Master to oppose in all ways such exploitation, their presence in India is of no particular significance either to us or to the religion and civilization which they represent among us. We venture to say that the tendency of some missionary journals in this country to support, on grounds which belie the history of their own countries, coercive legislation which is opposed by the best and most responsible Indian opinion with a singular unanimity, does not materially help the cause of Christianity, which they have at heart. When all is said, however, it is impossible for any man who is dedicated to the service of Christ, unless he is a rank impostor, to forget Calvary. The Christian Missions have given us great exemplars of saintly lives glowing with the fervour of the Master in the service of humanity. They gave us the high-souled Lefroy, the late Metropolitan of India. They have given us Andrews. The Rev. Dr. R. A. Hume undoubtedly belongs to the noble band of Christian Missionaries who have served India with a single eye to her highest interests. It is, indeed, difficult to think of him as a non-Indian, so closely has he identified himself with our joys and sorrows, our griefs and triumphs. We earnestly trust that he will come back to our country—his as much as that of any Indian—to remain with us and help us and hearten us to bear the bitter cross which, as Good Friday reminds us, is to India, as to all mankind, the Way, the Truth, the Life.

#### MADRAS POLITICS.

##### II.

This leads us to a brief consideration of the parties or of the desideration for such parties in Madras. There is this peculiarity in Madras that every one who becomes, or poses as a leader, finds it indispensable to start a party of his own and when aggrieved gets an additional stimulus to launch on this *sine qua non*. Among the prominent parties are those of Mrs. Besant, the *Hindu*, Dr. Nair and the Moderates. It is said by some that the Moderate party in Madras is as dead as Dodo, or if there be any remnant of it, it has coalesced with that of Mrs. Besant. Now, she wants to have two

strings to her bow; not content with being the undisputed leader of one party—already the head of a great religious movement also—she wants to start a new party which may also shelter some of the Moderates. Of the *raison d'être* and the ethics of such a move we have already given an inkling. Then there is what is called the party of the *Hindu* or of Mr. Kasturi Ranga Ayengar. Being fully in touch with Madras politics, I doubt whether there is anything like a party of the *Hindu* in Madras. On the other hand, the *Hindu* has no party of its own. It represents a school of thought of which it is the most vigorous, well-informed and acceptable exponent. The *Hindu* with all its faults is beloved of Madras as it is the surest guide to public opinion. This affection is well deserved by the *Hindu* as it has done yeoman service to the cause of the country and as, especially during the troublous and momentous situations of the last fifteen years, it has never faltered a bit from its straight and uncompromising course. Any attempt, therefore, to tamper with this mutual loyalty and to seduce people to their time-serving policy by conjuring the usual string of words, conspiracies and campaign of calumnies, will be completely ineffectual and will only react on them like a boomerang: as some people have already learnt it to their cost.

Coming to Dr. Nair's party, let me say that I have the greatest admiration for Dr. Nair in spite of his temporary aberrations and that I have always held that he is a victim of circumstances. He as well as Mr. Thiagaraja Chetti has been driven to that queer situation by the tactics of petty and small-minded men who somehow hold the strings of party politics. Dr. Nair has always my sympathies and some of our Madras friends would have tried even the patience of an angel. Dr. Nair who took up the challenge and flung back the insult when Mr. H. K. Beauchamp of the *Madras Mail* called Surendranath Bannerji and his supporters as demagogues, who had so often opposed and braved the anger of, the bureaucracy, who in the Senate exposed the cunning policy of dumping on India costly but useless experts—which policy India is being threatened with by a deluge of costly experts on a wide and furious scale,—it was this Dr. Nair who was driven into the enemy's camp by stupid mishandling. Not even when he returned disgusted from the Hospital ship, did the Madras party politicians have the political foresight and acumen to utilize his unequalled energy and abilities for the National cause. Mrs. Besant is a little bit responsible for this. Of course, I do not forget that, in the Legislative Council, he more often voted on the official side than on the non-official side and I, along with others, have a grudge against him on that account. Still nothing would excuse the folly of such tactics, and men who talk of self-sacrifice and give and take policy should have known better than to have pitted themselves against a veteran but extremely intractable politician. The pity of it is that Mr. Kasturi Ranga Ayengar and Dr. Nair, who were two inseparables, if I am not mistaken, were forced into two opposite camps. As for Mr. Thiagaraja Chetti, it must be said, in spite of his Brahmanophobia and violent outbursts, there is more patriotism, more genuine ring in his speeches as President of the South Indian Chamber of Commerce, in his views on Fiscal Autonomy, Railway Nationalization and the Financial Policy of the Government, than in the erratic attitude adopted, and unpatriotic and perverse views expounded, by some leaders in the Imperial Legislative Council. One thing, I must offer as personal explanation and that is my admiration for both, and my faith in them is unimpaired as I can claim to have, curiously enough, not read a single issue of the *Justice*, and I don't regret it. How I wish Dr. Nair and Mr. Chetti joined the popular party again?



After all there is the question whether there is room for more parties than one, in Madras and in India. Of course, the Reforms scheme has been a bone of contention and, with some, it has been the easiest way to fame and leadership. Barring the Reforms Scheme, in all other causes, we are labouring under the same disadvantages. Sir Thomas Holland to whose official life as Director of Geology, one must read P. N. Bose's evidence before Public Services Commission, whose Presidentship of the Industrial Commission was marked by the Peerbhoy evidence, under whose chairmanship of the Munitions Board, only 3 Indians were appointed among 300 officers, who is now making quips at poor but indefatigable Sarma, this Sir Thomas Holland presiding over the Commerce, Industry and Railway Departments; Mr. Montagu, frightened away by the revolt of the I.C.S., sanctioning every demand for increased emoluments of the Services, Police, Medical, I.C.S. etc; Railway policies adopted not with the sole eye to Indian interest; Fiscal autonomy and industrial reconstruction suited to the best advantage of Indians and Indians only not still outlined; and many other vital questions of Education and Sanitation pending, should there be too many parties in India? Are the Moderates as well as the non-Brahmins going to confine their activities only to the Reforms Scheme? Are all these questions taboo to the Moderate Conference or, perhaps, does Sir D. E. Wacha correctly voice the views of all Moderates by his extraordinary performances? It is deplorable that the Congress is forgetting other problems and thus deviating from the principles of Ranade, Dadhabhai Naoroji, R. C. Dutt and Gokhale. Let us peg away at the Reforms Scheme by all means but let us be under no illusion that, on other problems, the fight with the vested interests will be more stiff and troublesome. If we don't wake up now, they will have their own way, whether on Railway Nationalization, Fiscal Autonomy, Railway and Military Expenditure, Industrial policy to benefit Indians or others, Expenditure on Social needs or on Increase of Salaries and it will be too late then to mend matters. There is room for only one party in India and "the present attitude of Government, the Rowlatt Bills and the amazing declarations of the Viceroy last month as to the undiminished powers to be wielded by the bureaucracy" as the *Bombay Chronicle* has put it, peremptorily demand that there shall be one strong united party even including Dr. Nair and Mr. Chetti. There is no reason why a Special United Congress should not be convened to discuss every other question except the Reforms. I shall conclude this with the hope, let not mental aberrations dotage, insincerity, jealousy, intrigue, glib tongue cumber Indian politics for some time at least.

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

## CONTENTS.

—:o:—

Social Intercourse between Europeans and Indians.  
Some Practical Difficulties.  
The Ninth All-India Hindi Conference.  
English and Hindi.  
Arguments for Hindi.  
Reflections on the Present Situation.  
The Feast of Youth.  
A Wise Observations.

Indian Christians and the Famine.  
Mysore Government and Depressed Classes.  
An Inter-caste Marriage at Multan.  
The Government of India on the Present Situation.  
Europeans and Indian Reform.  
Workmen's Institute.

## NOTES.

—:o:—

**Social Intercourse between Europeans and Indians:** Some of our contemporaries have been publishing letters from correspondents on the subject of social intercourse between Europeans and Indians. All these correspondents miss the central point, that there can be real social intercourse only between equals, and that political inequality is about the worst and most irritating form of social inequality. It is significant that educated Indian women feel the difference of political status an even greater bar than men. The reason, perhaps, is that the better class Englishman in India is more particularly careful in social intercourse with Indians to throw a veil over the difference of political status than his womankind. We need hardly say that no reflection is intended on those Indians and Europeans who do not find the difference of political status a bar to social intercourse. There are kinds and degrees of social intercourse, and we have no doubt that several kinds of it are possible even in the existing state of things. Dinners at the Taj Mahal Hotel, auction bridge at the Orient Club, and tennis and tea at the Willingdon Sports Club, have their use, if only as helping to remove the sense of strangeness, thus paving the way to better things. But what concerns a man most intimately is his work and his home, and the social intercourse which is possible between persons who know little of and care less for what one another do or how one another live, cannot *a priori* lead to any very deep mutual understanding; and, we fear, it leads sometimes to misunderstanding. There are also positive reasons for keeping these forms of social intercourse within strict limits. They are expensive, and while, no doubt, most of those who patronise them can afford them, it is just possible that some also take to them who can not. The most serious objection, in our opinion, however, is that these kinds of social intercourse involve, as a matter of course, a corresponding deprivation of social intercourse with one's family. They may be a wholesome and, perhaps, pleasant change to persons who are able or obliged to spend the larger part of the day in the bosom of their families, but to those who are not in that position—and some persons social intercourse with whom is worth while

cultivating are among them—it means giving so much less of their leisure time to their wives and children who have the largest claim to it. The effect of the club habit on family life is a matter of comment even in England, especially since women, too, have begun to imitate the men. In Bombay complaints come now and then to one's ears of club life encroaching on the family life. We have for these among other reasons been unable to look upon the multiplication of institutions for these, what may be called, superficial forms of intercourse, except as a tentative and rather inadequate substitute for real social intercourse which can only be in the intimacy of the home life. The object of social intercourse being to get to know one another, to understand one another's mind, real social intercourse is only possible, at any rate to those who do not play auction bridge or tennis, and find it necessary to go to bed early in order to cope with their work from day to day, in their own proper setting in their homes.

**Some Practical Difficulties.** A correspondent writing to the *Times of India* has very properly pointed out that some Indians who enjoy the hospitality of Englishmen do not reciprocate it. We have always held and acted on the principle that an Indian, unless he is in a position to return an Englishman's hospitality, should as far as possible avoid taking advantage of it. The main difficulty in reciprocating the hospitality of Europeans in India, or in offering it to them, is that the European expects, or is believed to expect, the Indian to overhaul his household, and convert it for the time being into an imitation, it can only be a poor one, of the European's own, as a necessary condition of having the pleasure of entertaining the latter as his guest. Apart from the trouble and worry and expense which this involves, we do not think any guest has a right to expect such a transformation on the part of his host. A friend once asked this writer whether he should procure some liquor—as no stock of it was kept in the house, as in most Indian homes—for a European guest. The advice given was that he should on no account depart from his principle, and that the guest, if he was a right-minded man, would appreciate it more than the supply of liquor. A large number of families in India are vegetarian, and the question of providing animal food for guests is an insuperable difficulty. If meat and liquor are to be brought in, some one to serve them will also have to be engaged, as the people in the house will not touch these things, and cases have occurred where, being obliged to do so, their physical repulsion got the better of their sense of propriety, to their own intense mortification. We are glad to say that an increasing number of Englishmen and women find it not only possible, but, we think, enjoyable to be guests at Indian homes exactly in the Indian manner. We are sure that such people will cordially testify to the complete unreserve with which the



freedom of the Indian home is extended to them. We have known orthodox Hindu women taking English ladies who conform to the usages of the house to their very kitchens, which in Indian homes are places of ceremonial sanctity, and treating them in every respect as members of the family. Such friendships are some of the deepest in one's experience, and in them the race feeling has simply ceased to exist. So far from Englishmen and women finding their existence in India rendered difficult when political inequalities cease, we really think that it is only then that they will have a chance of leading a full life among us in place of the artificial, and rather parasitic, existence which they are now forced to lead in this country.

**The Ninth All-India Hindi Conference.** The Ninth All-India Hindi Conference held its sittings in Bombay for three days commencing from the 19th instant under the presidency of the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, one of the originators and promoters of the movement to have Hindi accepted as the common language of India. The movement has secured in Mr. Gandhi a powerful auxiliary. Apart from the personalities of these two eminent patriots, the spirit of the time is most propitious to it. At no time was the desire of the several parts and communities of India to know one another intimately, to read the thoughts of one another, to feel, strengthened by one another's sympathy, to mourn one another's sorrows, to feel one another's sufferings and humiliations as one's own, and to feel proud of one another's kinship, stronger and deeper than it is today. And this not only among English-educated Indians, but also equally among the non-English-knowing masses, not only among men but also among women. The centrifugal force which has for centuries past operated to divide and sub-divide the Indian people seems to have suddenly, mysteriously, given place to a centripetal force which is gathering strength with each passing hour. Of course, the suddenness, the mystery, is only apparent. British rule and English education have slowly, steadily undermined the centrifugal tendencies. The very pressure of that rule has forced together the various component parts of our vast population. This mechanical process has been intensified by the growth of a conscious desire for unity due to English education and to the religious, social and political movements which are its direct outcome. In the secular field, the all-India Hindi movement is the most important movement towards national unity.

**English and Hindi.** While English must be the language of communication between India and the outside world, the medium of communication between the people of different parts of the country must be one of the Indian vernaculars. The great obstacle in the way of the English language becoming the *lingua franca* of India is that, throughout its long and noble history, it has had no point of contact with Indian culture. The case is entirely different with the vernaculars. Behind all the different vernaculars of India, there is a common culture of which, indeed, they are so many different modes of expression. This fact of a common culture underlying the vernacular languages and literatures explains the remarkable rapidity and ease with which women and children, even more than men, from one part of the country acquire the idiom of any other part of it. The thoughts being the same everywhere, the words offer little difficulty to the new comer. The demand for a common language and the proposition

that it must be one of the Indian vernaculars, being granted, there are quite a number of *a priori* reasons in favour of Hindi being that vernacular. For one thing, Hindi alone has in the shape of an All-India movement put forth its claim to be the common language of India. There is no All-India Bengalee, All-India Marathi or All-India Tamil or Telugu Conference. All the other vernaculars would seem to be kept back by the consciousness that they can never aspire to an All-India suffrage. Their very names operate as a hindrance to their laying claim to an All-India character. Hindi, on the other hand, has the advantage of a name which is itself an inspiration to an All-India claim, and it is, as we said, the only Indian vernacular which has affirmed its will and its power to be the common language of the country.

**Arguments for Hindi.** There are other strong arguments in favour of the claim of Hindi. It is spoken by over 80 millions of the people of India, Bengali, which has the next numerous clientele, being spoken only by 48 millions. Hindi is closer than any other vernacular to pure Sanskrit which is the basic language of all the vernaculars of India except those of Southern India. Even the Dravidian languages, however, have so freely borrowed their vocabulary from Sanskrit that, in their most developed literary forms, they tend to consist of Sanskrit nouns and adjectives strung together by vernacular prepositions and verbs. Indeed, the objection to Hindi, as the common language of India, on the score of its being alien to Southern India, is much over-rated. English is no nearer Tamil or Telugu, Malayalam or Canarese; it is, on the other hand, far more alien to them than Hindi in form and contents. Nevertheless, the people of the South have taken to it quite as readily as those of other parts of the country. When Todar Mal made Persian compulsory in the Moghul administration, the Hindus no doubt felt that it was utterly alien to them. English has at least one thing in common with Indian Vernaculars: it is written from left to right, whereas Persian is written from right to left. But in a century the Hindus became, as acknowledged by all historians, the masters of their Mahomedan countrymen in Persian. We are sure that, if the rest of the country agrees on Hindi for the common vernacular of India, the South will in a short time acquire such proficiency in it as to astonish the denizens of Prayag and Kashi. Southern India became the centre of Sanskrit learning when Northern India fell under Mahomedan influence, and Maharshi Devendra Nath Tagore tells us in his autobiography that, when he wanted to promote Sanskrit learning in the Brahmo Samaj in Bengal, he sent for a Dravidian Pandit as the purest exponent of Sanskrit accent. The Devanagari alphabet in which Hindi is written, is used for Marathi also, and its substitution for the other northern Indian vernaculars offers no great difficulty. In the South also, it has been popularised by the Department of Education and the University, recognising it as the sole medium of Sanskrit writing in supersession of the old Grantha character. All those who take Sanskrit as their second language, a growing number, are, therefore, already familiar with Devanagari. Before concluding, we may point out that it is not proposed by the Conference to substitute Hindi for the vernaculars. The local vernaculars will, of course, have precedence, but it is desired that Hindi may be learnt as a second language at some part of a child's education. The only difficulty worth considering is how this new subject can be introduced into already over-crowded curricula.



## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, APRIL, 27, 1919.

## REFLECTIONS ON THE PRESENT SITUATION.

We reprint today the Government of India's Resolution on the present situation. We have taken the liberty of numbering the paragraphs with a view to avoid burdening our comments here with quotations from it. We welcome the publication of this Resolution explaining the views of Government as publicity and discussion are the most potent correctives of misunderstanding. We welcome it also as a proof that the Government of India recognise that they must have public opinion behind them in order to carry on their duties as a Government in this country. The present situation which Government hold (para 1 of their Resolution) has arisen out of the agitation against the Rowlatt Act, is really due to the passing of the Act in the face of the unanimous protest of Indian non-official members and the equally solid opposition of Indians of all shades of opinion throughout the country. Almost every Indian member told Government that the passing of the Bill was sure to have that effect. The Government Resolution says (para 2) that the opponents of the Bill stated that a campaign of agitation against it would be organized throughout India. This is hardly a fair representation of what was actually said in the council. We quote from the speeches of Messrs. Jinnah and Sastry. "And the last ground why I oppose this measure," said Mr. Jinnah, "is that, my lord, I do not wish to state it by way of any threat or intimidation to Government, but I wish to state it because it is my duty to tell you that, if these measures are passed, you will create in this country from one end to the other a discontent and agitation, the like of which you have not witnessed, and it will have, believe me, a most disastrous effect upon the good relations that have existed between the Government and the people." Mr. Sastry was even more explicit. He concluded a powerful speech thus:

"Now there is only one more remark, my lord, I must make and that in justice to the feeling in the country of which for the moment I am the spokesman. I do not think the Hon'ble the Law Member could have meant all that he said when he said that some of us were indulging in threats of agitation. I venture to think that no one here who has spoken against the Bill indulged in anything which might truthfully be described as a threat of agitation. None of us, certainly none of the Moderates, I take leave to say, has power to go and stir up a violent agitation in the country. It is impossible. The agitation must be there already. The heart must be throbbing if any words that we use here can have a possible effect on the general political atmosphere. The agitation is there. I wish to assure my official colleagues that none of us has had a share yet in this business, but if our appeals fall flat, if the Bill goes through, I do not believe there is anyone here who would be doing his duty if he did not join the agitation. That is not a threat. I take leave to think that is by no means a threat. Anyhow I am the best judge of my own mind, and I do not indulge in any threat. I have yet borne no part in this agitation, but if everything goes wrong, if we are face to face with this legislation, how

it is possible for me with the views that I hold, to abstain from agitation, I, for one, cannot say."

These men say that if you pass the Bill you will create an agitation from which it will be impossible for us to keep out. This is represented in the Resolution as stating that a campaign of agitation would be organized throughout India. It is usually a good rule for individuals and for Governments which, in the ultimate analysis, are a number of individuals, to consider, first of all, what is wrong with themselves before proceeding to cast aspersions on others. It is the unanimous opinion of Indian leaders shared, we are glad to be able to say, by some (probably several) thoughtful Englishmen, that Government committed a great blunder in forcing the Bill through as they did. If Government frankly say so and appeal to the country for cooperation, it would, even after all that has happened, rally round them to a man.

\* \* \* \* \*

The Resolution then refers (para 2) to the passive resistance which, by the way, is a very inadequate rendering of the *satyagraha*, movement, and mentions quite correctly that the dangers of it were pointed out by many public men of moderate views. But these same public men had protested strongly against the passing of the Rowlatt Act, and the very manifestos in which they deprecated *satyagraha*, opened with a condemnation of that Act and the necessity of getting it vetoed by His Majesty by constitutional agitation. These warnings were unheeded, says the Resolution. We venture to add by Government no less than by the promoters of *satyagraha*. We have not been able to join the *satyagraha* movement for the reasons which we have given in previous articles. But it will be the merest affectation in any practical social reformer, and a journal devoted to social reform, to profess a superstitious horror of disobeying a law which can lay claim to no moral force behind it. Such a protestation will come with an ill-grace from those who have disobeyed long-established social laws, consecrated by the usage of centuries, and have advocated such disobedience in others. Englishmen have applauded such disobedience. Lord Sydenham's main objection to constitutional reform in India is that the spirit of such disobedience has not extended to the masses. The fact that Indian society is not able to visit our disobedience with pains and penalties, and even where it is able to inflict some penalties, is unwilling, out of the abundance of its charity, to do so, is a reason why, in the mind of every man who has not the soul of a cad, its laws should receive more, not less, reverence than those which are able, and not more able than willing, to avenge any breaches of them with loss of life, liberty or property. Indian Society, after all, is the parent that gave us life, nursed us through infancy, bore with the foibles of our thoughtless youth, and rewards with lavish affection any little service, or even the mere desire to do such service, that is in us to render. It is idle and worse than idle for those who, in the interests of truth and impelled by conscience, have



preferred to suffer the agony of violating the laws of society, to pretend to regard as a cardinal sin the act of passive resistance to a law passed by some thirty English gentlemen in the face of the strong and even violent protests of every one of their Indian colleagues in the Legislature. In one of our earliest comments on the Bill, we said that a law passed in this fashion can have no moral force. The question of passive resistance to it, therefore, is only one of practicability and expediency. In this particular case, we thought it was both impracticable and inexpedient, and Mr. Gandhi has, with a love of truth which we should like to see imitated by all, declared that he had miscalculated the forces of violence in the community, and has called for a suspension of *satyagraha*. And his position to-day is not weaker because of his courageous avowal of his mistake and his firm resolve to repair its consequences as far as possible. Is there here no lesson for Government? Can Government still say that they had not underrated the strength of the opposition to the Rowlatt Bills? Don't they feel that, if they had taken the Indian leaders with them, these troubles would not have arisen, or if they had, they could have been nipped in the bud without resort to martial law? Friday's papers published a telegram from Simla to the effect that there are still extraordinary misconceptions regarding the Rowlatt Act in the Punjab. Why, still? *Post hoc ergo propter hoc* is how the mass-mind argues. The Rowlatt Act has been followed for the first time in more than half-a-century by Martial Law. Do Government expect the more ignorant section of the masses to understand that it is under the Regulation of 1804, and not under the Rowlatt Act, that they are experiencing the incidents of Martial Law?

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We have spoken above of the more ignorant section of the masses. The Indian masses as a whole are not in such helpless subjection to the agitator as Government think. They know their leaders and feel that, when they are unanimously against a measure, there must be something very objectionable in it. They know more. Our attention has been recently called to a remarkable contribution by an English missionary gentleman who knows the country well, spending, as he does, most of his time in the villages and not at Simla or Darjeeling. The Editor of the *United India*, in which the communication appeared some weeks ago, has kindly communicated to us the name of the writer, one of the finest Englishmen and Christians who have devoted the best part of their lives to the service of the Indian people in the true spirit of the Master. The writer begins by condemning the violent anti-Indian attitude of an American Missionary journal in this country in connection with the Rowlatt Bills agitation, and goes on to say:

"It betokens crass ignorance of the common people and of the change which has come over India in recent years when people continue to sing the song that there is no real relation between the great Indian Press and the aspirations of the people. I have seen, even in these illiterate and unen-

lightened parts, groups of men, clerks, vakils, minor officials and the like, sitting down reading out from the 'Hindu', 'New India', your own paper and others, and discussing the affairs of the country, and then turning to the men around who could not read even their own vernacular and explaining to them the topics under discussion and their significance. I have moved about freely amongst the people; I talk their lingo at least as well as most Europeans (some would say much better) and these things I know. In more educated parts of the country the kind of thing I have described is probably still more true and these things apparently go much farther, so far as I can judge by my study of Indian journals. I think that anyone would find it now very hard to really substantiate the statement "that the vast majority of the population.....neither know nor care anything about Home Rule." It even may be so, but it will not long be so if it is. And even if it were so, no sensible logic can draw from it the conclusion that the masses of the people would not care if they did know. I cannot understand an American journal, being eager to stand against the people, or opposed to and utterly unsympathetic with the aspirations of the only patriotic leaders the people have—even if those leaders are not altogether on the right track, or may in some respects be on the wrong track."

There speaks the true Englishman who looks on India not as a field for exploitation but as a field for service. We are glad to think that there will be some Englishmen at least to tell the people of England from first-hand knowledge the truth about Indian things. All that we care for is that England and the world should know the whole truth—the plain, unvarnished truth—naught extenuated, naught set down in malice. Every day is bringing us evidence that there is more chance of this being done than we had thought.

\* \* \* \*

The Government of India conclude by declaring that they will use the ample military powers at their disposal and all the powers which the law gives them to put down lawlessness. They have promptly followed up this declaration by action. The Governor General has issued an Ordinance applying Bengal Regulation of 1804 to certain Punjab districts, with the modification that, instead of a court-martial, three persons appointed by Government will constitute the court to try cases of persons accused of the offences to which the Regulation relates. A subsequent Ordinance extends the scope of the Regulation to all offences, so that virtually the ordinary criminal law has been superseded by the Regulation as amended by the Governor-General's Ordinance. So far as we can make out, four districts have been brought under the Regulation. These are Lahore, Amritsar, Gujranwalla and Gujrat. In addition to them, the districts of Rawalpindi, Attock, Mianwali, Gurdaspur, Shahpur, Jullundur, Hoshiarpur, Ludhiana, Rohtak, Gurgaon, Karnal, Multan, Montgomery, and Lyallpur are declared to be disturbed areas under the Indian Police Act, the consequence being that if any person is killed, hurt or suffers loss in these districts, claim for compensation may be made to and allowed by the magistrate of the district. Thus, out of 30 districts in the Punjab, 18 are officially declared to be disturbed areas. The series of notifications issued by the officer commanding at Lahore give us some insight into the ways of Martial Law. In his first



order, Lieutenant Colonel Frank Johnson has briefly described martial law as the will of the Military Commander in enforcing law order and public safety; and, added by way of reassurance, what Sir William Vincent said of the Rowlatt Act, that loyal and law-abiding persons have nothing to fear from the exercise of martial law, in other words, the will of the Military Commander. These orders have been reproduced in several papers. An officer in his position must, of course, have a free hand, but we think that there are certain limits which should be recognized even under martial law in a civilized country. Some of the orders, especially those regarding students and shop-keepers, strike us as being ill-judged, but the whipping of persons in the public streets, whether these persons are boys or men, is an act which the Government of India will have to justify at the bar of civilized humanity. We do not trust ourselves to write of this flagrant measure of insult and outrage to Indian citizenship with a due measure of restraint. It is, we fear, an indication of the spirit in which martial law is applied in the Punjab. When everything else is forgotten, this whipping in the streets of Lahore will continue to embitter the memory of the people not only of that province but of the whole country. The authorities have set a bad example to the mob which has already in some of the cinematographs a plentiful source of brutalities of which, in the opinion of many people, its recent exploits in the Punjab and Ahmedabad were attempts at reproduction. It is the bitterest of ironies that Punjab which gave lavishly of her manhood to the Empire, should be the scene of this revolting excess in the name of martial law. Mr. Andrews has promptly come forward to express his feelings as an Englishman on this matter, and we have no doubt there are many others who feel as he does :

"I could scarcely credit the Associated Press telegram (though it must have passed the censor)," he writes, "which stated that there had been public whipping in the streets of Lahore. But now I have had a visit from an eye-witness, who has told me that he has actually seen it himself with his own eyes and been sickened at the sight. I wish to write at once, as one Englishman among many, to express the shame and indignation which such news has brought me. I do not think that the military authorities can understand the humiliation worse than death which the people of this country feel at such a punishment, otherwise they surely would never have inflicted it. But they ought to know the truth and know it at once; for such things can never be forgiven or forgotten. Is it not possible for the Viceroy to assert his authority, as superior even to martial law, and to stop these acts before they are carried any further?"

A press communique published, since these reflections were in type, states that 12 persons were flogged and that they were all, with the exception of one petty shop-keeper, of the menial or servant class. In our opinion, this explanation but adds to the enormity. It shows that the authorities concerned do not understand that whipping in the public streets is a sin against manhood, irrespective of whether the victims are petty shopkeepers or menials. There is no such class as a menial or servant class in India, unless the communique refers to the depressed

classes. One Maratha may be a hamal, another may be a Maharaja. A Baniya may be a millionaire, his son-in-law may be a "petty shop-keeper" in Kalbadevi. A Brahmin may be a member of the Executive Council, his cousin may be a cook in his native village. If the victims referred to are men of the depressed classes, the Depressed Classes Mission should lose no time in sending its strong protest to the Government of India and the Secretary of State against this cool official assumption that the whipping of men of these classes in the public streets is not a thing about which there should be a fuss made. Those who are working against tremendous odds to raise the status of these classes by creating in them a sense of self-respect, cannot share the complacency of the official explanation. It is something to know that there has been no whipping cases since the 20th instant.

### 'THE FEAST OF YOUTH.\*'

(BY V. B. METTA.)

It is with pleasure that we read 'The Feast of Youth' by Mr. Harindra Nath Chattopadhyay. Many Indians have published their poetical effusions in English, but very few of them have been able to prove to the world that they were *poets*. There were or there are Indians, whose English poetry is wholly reminiscent—like that of Madhu Sudan Dutt, whose 'Captive Ladie' is inspired by Sir Walter Scott, or like that of Mr. T. Ramkrishna, whose 'Lays of Ind' is Tennysonian in method as well as inspiration. There were men like the late Mr. R. C. Dutt, who wrote most patient and ponderous verses to convey the spirit of India to British readers. Then there are men like Mr. Roby Datta to-day, whose knowledge of the English language is great and of European and Indian literatures greater still, but when they write poetry, that poetry seldom rises above the level of clever, elaborate, picturesque versification. Miss Toru Dutt and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu (strangely enough both women) have been the only Indians up till now, who have been able to express the music of their hearts in English poetry.

The volume before us reveals many kinds of influence—inevitable, of course, in all youthful poetry. Mr. Chattopadhyay is now swayed by Theosophists and now by Sufi Masters. His sensitive, greedy mind has been occasionally influenced by the rhythm and even the phraseology of his gifted sister, Mrs. Naidu, and occasionally by the form-bestowing faculty of Francis Thompson, the creator of 'The Hound of Heaven.'

The poet is young and intensely alive, and so, the pageant of colours and the gamut of odours exercise an overwhelming influence over him. He is not human, in the sense that nothing in life and nature has much of an objective existence for him. Outer life is only a help to him to extend or broaden his inner life, to make it more passionately, profoundly, and poignantly beautiful.

\* 'The Feast of Youth'—by Harindra Nath Chattopadhyay (Published by the Theosophical Printing Press, Adyar, Price Rs. 3.)



All the poems here express and thrill with the rhythm of Mr. Chattopadhyay's being. But they are not always distinguished by melody,—which is the one marked characteristic of Mrs. Naidu's poetry. The whole volume is filled with God—like 'Gitanjali', or like the poetry of Tukaram, which, according to a certain class of present-day critics, should be the only ideal of Indian poets !

The poems that we like most in this small volume are those which are included in the 'Songs of the Sunlight,' and some of the sonnets. Here are some exquisite lines from the poem entitled Dusk :—  
The bird of daylight folds her yellow wings  
Behind the violent-shadowed hills afar,  
From heights of peace some secret poet flings  
On dusky streams, the poem of a star.

The following lines from a sonnet are sensuously fascinating, though they be of the decadent type of literature :—

.....You have wrought  
My life into a white, continuous thought  
Of you, and left me breaking into flower.

The poem entitled 'Fire,' the most melodious, I think, in this collection, is burning with a Tagorean passion for God.

I am athirst for one glimpse of your beautiful face,  
O love !  
Veiled in the mystical silence of stars and the purple  
of skies.

On the whole 'The Feast of Youth' proves that Mr. Chattopadhyay has got the 'divine spark' in him, and that he is perfectly at ease with the poet's instrument of self-expression,—namely, language. He is still half-ripe. Time will make him understand the difference between the precision and sufficiency of true words and mere decorative epithets. There are also clear indications here, that he will be able to wed thought with impulse in course of time.—And when that is done he will be able to give longer poems and perhaps mystical and symbolic plays to the world.

**A Wise Observations:** We have found much food for reflection in the present state of India in a book by Dr. Angelo S. Rappoport entitled "the Pioneers of Russian Revolution". It is a very readable book teeming with weighty observations. We quote one of them here : "It is always wrong," writes Dr. Rappoport, "to employ terrorist methods for peaceful purposes. Even Governments have made this mistake. They imagine that they may with impunity preach hate and destruction, and still have the power suddenly to say : Stop ! it is enough ; now it is time to love ! Once humanity has grown accustomed to hating, it cannot learn overnight to love what it has well hated. The feeling of hate will take long to make way for that of love. Once the powers, the passions, are let loose it is not so easy to control them again ; if they find nothing of the old, hated order to destroy, they will set to work against the new : the feeling of destruction is so powerful. The present state of Russia and the present war illustrate this."

## INDIAN CHRISTIANS AND THE FAMINE.

### AN APPEAL.

The famine conditions which now prevail in many parts of India have involved the Missionary Societies in heavy responsibilities, and your help is requested in the task of bearing them. In previous famines generous help has been received from Europe and America, but owing to circumstances arising out of the war, less help can be expected from these sources at this time, and the appeal is made to those who are in sympathy with Christian work in India to come to our aid.

You are aware that Government is undertaking measures of relief in famine-stricken areas, and that public funds are being raised. The Missions, however, have connected with them large Christian communities and large numbers of non-Christian people with needs which cannot be fully met by these agencies, and which the Missions must meet according to their ability. The National Missionary Council, which is representative of Missions of all denominations at work in India, has appointed a Committee to appeal for funds, which will be distributed among all Missions in needy areas.

The purposes to which this Mission Famine Fund will be devoted are as follows :—

1. The purchase of grain for sale at reasonable rates, and in some places the purchase and retail of cloth for garments.
2. The granting of temporary assistance to persons in distress before the opening of relief works in their neighbourhood.
3. The granting of help to widows and infirm persons who are not able to avail themselves of the benefits of relief works.
4. Other purposes which the Committee may approve, it being distinctly understood, on the one hand, that nothing will be done to pauperise the people, and on the other hand, that Missions will not draw from the fund for purposes connected with the support of their regular Mission work.

Appeals are now being received from Missions in various parts of India. The Missions of one limited area request a grant of Rs. 9000 immediately, and urgent appeals have come from other parts for large sums of money. We would therefore ask for your generous help. The names of the members of the Committee are :—

Rev. C. B. Hill, Methodist Episcopal Mission, Baroda.  
The Rt. Rev. Dr. Palmer, Bishop of Bombay. Rev. Dr. J. C. R. Ewing, C. I. E., Forman Christian College, Lahore.  
The Bishop of Dornakal. The Bishop of Chota Nagpur.  
B. H. Backhouse, Esq., Friend's Mission, Hoshangabad.  
Miss L. C. Sutherland, United Free Church of Scotland Mission, Bombay. Rev. Dr. R. A. Hume, American Marathi Mission, Ahmednagar. A. H. S. Aston, Esq., Chief Presidency Magistrate, Bombay. B. N. Athavle, Esq., Additional Presidency Magistrate, Bombay. Rev. W. Hazen, American Marathi Mission, Bombay. Rev. R. B. Douglas, United Free Church of Scotland Mission, Bombay. Rev. J. F. Edwards, American Marathi Mission, Bombay. Rev. Dr. Steele, Irish Presbyterian Mission, Brach. Rev. A. A. Parker, Methodist Episcopal Mission, Colaba, Bombay. Treasurer. R. A. Adams, Esq., Bible House, 170, Hornby Road, Bombay, Recording Secretary.  
Mrs. Edith Smith, American Marathi Mission, Ahmednagar.  
Rev. C. W. Thorne, C. M. S., Girgaum, Bombay.

Joint Corresponding Secretaries.

Contributions may be sent to the Treasurer.



## MYSORE GOVERNMENT AND DEPRESSED CLASSES.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

In your reply to my letter on this subject appearing in the *Reformer* of the 16th March, in support of your contention in favour of payment of Government grants to schools started as a protest against the admission of particular communities into schools maintained from public funds, you allude to European and Mahomedan schools as receiving Government grants. Will you kindly permit me to point out that in the case of European and Mahomedan Schools they were not started as a protest against the admission of any community nor do I believe is there any objection for these schools to admit any one to their Schools provided the conditions for admission are satisfied.

I may add that a little interference on the part of the Government against "foolish" social prejudices will do no harm. In Travancore, where the most absurd caste conditions exist there was extreme unhealthy agitation when the public schools were thrown open to all classes, and not only high caste Hindus but even the Christians objected to the admission of the Pulayas and Panchamas. Even, I remember of having heard that some school houses were burnt down. But Dewan Bahadur Rajagopala Chariar, who was the Dewan at that time, did not budge an inch with the result that to-day in the matter of the depressed classes education and elevation Travancore leads the rest of India.

As regards your other arguments I have no desire to enter into a controversy. I will only add that much depends on the views of the Editor of the *Reformer* on questions like this and any loophole which you allow will be taken and due advantage of against the interests of the depressed classes.

Yours &c.

Bangalore, April 2.

V. K. NAIR.

[As grants are given for imparting secular education, and not for the motives with which they are imparted, it is immaterial whether a school is started as a protest against the admission of children of the depressed classes into Government schools or as a means of converting children of one faith to the faith of the conductors of a school. As regards Travancore, our Travancore correspondent told us in his informing letter published in the issue of the 6th April, that the people's co-operation was secured. He did not mention that grants were refused to schools started by caste people for their own children. Probably, no such schools were started, which would show that Travancore was more ripe for the reform than Mysore is. For our own part, we need hardly assure our correspondent that we entirely sympathise with the policy of throwing open the Government schools to all classes. We only contend that, in the best interests of progress, the elevation of the depressed classes should not be associated with anything which smacks of persecution of the other classes for the sake of opinion. The means is as important as the end in social reform. Not only should the right thing be done, but it should be done in the right way.—Ed. I. S. R.]

## AN INTER-CASTE MARRIAGE AT MULTAN.

Mahashe Shobha Nand, son of Mahashe Shrikrishan, watch merchant, Multan, writes a correspondent, of the *Tribune* of Lahore, married Shrimati Vidyavati, the daughter of Mahashe Chanan Lal of Multan. The marriage was an intercaste one, the bride belonging to Arorbans and the bridegroom to Vishwakarmavansh.

## THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ON THE PRESENT SITUATION.

The following Resolution of the Government of India, Home Department dated Simla, the 14th April 1919 is republished:—

(1) The present situation arising out of the agitation against the Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Act (commonly called the Rowlatt Act), renders it imperative on the Governor General in Council to define the attitude of Government on the subject of that agitation and the serious disorders which have resulted therefrom, and to indicate the nature of the concerted action which it is now necessary to take for the preservation of law and order.

(2) When the Bill was under discussion, its opponents publicly stated that if it passed into law, a campaign of agitation against it, on a scale hitherto unattempted, would be organized throughout India, and a section of them indicated that they would support that campaign by resort to what is known as 'passive resistance.' No one cognizant of the conditions of India could have been ignorant at the time of the dangers of initiating a widespread movement of this nature; they were clearly pointed out by many public men of moderate views; and the representatives of Government did not fail, during the debates on the Bill, to emphasize the serious consequences to the public peace which would follow from an agitation such as was then threatened.

(3) These warnings were unheeded, and to the agitation which has succeeded the passing of the Act, must be directly attributed the open breaches of the public peace, the defiance of authority, and the criminal attacks on life and property which have lately been witnessed in certain parts of India. The agitation has followed a double line of action, namely, direct criticism of the Act by means of public speeches and publications, and the initiation of the threatened movement of 'passive resistance'.

(4) The latter movement was ushered in by a demonstration consisting of the observance of a day of fasting, and the closing of shops and places of business. Such a demonstration was not in itself illegal; but there is ample evidence to prove that in more than one place those locally responsible for its organization overstepped the limits of lawful persuasion, and resorted to direct interference with the business of many who were not interested in the movement, and to forcible obstruction of the traffic in the public streets. But the indirect consequences of this aspect of the agitation have been far more mischievous in that it promoted a sense of unrest and of excitement which was bound to react, and has reacted, on the more ignorant and inflammable sections of the population. The campaign of criticism has involved in many quarters the use of most flagrant misrepresentations regarding the character of the Act. It is clear that large numbers of ignorant people have been deliberately led to believe that the new law gives the police unfettered authority to interfere with public meetings not only of a political, but of a religious and social nature, and to arrest summarily persons engaged in political work, and that it empowers the executive authorities to imprison without trial any person criticising the action of Government.

(5) The Governor General in Council thinks it necessary to reiterate here the following salient facts concerning this Act. It is specifically directed against revolutionary and anarchical crime, and can only be brought into force in any locality when it has been proved to the satisfaction of the Governor General in Council that such crime, or movements tending to such crime exist. It has not so far been brought into operation in



any part of India. Its first part merely provides for the speedy trial of certain grave offences; in the second and third parts provision is made for preventive action (similar to, but much more restricted in scope than that now provided by the Rules under the Defence of India Act) against persons suspected of revolutionary or anarchical crime. Action cannot, however, be taken against any individual without the previous order of the local Government. There is nothing therefore which can justify the widespread rumours, for which the promoters of the agitation must be held responsible, that unusual, or even extended powers have been given to the police; nor is there anything which need cause fear or apprehension to any person other than the revolutionary or the anarchist. Not only do the terms of the Act definitely exclude its use in any case not falling within the definition of anarchical or revolutionary conspiracy; but Government has given the most categorical pledge (which the Governor General in Council takes this opportunity to reiterate) that the tenor and intention of the Act will be scrupulously safeguarded should occasion arise to put it into operation.

(5) The Governor General in Council considers it unnecessary to detail here the deplorable occurrence resulting from the agitation against this Act. The offences which have occurred at Delhi, Calcutta, Bombay and Lahore have one common feature, the unprovoked attempt of violent and unruly mobs to hamper or obstruct those charged with the duty of maintaining order in public places. At Amritsar and Ahmedabad then have taken a far graver form, a murderous attack on defenceless individuals, and a wholesale and wanton destruction of private and public property. The Governor General in Council thinks it right to state that at Amritsar the loss of life might have been greater but for the protection afforded by unofficial Indians to those who were threatened by the mob, and he takes this opportunity of expressing the gratitude of Government for the conspicuous example of loyalty and humane feeling.

(6) It remains for the Governor General in Council to assert in the clearest manner the intention of Government to prevent by all means, however drastic, any recurrence of these excesses. He will not hesitate to employ the ample military resources at his disposal to suppress organized outrage, rioting or concerted opposition to the maintenance of law and order, and has already sanctioned the application of the State Offences Regulation, 1804, in a modified form, to certain districts of the Punjab. He will further use all preventive measures provided by the Statutes to check disorder at its source, and in Regulation III of 1818, and the corresponding regulations applicable to Bombay and Madras, and in the rules under the Defence of India Act, he has powers which will enable him to deal effectively with those who promote disorder. He has sanctioned the extension of the provisions of the Seditious Meetings Act to the districts of Lahore and Amritsar in the Punjab, and will authorize a similar extension to other areas in which local Governments see reason to require it. The Police Act of 1861 enables a local Government to quarter additional police on any locality which is guilty of organized offences against the public peace at the charge of the inhabitants, and to levy from the latter compensation for those who have suffered from injury to their property. The Governor General in Council will advise local Governments to make a free use of these provisions where necessary.

(7) The Governor General in Council feels that many of those who inaugurated this agitation must regret the lamentable consequences which have ensued the loss of life and property, and the damage to the reputation of India. He now appeals to all loyal subjects of the Crown, and to all those who have an interest

in the maintenance of law and the protection of property, both to dissociate themselves publicly from the movement, and to exert themselves in quieting unrest and preventing disorder. To all those who render such assistance to the cause of the public and the State, and to those servants of Government who are charged with the onerous responsibility of suppressing excesses against public peace and tranquillity, the Governor General in Council extends the fullest assurance of countenance and support.

## EUROPEANS AND INDIAN REFORM.

### I

In a recent issue of *The Indian Social Reformer* the Rev. R. M. Gray, the able and devoted minister of the United Free Church of Scotland, Wandby Road, Bombay, wrote a thought-provoking article on the above subject. All he says has added value as coming from one who has the deepest possible sympathy with Indian aspirations and who is also in closest touch with the European and official community in Bombay City, among whom he and Mrs. Gray exercise a weighty influence. The position taken by Mr. Gray in his article which we here summarize mostly in his own words is very similar to that taken by him some two years ago in a striking address he gave before the Bombay Missionary Conference when a remarkable discussion took place. The *Reformer* welcomes discussion of the article; and for ourselves we would say emphatically that in our opinion Mr. Gray has given almost ideal expression to the position of the great majority of missionaries in this country. We hope Mr. Gray will continue his excellent work as mediator between the European and Indian communities.—*The Dnyanodaya* Bombay.

### II

The Rev. R. M. Gray, in an article on "Europeans and Indian Constitutional Reform" in the March 9th issue of the *Indian Social Reformer*, not only insists that Indians shall be charitable in their judgments of Europeans but has some challenging things to say to the Europeans; who fears the consequences of entrusting India with home rule. He is an Englishman himself.—*The Indian Witness*, Lucknow.

### III

In an interesting article in the *Indian Social Reformer*, the Rev. R. M. Gray strives to stem the unfortunate race prejudice and race feeling between Europeans and Indians which has been revived by the discussion of the reform proposals. He appeals to Indians not to be carried away by the wrong notion that European opposition to any immediate concession of self-government was actuated by self interest. 'No man,' he says, 'whether European or Indian who considers a public matter solely from the point of view of self-interest deserves a hearing.' He appeals for a proper understanding of the European opposition as due to their sense of responsibility for the welfare of the great illiterate masses of the people and their fear that these interests would not be safe under an administration purely Indian. In fact, he appeals to Indians to understand opposition to their cherished ideals as of an honourable and disinterested kind. He also appeals to the Europeans to recognize facts, honestly and frankly, namely, that, as a result of education, India has changed. He tells his countrymen: 'Put yourselves in the place of Indians who, nourished on our literature, influenced by our political ideals, have come to desire a large share of responsibility and power in the government of their own land.' Mr. Gray's appeal, if realized, will naturally bring about a better understanding between the various political parties in India. *The Leader*, Allahabad.



**WORKMEN'S INSTITUTE.**

The report of the work done during the quarter beginning with 1st November 1918 and ending with 28th February 1919, shows that the Tata Sons Workmen's Institute was started by the Social Service League on 1st November 1918 for carrying on welfare work for the millhands employed in the three mills under the Agency of Messrs. Tata Sons Ltd; viz., The Tata, The Standard, The David Mills, and Mr. C. B. Lalaye, one of the secretaries of the League, was placed in charge of it as superintendent. The three mills being not close to one another three different centres have been opened. The Tata Mills centre has its office in the compound of the same mills, the agent having placed a spacious hall at the disposal of the League. The other two centres have been opened in rented rooms near their respective Mills.

**CO-OPERATIVE CREDIT SOCIETIES.**

The first work undertaken by the Institute was that of organising millhands' Co-operative Credit Societies one for each department of a mill. Up to this time 21 such Societies (6 in the Tata Mills, 8 in the Standard Mill and 7 in the David Mills) have been organised. Nine of them have been registered and have begun their regular transactions. Certificates of registration have been received for nine more Societies from the Registrar of Co-operative Societies. Thus, in all 18 Societies have been registered; the number of their members is about 350, which with the number of members of the Societies for which certificates of registration have not yet been received will come up to 400. More and more members will, it is expected, join when the benefits of co-operation will be practically demonstrated in the form of the transactions of the Societies.

**FREE NIGHT SCHOOLS.**

Three different free Night Schools have been opened for the three mills. Each school has Marathi and English classes and the total number of the students (173 in the Marathi classes and 65 in the English classes) is 238. The teaching staff consists of 10 teachers, all of whom are either trained or qualified. In these schools, Marathi four and English three standards are taught. Slates, pencils and primers are distributed free to the beginners.

**ELECTRICIANS' NIGHT CLASS**

The class is held twice a week in the David Mills Night School and is conducted by an honorary teacher, Mr. S. W. Sarangapany (of the Tata Hydro-electric Power Receiving Station at Parel.) This class is attended by some 25 persons. There is great demand for trained hands in the electric departments of the textile mills, and that demand is likely to increase as the number of mills using the electric power is increasing. This class is, of course, an experiment for the present, and its success will largely depend upon the aptitude and previous education of the students attending it. If the experiment proves successful a regular course of training can be fixed and the class may be developed accordingly.

**MORAL CLASS.**

A Moral Class for the students of all the three Night Schools has been opened and is held on Sundays and Holidays. Moral lessons are taught in this class by narrating instructive and interesting stories, biographies of eminent persons and by recitation and explanation of poems containing moral maxims. In conjunction with this class, an Open Air Sports Club is formed with a view to encouraging open air sports, and after the moral class is over, the students play

at foot-ball and other games in the compound of the Tata Mills.

**EXCURSION AND OPEN AIR SPORTS.**

From time to time half timers and other young persons working in the Mills are taken out on excursions to interesting places and are given information about the things they meet with in the course of the trips. They are, during the trips, served with tea and refreshments and are allowed to play at foot-ball and other games. Also open air sports and races are held, and prizes are distributed to successful competitors. These excursions and sports are much appreciated by the young people, as through such things they get an opportunity to see the world outside their drab lives and enjoy a little sunshine and happiness in the gloom of their daily routine.

**FREE READING ROOMS AND LIBRARIES.**

Reading Rooms and Libraries for all the three Mills at their respective centres have been opened. Periodicals (dailies, weeklies, monthlies etc.,) are subscribed for, and the Reading Rooms are kept open to all. To each Reading Room is attached a Library of over 500 Marathi books carefully selected, and books are issued to the millhands and other employees of the respective Mills who enroll themselves as members of the Library. No fees are charged for the membership of the Libraries. The Reading Rooms and the Libraries are kept open from 8 to 10 o'clock in the morning, from 12-30 to 2 o'clock in the afternoon and from 4 to 7 o'clock in the evening, to suit the convenience of the workmen.

In February last, nearly 900 people took advantage of the Reading Rooms and about 800 books were issued to 275 members, at all the three centres. The Reading Rooms and particularly the Libraries are becoming more and more popular and will help in creating a taste for reading wholesome literature among the millhands.

**LEAFLETS.**

Copies of leaflets on Co-operative Credit Societies, Co-operative Stores, Precautions to be taken by individuals during Cholera, Social Purity, Propaganda during the Holy Holidays, have been freely distributed among the operatives of the three Mills.

**CO-OPERATIVE STORES.**

It is intended to start Co-operative Stores, one for each Mill with the object of providing such things as are required by millhands for their domestic use. Up to this time some 200 persons have consented to become members of the proposed Stores which will be opened as soon as 300 members are secured for each.

**MEDICAL RELIEF.**

In order that the millhands and the women and children in their families may have proper medical aid in sickness, inquiries have been made to find out the urgent requirements of the millhands in that respect. Suggestions based on the facts elicited in the course of the inquiry will be shortly submitted to the Agents who will take steps to provide the required facilities.

**SUPERVISING COMMITTEE.**

The work of the Institute is being carried on under the supervision of the following Sub-Committee appointed by the Social Service League:—(1) Sir N. G. Chandavarkar, (Chairman) (2) Mr. K. R. Korgaokar, (3) Morarji Mulraj Khatau Esq., (4) Mr. C. B. Lalaye, (5) Mr. K. J. Dubash, (6) Mr. N. B. Saklatwalla, (7) Mr. A. J. Bilimoria, (8) Rev. R. M. Gray and (9) Mr. N. M. Joshi (Secretary).

Soon after the Institute was started the millhands general strike and the cholera epidemic intervened and the progress



of the work was much hampered. In spite, however, of all the difficulties, both expected and unexpected, the workers of the League were able to achieve such success as has sufficiently encouraged them to go on with their activities with hopes of a still greater success. Not a little of the credit is due to the help, sympathy and co-operation extended to the social workers by Messrs. N. B. Saklatwalla, S. D. Saklatwalla, J. Wels, R. M. Daruwala and J. M. Jacob.

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## ADVERTISEMENTS.

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Bombay, 14th April, 1919.



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20-5-17. **VAIKUNTH L. MEHTA, Manager.**



# THE INDIAN \* SOCIAL \* REFORMER.

PUBLISHED EVERY SUNDAY MORNING.

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not  
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

## CONTENTS.

—:0:—

The Political Situation.  
The Bombay Chronicle.  
The Ferment in Social Life.  
It's those d—d C. I. D.  
People.  
Social Intercourse Between  
Europeans and Indians.  
What the Moderates are  
Needed for.  
Mr. Horniman's Depor-  
tation.  
The Next Viceroy.  
Thoughts on the Present  
Situation.

A Pedlar's Views on the  
Present Situation.  
Social Intercourse Between  
Europeans and Indians.  
An Notable Inter Marriage.  
A Wail from Young India.  
Untrained Teachers in  
Bombay Municipal Pri-  
mary Schools.  
A Neglected District.  
Wanted—An Indian Tem-  
perance Policy.  
A Hindu Widow Marriage.

## NOTES.

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**The Political Situation:** Conclusive evidence that the political situation has become normal is furnished by the announcement on Friday that the inland press censorship, which was reimposed as a temporary measure during the recent disturbances, has now been abolished. All mail trains and most of the important passenger trains are running since the 29th April at night at scheduled times through Lahore. Sir Edward Maclagan, who is to succeed Sir Michael O'Dwyer as Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab, has arrived at Lahore from Simla. Sir Michael himself speaking at the annual prize-giving of the Aitchison College on the 30th April said that good order was being gradually restored in the Province and if, in the circumstances he had stayed in the province longer than he had intended, it had at least given him the pleasure of being among them. It is evident that a new regime is about to commence in the Punjab. Disturbances have been put down. But we cannot regard the quiet induced by martial law as containing in it the elements of permanence. There is an ominous sign of unrest seeking subterranean courses in the fact that, after an interval of several years, anonymous writers seem to be once more becoming active. A publicist of some experience acquires a certain quality which makes him a sort of living barometer sensitive to changes in the political atmosphere. We have been experiencing a mental sensation as little comfortable as the physical sensation during these sultry days presaging, we hope, a favourable monsoon. We do not like the total absence of demonstration within the last few days in Bombay. We appreciate Mr. Gandhi's point of view, but feel at the same time that it is desirable to let the public have some opportunity of giving vent to its emotions. Of course, there is the psychological doctrine, refuse to give expression to an emotion and it dies. There is also the other political doctrine, which has the high authority of Bacon, that discontent is driven underground if it is not allowed a safe method of escape. The All India Congress

Committee and the Moderate Conference Committee have passed resolutions and sent long messages to the Secretary of State and the Viceroy asking for an independent and open enquiry into the causes of the recent outbreaks, and the early introduction of reforms. We heartily support these requests.

**The Bombay Chronicle.** We deal in a leading article with the deportation of Mr. B. G. Horniman. One would think, that Government, after taking that step, would have waited to see how the *Bombay Chronicle*, which he edited, did under a new editor. But no. They served on the same day an order upon the Directors of the Indian Newspapers Company, which owns the paper and its printing press, imposing a pre-censorship on everything to be published in the *Bombay Chronicle* Press. The inevitable effect of this order was to oblige the Directors to suspend the publication of the paper. We have often differed from the *Bombay Chronicle*. We have at the same time felt that it filled an important place in the public life of the city and country. A large and important section of Indian opinion is practically deprived of its organ by the suspension of the *Bombay Chronicle*. The absence of underground movements in this Presidency during recent years, is not a little due to the existence of an outspoken journal like the *Bombay Chronicle*. Government and public men alike cannot but feel it a serious difficulty in gauging the trend of public feeling now that the *Chronicle* has ceased to appear. Whatever we may think of its occasional, and even frequent, indulgence in violent language—which, as Disraeli once said, is not strong language—there can be no two opinions as to the intrepidity which characterised the conduct of the *Chronicle*. More than once, it was instrumental in exposing transactions which but for it would have remained undisclosed. If our contemporary sometimes resorted to what may be called terrorist methods, it may plead with at least as much plausibility as the authors of the Rowlatt Act or the administrator of Martial Law in Lahore that no honest citizen had need to be afraid of its censure. The public in a very short time learns to allow for the extravagances and mannerisms of a newspaper. The Bombay public had long learnt to assess at its true value the exaggerated invectives of the *Chronicle* in its pugnacious moods. It is but right to say that during the last few months the *Chronicle* had followed a policy which was noticeably free from many of the objectionable features which it had developed during the latter half of last year. We can hardly think that the punishments piled upon the *Chronicle* have a retrospective reference, but we must say that we are utterly unable to correlate them with the gratifying improvement in its tone which was unmistakably clear during the last two or three months. The Press Act, so far as we know, does not provide for a censorship and the imposition of it is under the Defence



of India Act. We are asked, sometimes to drop the protest against the Rowlatt Act because it is declared in the preamble that it will apply only to anarchical and revolutionary crimes. But was the Defence of India Act intended to apply to matters so absolutely unconnected with the war or anything remotely relating to the war as the articles for which the *Chronicle* has been penalised? If the forfeiture of the *Chronicle's* security was not sufficient punishment even after Mr. Horniman had ceased to be editor, the proper course would have been to ask for enhanced security, and to forfeit it, if the paper still continued to offend against the Press Act. We cannot think that Government intend to maintain the censorship. We are glad that negotiations are said to be in progress for the withdrawal of the order, and earnestly hope that they will soon reach a successful issue.

**The Ferment in Social Life:** It is a great mistake to suppose that the spirit of swift and radical change exists in India only in matters of administration. No doubt, it is more wide-spread in regard to them than to other matters. The reason is simple. British Indian administration is hardly a century and a half old, whereas the religious and social customs of the people are many centuries older; and while the former is imposed from without, the latter reflect the deep-rooted traditions and sentiments of the country. Still, the spirit of unrest is working in social and religious matters also. We print two letters to-day from two correspondents from places so far removed from each other as Ootacamund and Junagad. In the one, our correspondent suggests that Indian social reformers should drop all other social reform movements and proposals of social legislation, and concentrate their efforts on a huge propagandism for bringing about numerous inter-marriages between persons of different castes and distant provinces. The correspondent from Junagad would launch a crusade immediately against the joint-family system, and postpone all other reforms, political and social, till its destruction has been accomplished. These letters are straws which show how strongly the wind is blowing in the direction of radical reforms in social matters. Those who know how profoundly Indian society is agitated by new ideas, do not feel the necessity of invoking extraneous causes to explain the political unrest which is so obtrusively visible because it is so much on the surface.

**It's those d—d C. I. D. People.** Mr. C. F. Andrews writes from Delhi to the *Madras Mail* in reply to its challenge to prove the statements in his letter which we published in the issue of the 6th April on the Rowlatt Bills. "In a recent," issue he says, "you threw doubt on the veracity of my statements about 'Government spies.'" I have waited till my return to Delhi, in order to get accurately the particulars, as to the dates and names and places which you required from me to substantiate the truth of what I wrote. The time when I caught red-handed a Government spy searching my private papers was during the Deputy Commissionership of Mr. Humphreys in the year 1907. Mr. Humphreys was at Cambridge with me and a personal friend. I caught the man (who had come through a back door) with his hand actually in my study-table drawer, and he confessed that he had been sent by the Police. I was naturally indignant and sent at once to the Deputy Commissioner demanding an instant apology. A mounted policeman came back post-haste with the following words in a letter:—"My dear Andrews, it is nothing to do with me. It's those d—d C. I. D. people!" The epithet he used made any further apology from himself unnecessary. The two au-

thenticated cases of Government spies being planted in the College, where I was teaching, were as follows:--The former was a student named Gokul Chand whose testimony appeared in the Delhi Club Bomb Case. In the evidence it was made clear that he had been tempted by the C. I. D. to bring them specimens of his comrades' hand writing and to act as a spy in other ways. What made the case more vile was this, that the boy was quite young. The evidence he gave on those points at the trial was not challenged or disputed. The second case was that of an exceptionally bright Mahomedan lad, whom I fully trusted as a friend. As he has, since that time, confessed fully his past misconduct, I do not think it right to give his name to the general public; but I am perfectly ready to give it to anyone who might wish, for good reasons, to pursue this enquiry." When high personages expatiate at prize distribution ceremonies on the importance of character to young students, they may usefully bear in mind the existence of such influences as those indicated by these examples. The *Madras Mail* wished Mr. Andrews' statements to be nailed down as otherwise it might be thought there was a regular system of espionage such as characterised some recently defunct Empires. We await with interest what our contemporary has to say on Mr. Andrews' response to its challenge.

**Social Intercourse Between Europeans and Indians:** We invite attention to Professor B. K. Thakore's suggestive letter on this subject printed in another column. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar concludes a cordial appreciation of the late Mr. G. C. Whitworth in the *Times of India* with the following pregnant observations: "The problem of the day is not *social* but *political*. Let that be candidly seen and acknowledged. And India is now passing through a stage in her history similar to that through which Englishmen in their own country and among themselves passed 50 years ago. Then we read in English newspapers the complaint that the relations between the English classes and the English masses were getting greatly strained. And Lord John Manners proposed that, the remedy the best way of promoting social fellowship between the two was for men of both classes to join in playing cricket and for the higher classes to be *kind* to the masses. John Stuart Mill replied that what the masses wanted was not the kindness of social intercourse but Justice. Justice is hard won in any country but more easily won in and under England than any other. Whatever the faults of the Englishman, he is sound at heart as to it—only we have to get to it by working with him with dignity, with self-respect, and convincing him by our words and deeds that in the struggle for Justice we do not wish but rather for our own sake earnestly desire, to have him as our brother fitted to guide us by his proud traditions of *ordered* liberty and constitutional ways of social and political government."

**What the Moderates are Needed for:** The *Indian Messenger*, the organ of the Sadharan Brahma Samaj of Calcutta, writes: "A strong Moderate opinion while standing for progress would be a steadying force in the country. But the way in which it has been treated has left little room for its growth. Moderate opinion is wanted by the Anglo-Indian papers to play the second fiddle to official opinion, and by the 'rallying round the Moderates' they hardly mean anything more than having by the bureaucracy a body of camp-followers rather than comrades."



## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, MAY, 4, 1919.

## MR. HORNIMAN'S DEPORTATION.

Late in the evening of Saturday, the 26th April, Bombay was startled by the news that Mr. B. G. Horniman, Editor of the *Bombay Chronicle*, had been served with an order of deportation, and was put on board a steamer which was sailing the next day to England. Mr. Horniman had undergone an operation some days previously. He was still confined to bed. Government sent two medical officers to examine his condition and they, and one of Mr. Horniman's own doctors whom they took with them, agreed that his condition was not such as to prevent the voyage. We may say in passing that, while the public appreciate the step taken by Government to satisfy themselves that Mr. Horniman's convalescence had sufficiently progressed to enable his immediate deportation without risk of relapse, it is nevertheless generally felt that it would have been more kindly to have postponed his deportation till he could have been removed in a more normal conveyance than an ambulance vehicle. Government will be doing an act which will be much appreciated if they publish news of Mr. Horniman's state of health during the voyage. The order served on Mr. Horniman, no doubt, mentions the reasons for and the authority under which it is issued. It has not been published. The official press note merely announced that the Governor in Council with the previous sanction of the Governor General in Council had caused an order to be served on Mr. Horniman directing him to leave British India by a steamer bound for England and stated that Government had satisfied themselves by expert medical advice that Mr. Horniman was in a fit condition to travel and had provided him with a passage by a steamer proceeding immediately to England. On the same day, that is, Saturday, the 26th, an order was served on the Directors of the Indian Newspaper Company which owns the *Chronicle* prohibiting them from printing anything in their press which had not been approved by a Censor named in the order. The Directors met the same evening and decided to adopt the only course open to them, to suspend publication of the *Chronicle*. A little practical knowledge of journalism would have shown Government that to impose a pre-censorship on a daily paper is to decree its immediate extinction. A third order served on Mr. Horniman on board the steamer forfeited the security of two thousand Rupees which he had to deposit last year in his capacity of publisher of the *Chronicle*.

It was generally believed that these orders had been passed and enforced by the Government of India in disregard of the opposition of the Government of Bombay, but there is no reason to go behind the wording of the orders which distinctly aver that they are issued by the latter Government. The only grounds for the erroneous belief exonerating the local Government, so far as we can see, are, two. The first is

the impression conveyed by the words of the Governor, in his speech at the Royal College of Science on the 16th April, that he had no intention of interfering with free criticism. "Has my Government," asked His Excellency, "ever tried to interfere with orderly meetings? Have they interfered with the free expression of public opinion even when violently expressed?" The second ground is the fact that things had very nearly settled down to their normal state in this Presidency and Mr. Gandhi was carrying on Satyagraha against disobedience to the orders of Government and the Police. It is only fair to add that, having decided to put an end to Mr. Horniman's public activities, the Government of Bombay chose the method which involved the least restriction on his personal freedom consistent with that decision. Probably, Mr. Horniman himself might have decided that some rest in England after his strenuous years of journalistic life in Bombay was necessary to enable him to get quickly over the effects of his recent ailment. In any case, there is plenty of work to do on behalf of India in England, and one endowed with Mr. Horniman's talents as writer and speaker, and inspired by his zeal for India's good, cannot be at a loss to find some for himself. The Government in England may, of course, prevent him from writing or speaking on Indian affairs, but this is unlikely at present, and is never such an easy thing to do in England as in this country. Government have unintentionally done a good turn to the group in Indian politics to which Mr. Horniman belongs by providing it with so accomplished a spokesman in addition to those whom it has selected to present the case against repression and to plead the cause of constitutional reform before the British public.

When all is said, however, the summary deportation of an Englishman apparently for no other offence than that he espoused the Indian cause, not always wisely, perhaps, but, there cannot be the least doubt, whole-heartedly and thoroughly, is a measure which no Indian publicist can view with equanimity. An English journalist may with perfect impunity rail against the Founder of a great religion professed by millions of Indians; another can traduce with equal impunity a dead Indian leader held in universal reverence by all classes of Indians; and yet others can make it their principal occupation in this country to carry on a campaign of hatred and calumny against educated Indians. But if an English man or woman who has taken the Indian side, allow themselves to be carried away even a little by their zeal for the cause they have espoused, deportation and internment are their portion. Not only that but, as Mr. Andrews' experience shows, even to be friendly to Indian aspirations, is to invite the attentions of the Criminal Intelligence Department. We had our differences with Mr. Horniman. We had occasion to condemn severely only a few months ago his gross misrepresentation of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, one of the noblest of men devoted to the service of his motherland. We like journalistic



terrorism as little as administrative terrorism. On one occasion at least we had to protest against what seemed to be an attempt on the part of the *Chronicle* to intimidate us. Mr. Horniman's policy in the *Chronicle* was largely responsible for the estrangement between the experienced Moderate leaders, and the inexperienced, but intensely zealous and patriotic, younger workers in Bombay politics. But Mr. Horniman did not carry public differences into private life. Almost in the very midst of a hot controversy, he wrote a very touching and generous letter of sympathy which this writer can not forget. He is undoubtedly a great journalist and a large-hearted Englishman who sincerely felt and worked for the people in utter disdain of personal consequences. He had faults, it is said, but let him who is sinless cast the first stone. We earnestly trust that he will be back again to carry on his great work among us with renewed health and strength and, may we add, in a manner to unite and hold together the younger and more ardent, and the older and more experienced, of Indian workers and leaders ?

#### THE NEXT VICEROY.

It is reported that there is some speculation in the English papers as to who is to succeed Lord Chelmsford as Viceroy. One writer declares that Sir Douglas Haig has expressed the desire to go as Viceroy to India. The writer in question remarks that it is long since a great soldier has reigned over India, the last being the first Lord Hardinge, who was at Calcutta in the forties. "There is no doubt" he goes on to say, "that, besides ability, Sir Douglas would bring firmness and resolution to the post; but he has the disadvantage that, though able to express himself admirably on paper, he is singularly inarticulate in speech. But in all social matters Lady Haig can make good any such shortcoming. It will be remembered that she, with her twin sister, the long, slim Miss Violet Vivian, was Maid of Honour to Queen Alexandra. Sir Douglas met her for the first time, wooed her, and won her—all within the short space of a fortnight. Someone suggested that this was rather quick work. "No," answered the great soldier, even then pondering over past campaigns, "I've had to decide more serious questions than that in five minutes!" It will be recalled that, when in command of the 17th Lancers, he was also captain of their polo team; so that as a sportsman not less than as a soldier he will be acceptable to the majority of Indians."

Considering that Lord Chelmsford has just finished three years of his Viceroyalty and has in the ordinary course two more to put in, the "speculation" is not quite intelligible the more especially as it is not customary to consider nominations to the office as much as two years ahead. The rumour is current in the bazars that His Excellency is likely to resign though for what reason no one says: but it may equally be the father or the child of the "speculation". If there is any foundation for the report that

Sir Douglas Haig has expressed the desire to go as Viceroy to India it need not surprise us. Nothing succeeds like success, as the saying goes; and there is little to wonder at if the success of the Field-Marshal at the front has aroused in the General the ambition for success as a statesman. The real surprise, however, would be if at this time of the day any of the responsible ministers of the crown thought of lending a willing ear to a retrograde suggestion like the above. The late Lord Kitchener is now known to have entertained similar aspirations but Lord Morley with the true instinct of the statesman stoutly opposed its fulfilment even against the wishes of His late Majesty King Edward. Sir Douglas Haig is in a worse case, because his services hitherto have been purely in the Military department and he has no pretensions even to the quasi-civil experience of Lord Kitchener in Egypt. There is a considerable number of political officers, selected from the staff corps or other Military services, who are entrusted with the supervision of Native States in India but we have heard very few instances of outstanding capacity among them. We have known experienced Native State officials express the view that these Military Political Agents are a class of extremists by themselves: they are either very good or very bad men, and the former are rare exceptions. It is rather absurd to insinuate that because one General was Viceroy of India in the forties of the nineteenth century another may have his wishes in respect of the great office for the asking near the end of the first quarter of the twentieth, on the conclusion of a world-war, and in the midst of a resurgence of ideals. And as for "firmness and resolution", the exhibition we have been having of it from civil administrators will have to stand a searching examination in the glare of civilization before we can be called upon to accept a Military Governor who makes a speciality of the two qualities.

We remember having seen a report in the English papers of the official discussion, several years ago, of the point which had then arisen as to whether a Civilian or a Military politician would be the fitter person to advise Military experts on larger questions, and the decision being unequivocally in favour of the Civilian. The principle is obvious and is followed by business people every day. They call in experts for advice; but do not yield up the direction of their businesses into their hands. An expert is an extra efficient power: but he is one-eyed and would often land a concern into disaster if left in sole or even main charge. The jealousy of the British public even with regard to such a body as the Imperial Defence Committee compelled Government to declare definitely that its function was merely to advise the Cabinet with which alone rested the direction of policy and responsibility to Parliament. The position of India is no longer in the back waters. It is now the merest platitude to say that the rise or fall of its people will not fail to drag the whole empire to weal or woe. Its destinies cannot safely be entrusted to any but the most cultured of British statesmen in these times. The light-hearted-



ness and naiveté of the "speculation" in the extract quoted above would be amusing if we were sure that it is no measure of the knowledge of the sense of responsibility of the British public in respect of the affairs of this country. The Governor Generalship of one of the self-governing colonies or the Dominions would be the proper place for beginners or amateurs, as they are there able to get experience and training and are at the same time kept from positive harm.

### THOUGHTS ON THE PRESENT SITUATION.

Mr. C. V. Swaminathaiyar of Lalitalaya, Mylapore, Madras, writes to us :—

I have just read most carefully your able, intelligent and truly effective summary of the causes of the present unrest in your leading article in the *Reformer* of 20th instant. I have been much impressed by the personal reference you make to the character of Lord Chelmsford; though his lordship's recent acts and attitude have not inspired that confidence in the infallibility of his lordship's judgment as he himself seems to be possessed. You very truly remark that "the women of India were also beginning to look forward to a wider life than that of wife and mother". I also perfectly agree with you that one can serve the cause of educating the people, "by telling the truth" in one's own sphere of work and influence. Inspired by the truths contained in these two statements, I wrote or rather gave expression to the voice of womankind that has come to the fore under "A word to the wise"; and then I explained it to my wife in her own language before sending it to the press, as is my wont. My wife who freely and fully admitted the truth and force of all that it contained, however, would not consent to my sending it to the press, even to the *Indian Social Reformer*, which she knows well to be a very sane and moderate paper. The reason was : She thought that as our rulers were all panic-stricken it would not be wise to indulge in plain-speaking as it may further irritate them. After explaining your article, I have her permission to send it to you for publication :

#### "A WORD TO THE WISE": THE VOICE OF WOMANKIND TO THE FORE.

The Satyagraha movement initiated by Mahatma Gandhi, has brought to the fore one great force which hitherto has been lying unutilised in the background. It has revealed the real *Shakti*—the enormous soul-power that we have neglected to use. One great lesson of the policy of repression inaugurated with all the pomp and circumstance of Viceregal authority is that it has enabled our womankind, even more than our men, to intuitively see "that we must live in accordance with nature's laws, so that we may have the right measure, weight, number, and balance in all things; and this to enable us to discover the combination of forces that endures and completes." They have learnt and are by silent example teaching us men the great truth that "of all the possessions of a man, next to the gods, his soul is the mightiest, being the most his own."

"This soul, man's sole possession is, then, the real ruler of the outward material life, for it is the Life. Yet has it been bartered for a mess of pottage." The masses in India

are having a demonstration of old-world truisms which help rather to stir up the soul with hope than cow it down with despair. The use of the aeroplane in India to drop bombs on a crowd because the authorities have failed to realise their situation, has reminded these people of the story of *Thadaka* and the havoc she played until brought down by the arrow of young Sree Ramachandra. The womenfolk say : "For one *Kausalya* then there are hundreds and thousands now, whose proud boast would be to have begotten a Rama for the good of the Motherland and of the world." The *Asurabhava* of the "men clothed in brief authority" has created a deep and lasting impression on the more susceptible half of the population.

As "*Samashti-shevai*" diksha involves the speaking of unpleasant truth, even if it is dangerous to one's life, I have to tell Lord Chelmsford to bethink himself of what Carlyle wrote before he gives the rein to his first impulse which is made quite evident by the official communiques and ordinances he has already issued as Viceroy and Governor General. It is this :—"Properly it is the course of his unseen spiritual life, which informs and rules his (man's) external visible life, rather than receives rule from it, in which spiritual life the true secret of his history lies." So wrote the Sage of Chelsea and it is this "spiritual development of the soul" which he and his colleagues in the government of India have utterly failed to comprehend so far as India is concerned. It is the duty of the ruler of a country to understand and adapt himself to the spirit of the country and he who fails so to do himself fails in his duty to his ownself and his God. "The basis of the Woman Movement throughout the world is the vital urgency for dealing with the realities of life, now submerged, suppressed, glossed over by sophistries and euphemisms—the inherent hypocrisy underlying all social organisations at the present day. Laid bare by truth's shafts of spiritual criticism, they present a sorry spectacle. Women unhesitatingly go to the roots of the evils; they are not content with scratching the surface, or futilely ameliorating effects in lieu of exterminating causes. Men's reforms are always tentative and self-interested; women's are drastic and impersonal. With their cleaner vision, they abhor the evil but pity the victim; men on the contrary punish the victim and condone the evil." Such is the verdict of an observant woman and I present it to His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India in Council in the words of a woman of his own country who is not afraid of speaking her mind out, where the truth has to be told. This criticism applies to all "the Acts of a purely male-government for reforming and bettering social, economic and moral conditions" which are characterised as utterly "illogical and inefficient" "in this time of national heart-searching and national house-cleaning." "A word is sufficient for the wise," they say, and I have given to His Excellency, whose wisdom no one can question, more than "a word"—"a hint." And if this fails to have its effect, it will not be our fault.

### A PEDLAR'S VIEWS ON THE PRESENT SITUATION

(From the *Hindu*, Madras.)

"P. L." writes in the "*Simla Times*":—Let me first introduce ourselves, I am an Anglo-Indian (old style), and pride myself on a fair degree of proficiency in the language of the country. Many of the important roads in this country were made by my father, and in his day he put up many of those big, solid structures, which afford a temporary home to our soldiers during their exile in India. My mother went through



the great mutiny of 1857 and witnessed some of the awful scenes, that have so recently been brought back to our memories by the events in Lahore, Amritsar and other places, the burning of homes and murder of Europeans. But I am a well-wisher of the Indians, and have always taken a great interest in conversing with them on any subject on which found them willing to give me their confidence.

The other partner in this dialogue is an Indian. We will call him Ibraheem. He belongs to that class of itinerant vendors who deal in commodities that are much sought after by the Sahib-log, and who offer these for sale at their doors. I shall not describe him more particularly.

Now it happened that Ibraheem was a frequent visitor to my home, either for the sake of my custom or, quite as frequently, for the sake of a chat and a smoke. I would sit in my pleasant, sunny verandah, and Ibraheem would squat on the carpet in front of me. I would offer him a cigar or cigarette which he would at once proceed to light and then we would chat on for a long time. During the war it was mostly on the military operations of the day. Ibraheem was a staunch supporter of the Sarkar and of the countries with which it was allied. No one could have more strongly condemned the German and all his ways,—his intrigues, his devilish methods of fighting—than Ibraheem. He was proud of what his countrymen were doing on the various fronts, and regretted that his age prevented him from offering his services as a combatant to the Sarkar.

The other morning I happened to be sitting in my verandah when I saw Ibraheem approaching. His walk was slow and there was a tired, sad look in his face.

"How are you, Ibraheem?" I said. "You appear to be very tired, I am not buying with anything this morning, but come and sit down. I see you are weary."

He gladly accepted my invitation, and the proffered cigar, and then I spoke of what was uppermost in my mind, and no doubt also in his. "Well, Ibraheem, what do you make of these serious disturbances in Delhi, Lahore and Amritsar? What do they mean?"

"They mean, Sahib, that the Sarkar is giving us our reward for what we have done for it."

"I don't understand what you mean, Ibraheem."

"It is very simple," he said. "During the war, India gave of its wealth, of its labour and of its blood to fight for the Sarkar against its enemies. The Sarkar has won, its enemies are prostrate and now it is proceeding to show its gratitude to us, by mowing down with machine guns poor unarmed, helpless people. It is our reward."

I looked at him aghast. Never in all my conversation through many years with Ibraheem had I ever heard him utter one word of blame of Government. "You surprise me", I said. "You don't really mean to condemn Government for quelling with a strong hand riotous, murderous risings of the populace whose avowed object was the destruction of the lives and property of Europeans?"

"I do", he answered, "most decidedly condemn the Government. The Sarkar has always proposed to be a father to its people and that is what it ought to have shown itself during these risings. A father loves his son, he doesn't seek to destroy him. He advises him, he admonishes him, even corrects him but doesn't want to kill his son." I said, "But if his son becomes a murderer, he will sorrowfully let justice take its course. You forget that these mobs in Amritsar and other places were intent on murder and the destruction of property. Five Europeans were brutally done to death in Amritsar. They came in their thousands, and there was no other way of bringing them to their senses."

"Then the Sarkar ought to have caught the murderers and punished them. But hundreds were killed for the few that were guilty. They ought to have pressed back the people, even out of the city, and kept them there until they came to their senses."

"You are very unreasonable to-day, Ibraheem. They were all guilty, as they were all intent on the same outrages, and encouraged each other. And how could you expect a small body of troops to surround and keep out of the city thousands of men, not wholly unarmed, as you say, but brandishing stout lathies. How would you have dealt with the situation, say in Amritsar, if you were the Deputy Commissioner?"

He laughed a cynical laugh. "I should not have had to deal with any such situation. It would not have arisen. Now, in the city of X, the Deputy Commissioner is a Mohammedan, and the people are happy and contented. Perfect tranquillity reigns there."

"You are a changed man, Ibraheem. The Sarkar that you always praised before is now to be blamed, for everything that the people bring upon themselves by their lawlessness and disorders."

"All that has happened is the result of the passing of the Rowlatt Bill. Why did the Sarkar pass that Bill in the face of the solid opposition of all the Indian Members? The Government invited Indians to its Councils, but when they give their advice and oppose any measure, their opinions are flouted and disregarded. It is a farce. They ought to leave the Council in a lurch."

My lunch bell rang, and I rose up to go in. "Well, my friend, I must bring this conversation to an end. But I am more sorry than I can tell you to hear you talk as you have done this morning. I see that your newspapers which you so often talked about ('They do not appear any longer,' he interjected) 'It's as well' I said. 'They have crammed your mind with false and malicious ideas. They have made the kindly loyal Ibraheem I knew, into a harsh and unreasonable critic of Government, and an approver of lawlessness. Salaam.'"

"Salaam, Sahib. Any orders?"

I gave none. This conversation which actually took place shows two things. A perfectly successful propaganda of mischief has been going on among the people, and unless we carry on an equally successful propaganda their minds will be full of false ideas and the rancour will remain in their hearts.

### SOCIAL INTERCOURSE BETWEEN EUROPEANS AND INDIANS.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*,

Sir,

To your admirable paragraphs on the above subject, in your issue of the 27th April, to hand this morning, kindly allow me to add one or two points which appear to me of no small importance.

Is the number of Europeans genuinely interested in matters, activities and studies purely Indian in character on the increase? I knew an Englishman, now no more, who studied Tukaram and also collected brass images of Hindu gods and godlings, purely as hobbies. I knew yet another, who has retired, and who made a hobby of Indian carts. Being a good carpenter he made himself models of every variety of carts, each miniature showing every part to scale, and all on a uniform plan which he had followed steadily for years. Wherever he went he held an exhibition of his treasures and interrogated his visitors minutely on the carts of the locality, so that he could go on adding real novelties to his collection. Many of us have heard of students of Indian art



and armour, Indian musical instruments, Indian turbans and other articles of dress, and so on. Students of Indian languages and Indian folklore and Indian castes and Indian antiquities proper, fall under the same category from the point of view of the subject we are considering. All genuine and mutually helpful intercourse must needs be based on knowledge and sympathy. All healthy intercourse between European and Indian in this country can only increase in proportion as we have larger numbers of inquisitive and sympathetic and tolerant minds amongst the Europeans coming to this country. But Anglo-India has already created and is fast multiplying little groups and clusters, cantonments and hill-stations and suburbs and West-Ends of its own, all over the country, and almost every new-comer is sucked into these new Englands on Indian soil more or less completely; the tone and atmosphere of these his Indian surroundings tell upon him more and more; and in proportion as the general attitude of this Anglo Indian society becomes hostile to and supercilious towards things Indian, social intercourse between European and Indian naturally becomes not less but more and more difficult, even though the fact might be disguised by the growing attraction of the well-to-do Indian to the sports and club-frivolities of the European.

Most Europeans in positions of power and responsibility appear to be under the impression that Indians almost always have something or other to ask, some man to recommend, some information to glean in good time, some combination or intrigue to arrange, some new introduction to seek, in one word, some personal advantage to score out of their social intercourse. The Indian even when well-born, well educated, and well-off, and their equal in all other ways, has this defect necessarily clinging to him. He has poor relations or people in whom he is interested; and his social life being what it is, he cannot always be expected to resist uniformly the temptation of turning freedom of intercourse and intimacy with the European to some advantage or other. That is why the European, the longer he stays here and the better he comes to know the Indian, learns by experience to restrict his intercourse with the Indian more and more.] Now, no Indian will care to deny that there is something in this. The sense of self-respect which would instinctively hold it mean and 'bad form' to take the unsuspecting European unawares and obtain such advantage out of him, ought to be cultivated more and more by the Indians, especially by those who are in a position to cultivate the society of highly-placed Europeans as equals. Many Indians are already fully conscious of this and behave in the most exemplary manner. They would never dream of broaching any matter with the remotest or the most indirect bearing of such a character, except as a business matter and only at the right time and place and in the usual manner. Many even go out of their way and themselves inform their ignorant European friend of their personal connection or interest in the matter, however slight. But it is never the best representatives of a class from whom the general opinion about it or prejudice against it is derived. This almost always is the impression produced by the average specimens or the specimens below the average, which we generalise into an opinion of the class as a whole.

Poona City,

28-4-1919.

I remain, Sir,  
Yours truly,  
B. K. THAKORE.

II

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

In your latest issue dated the 27th of April 1919, you have said "some of our contemporaries have been publishing letters from correspondents on the subject of social intercourse

between Europeans and Indians. All these correspondents miss the central point, that there can be real social intercourse only between equals and that political inequality is about the worst and the most irritating form of social inequality. I am afraid you are not accurate in saying "all these correspondents, miss the central point" in as much as the 'central point' has been emphasised upon by me in a letter which was published in the issue of the *Times of India* dated the 11th of April 1919 and by *Young India* in its issue of the 23rd April. For your easy reference I may repeat what was said in my letter mentioned above. It is thus:—"It may be said that, so far as Indians are concerned, the cause cannot be anything but political," and later on "the only cure for the disease is the removal of the prime cause viz. political inequality." This is what *Young India* says "so long as the Englishman as an Englishman enjoys this politically privileged position, it is impossible to expect harmonious social relations which can only exist where there is equality." As your remarks are likely to strengthen the other side which says that the cause is purely social, I shall thank you to publish this letter in your paper.

Yours faithfully

N. V. SARMA

1st. May 1919

## AN NOTABLE INTER-MARRIAGE.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

Times like these demand "great hearts, strong minds, true faith and willing hands—men who possess opinion and a will", not only in the field of politics but in the field of social reform as well. The recent marriage of Mr. Aurobindo S. Rajam, a promising journalist now on the staff of the "Independent", with Miss Sunalini Chattopadhyay—the talented sister of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu—is assuredly a happy sign of the times, and augurs well for the future of India. Both Miss Chattopadhyay and Mr. Rajam deserve the congratulations of enlightened India on their ideal choice and bold step in breaking through the barriers of caste and in effecting an inter-provincial marriage. This, of course, is not the first of its kind. We have the well-known instance of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu herself. It was not very long ago the Hon. Mr. M. A. Jinnah of Bombay married the charming Miss Petit—the daughter of a Parsee Baronet. There was yet another instance in our Presidency when a non-Brahmin Zemindar married a Brahmin bride. And scores of such cases may be cited if need be. Example is always better than precept. A single practical social reform of this nature is worth all the loud talk and rhetorical flourishes of a thousand so-called social reformers. Why pray for a "Basu's Bill" or "Patel's", to pass through the anvil of legislation, if you have a few more "social rebels" of this type, who act to their convictions and practice what they preach? No amount of voluminous discussions in our Legislative Councils and no amount of pleadings and sermons from platforms would help to open the eyes of the public to social reform as one such single instance would. I would here venture a suggestion for what it is worth; and, in my opinion, this might prove a more useful and effective means for Social Reform propaganda work than the many conferences that meet in different parts of India year after year. I would suggest that whenever a Reform marriage takes place, wide publicity should be given to it both by the press and the Public. The various Social Reform Leagues and Associations that are scattered throughout India should make it a part of their propaganda



work to see that a descriptive report of such marriages are translated in their respective vernaculars and printed as leaflets and distributed broad cast in villages and towns. Pamphleteering, in short, is what I suggest. Such an advertisement—if it is an advertisement—would sure to have a more salient effect on villagers and townfolk than any number of conferences and resolutions on the subject. The practicable and tangible side of Social Reform would open their eyes quicker than mere theoretical pleadings. It would embolden the heart of many a youth who hesitates between practice and percept and hangs between conscience and convention. It would give stimulus to immediate action, and kill the lethargy of mind. I commend this to the members of the various social reform bodies in India.

Ootacamund,  
24th April 1919. }

Yours faithfully,  
G. VENKATACHALAM.

### A WAIL FROM YOUNG INDIA.

The Editor, The *Indian Social Reformer*,

Sir,

Our Hindoo Society, which has a large number of such youths as have ability to carry on the beneficial work for the country's good, hampers them so effectively that they cannot move their limbs underneath its fetters. The evil has been combated by many a reformer but with partial or no success. The little that they have done is a widespread recognition by our youths of the necessity of reforms. But this recognition is simply verbal. In discussions the arguments for reforms are used for argument's sake but with no other inner motive.

Our youths cannot do anything practical. They are under the thumb of an orthodox elderly party which seems to be pledged to repress any measure for reform.

The orthodox elderly party, poor as it is, is economically so well established in our society, that it carries on its work of recruiting as systematically as any other recruiting.

These orthodox elders marry their children at an early age. Then they defray the expenses of this uniting and multiplying child-pair. Almost all of our youthful boys and girls, when they are awakened, by their knowledge, to the ghastly abuses of our society, find themselves enlisted for the defence of those very abuses. (I need not remind the reader that it is instinctive with us to justify our actions.) Many of them may be right in thinking that they have a gratitude to owe to their guardians. The rest are afraid of social harassment and tyranny over themselves and their children. Thus out of gratitude or fear they stick to their side suppressing their real conviction. From past experience, they infer that their interests will be best served in the party they have been made to enter. They cannot risk the consequences of their real conviction. Their inward glow, their fiery spirits, their motive power have been damned or consumed by their habits of self-indulgence and selfishness inculcated by early-marriage. They prefer hypocrisy and falsehood to real or imaginary harassment and starvation. On their side they see promotion and plenty through jobbery while, from a corner-view, they can only see on the other side, self-denial and self-sacrifice through isolation. They are repulsed and stick fast to their own.

Such is the party which defends social abuses and such is the reason which keeps the invading ranks of *real* social reformers meagre. Such is the enslavement of our youths.

In my humble opinion, therefore, the sure and only cure for extant social abuses which debar our youths from intel-

lectual, industrial and political activities of the world, is a social revolution or a peaceful settlement which would prevent the guardians from marrying their children. This means a break up of the joint family system. And that only will effect the emancipation of our youths. The joint family system is a curse to national life in as much as it leaves our youths, ignorant of the necessary lessons of self-help and consciousness of responsibility. When we ask self-government in political life why do we fail to make sure of it first in social life? To my mind, social self-government is a stepping stone to political self-government. Climb the former the latter is beneath your foot.

In conclusion, I would like to say, whether by a revolution or a peaceful settlement the guardians should be brought to believe that children are not toys for pleasure, nor weapons for defence, but they are the talents of the country entrusted to them. They have only to multiply the *worth* of these talents. The only business of the guardians is to so educate these children as to make them strong, brave, free, useful units of the nation and thus prepare them for a happy, glorious, universal life.

Junagad,

JWALAN.

### UNTRAINED TEACHERS IN BOMBAY MUNICIPAL PRIMARY SCHOOLS.

The Editor, The *Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

On scrutinising the new gradation of Primary School-teachers submitted by the Schools Committee for the approval of the Bombay Municipal Corporation, one is forced to the conclusion that the Committee is desirous of starving out untrained teachers in their employ. Their present condition is unspeakably pitiable—worse than that of the road coolies serving the Corporation. The proposed gradation is taken in hand ten years after the last revision of school teachers' salaries. In the mofussil an untrained teacher gets Rs. 12 a month on entering the service and his pay is increased to Rs. 15 in three years. In Bombay an untrained teacher got Rs. 19 a month on joining and in three years was promoted to Rs. 24. But in the revision now before the Corporation he is to get Rs. 20 for all time irrespective of age and length of service—that is to say he is placed on a lower level than some of the coolies in the road Department. The Committee apparently wishes to make a clean sweep of all untrained teachers by forcing them to obtain training qualifications. They have not given a thought to the position of untrained teachers already in their service. The Committee twice suggested indirectly to their untrained staff, to get themselves trained. But the greatest difficulty in their way of arriving at the desirable consummation is their total want of means. There is no material advantage in getting themselves trained. Besides there are no facilities for obtaining training in the City itself. It is necessary to go to Poona or Ahmedabad and live there for at least few months (at a cost of Rs. 25 per month) in order to acquire the advantages of training. Poor untrained teachers do not get their salary even during privilege leave. Below are summarised the proposals of the School Committee.

Untrained.	Rs. 20 for all time.
Qualified.	„ 25 rising to 40 in 30 years.
1st year trained.	„ 25 „ „ 55 „ „ „
2nd „ „	„ 30 „ „ 75 „ „ „
3rd „ „	„ 40 „ „ 100 „ „ „

But if justice and pressing need of the teachers is taken into consideration, it should be something like this:—



Untrained	Rs. 30	40
1st year	" 35	60
2nd year	" 40	75
3rd year	" 45	100

No teacher should get less than Rs. 30 a month.

The average of a school teacher's working life in Bombay is 15 years. So that the highest pay mentioned above is reached by a very limited few out of the school teachers. The few qualified teachers to be met with in Bombay, besides those who have actually come out of the training Colleges, are the result of the labours of the primary Teachers' Association but none of the School Committee has given a moment's thought to the activities of this Association. In the case of the trained teachers even, the Committee are evidently of opinion that they are stepchildren amongst the employees of the Corporation. Matriculates and School Final passed men in the clerical line start on Rs. 30. According to the Educational Code a Matriculate or School Final man is on a par with the first year trained teachers. But the Committee conveniently overlook this fact and start their first year trained man on Rs 25. The increases of pay sanctioned or asked for are spread over a period of thirty years. So that even a fully trained teacher cannot expect to get a highest salary of this class until his superannuation--wonderful generosity and sympathy of the Committee for their charges!

There is a new class introduced - called qualified-for the untrained teachers to get themselves admitted into. But herein, too, the Committee might do some little good if they permit untrained men to prepare for and appear for it without stint or red-tape-hindrance.

PEDAGOGUE.

### A NEGLECTED DISTRICT.

(FROM A CORRESPONDENT.)

It is no exaggeration to say that Kanara, with its vast forest, attractive harbours and the charmingly awful Falls of Gersappa, is fit to be called "the most picturesque part of the Bombay Presidency." Nature's hand is profuse in conferring upon Kanara some peculiar charms, which are denied to other Districts. But the Art's hand, with its bliss, is not yet upon Kanara. The Kanarites are far more backward in social, political and educational progress than the neighbouring Districts of Dharwar and Belgaum. Society has stood still, politics is taking a retrograde step, and education has very little progressed in comparison with other Districts.

Orthodoxy is the presiding deity of the Kanarites; though the outside world is on its march towards social amelioration, Kanara is yet sleeping; the clarion call of duty awakens all but Kanarites; the wave of social reform has not yet tossed towards the shores of Kanara, which is lost in party feuds. It was the duty of educated Kanarites to curb party-spirit and to restore the spirit of unity in the district. But the so called educated men of Kanara, use their education as an instrument to foment the racial jealousies rather than use it as a balm to cool down the rage of parties. Goudsaraswats and Saraswats, that form the intelligentsia of the District, render it a scene of hostile actions: the former call the latter their common foes, while the latter never lose the opportunity of taking revenge upon the former. It is a pity to see that the two sub-castes fight among themselves for political and social supremacy at a time, when they could have rendered invaluable help to their mother District by causing the hostility to subside and by sowing the seeds of union in the soil of Kanara. Will they bid adieu to caste and sub-caste, and join hands together in the auspicious name of social reform?

Politically Kanara is a nonentity. While India is busy contending for political rights, Kanara is snoring; Kanarites are, mainly, peace-loving traders, being by nature averse to political commotion. The only educated men residing in the District are a few teachers and pleaders, majority of whom, it is sorrowful to state, are little interested in the welfare of the District. Let Kanara live or die, let the Kanarites be men or no men, the pleaders have nothing to say to it; they care for their "ducats"; and if they get them, everything goes on smoothly. Some of the teachers contribute their mite towards awakening the people; but the number of them is too small to set the whole District properly working. Thus Kanara, without the protection of its educated sons, is left uncultured and has become a prey to party-feuds, racial jealousies and political lathergy. It requires strong men at the helm of its affairs to steer it clear towards the goal of political enlightenment.

Able conducted newspapers form no insignificant factor of the enlightenment of a District. No doubt Kanara has two news-organs, but they are lifeless; one of them called "Vichari" voices no public opinion; the other, which goes under the name of "Kanara News" has no settled opinions on any thing; it is just like a ship without a helm, and, therefore, unfit to mould the public opinion. These two newspapers are two lights, that "render darkness more visible" in Kanara, far from dispelling it. It short, Kanara exists physically but is dead socially and politically; from a political point of view the Kanarites are mere figures on a dial, with no political enthusiasm, no moral courage to resist social evils and no energy to persevere in well-doing. All the political controversies of Kanarites are whirling round salt-prices at Sanikatta; and though the editors of newspapers grow tired, the controversy does not end; it seems it will end in no good for the public, as it has sprung from party-feelings. Cannot educated Kanarites catch at any higher subjects than the salt-prices? The thundering voice of protest against the Rowlatt Bills is not heard by Kanara; the agitation about the self-determination has only served to lull the Kanarites into sounder sleep. How pitiful! Will the educated Kanarites unite together and rive the District rather than keep it as a mere Geographical expression?

Education is the life-blood of a District; for political and social awakening education is quite essential. It is unfortunate that Kanara should possess only three High Schools to meet with the educational needs of 4,00,000 inhabitants. The average number of students attending secondary schools is not more than 1,500; this meagre number sheds light upon the awful illiterateness of the people. If Kanara should prosper, every Taluka of the District must possess a full-fledged high school, each accommodating one thousand students; then alone there is any chance of its improvement. A methodical and wide-spreading education will flood the District with men of exceptional parts.

Lastly it will not be out of place, if it is said that the Government also is not sufficiently active in promoting the welfare of Kanara; it cares more for the forest-revenue than for the culture of Kanarites; it is a pity that the Government should start not more than one high school in the District; it is a wonder that the grievances about the increased process of afforestation should draw no attention of the Government; and it is extremely sorrowful that the Government should not bestow sufficient care upon the industrial development of the District; the bureaucracy some times works havoc in Kanara; yet none cares to resist it. When so precarious is the state of Kanara, will the Government and the people join hands together to work out the social and political evolution of the place, which is a petty, charming, picturesque corner of the Presidency?



**Wanted—An Indian Temperance Policy:** We endorse the following in the last issue of the *Dnyanodaya*, the organ of the American Marathi Mission: "The statement of the Finance Member in the recent Bombay Legislative Council that Excise revenue has expanded so remarkably in recent years that it is now by a long way the largest head in the Provincial budget, the admitted irregularity in Ahmedabad where fifteen liquor shops were purchased by combined members of a family though the orders of the Government were that a combination of contractors should not be allowed along with the remarkable statement in our leading daily newspaper that as temperance lessons form part of the teaching in primary schools, the use of the surplus Excise revenue (of eighteen lakhs) for education purposes is a practical temperance measure—these, and many other facts, should convince all India's reformers, Christian and non-Christian alike, that one of India's greatest needs is a bold, consistent and practical temperance policy upon which all religious leaders can unite. The Maharaja of Bhavnagar gives a splendid lead, and emulates America's great example by announcing the immediate abolition of many liquor shops in his State and the total extinction of liquor within a stated period. Well done, the Maharaja!"

**A Hindu Widow Marriage:** A correspondent writes: "On Monday the 7th instant, a Hindu widow marriage was performed at Governorpet, Bezwada, in the residence of Mr. T. V. Subba Rao. Mr. B. J. S. Prakasa Rao of Tenali acted as priest. Mr. M. Venkatramiah gave away the bride. The bridegroom, Mr. M. Venkata Ramachari is the son of late Mr. Maddoor Seshachalam, a native of Circlepet, Masulipatam. He is a land lord, aged 35 and belongs to the Niyogi Vaishnavite sect. The bride Srimati Saraswatamma is the first daughter of Mr. Mollaprayada Venkata Subbiah, a native of Sidhantam village in Gudivadu Taluk. She is aged 29 and belongs to Niyogi sect. The marriage was performed according to Hindu rites."

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# THE INDIAN \* SOCIAL \* REFORMER.

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

## CONTENTS.

Afghanistan on the War-Path.  
The Question of the Caliphate.  
The Sikhs and the Punjab Disturbances.  
Problems of Reform in the Government of India.  
The Rowlatt Act as a School Text Book.  
Dr. Sadler on the Educational Movement in India and Britain.

Mr. Horniman's Deportation.  
Sedition in Sind.  
Christian Missions and the Drink Traffic.  
The Rowlatt Act to be taught in Schools. (By Mr. C. F. Andrews.)  
The Rev. Mr. Popley on the Present Situation.  
Sir Narayan Chandavarkar on the Rowlatt Act.  
Black Lists Withdrawn.

## NOTES.

**Afghanistan on the War-Path.** The event of the week is the crossing of our North Western Frontier by a party of 150 Afghan Regulars and Irregulars, and their occupying the water springs of Bagh just on the Indian side of the boundary. The same day previously five coolies on the Khyber water-works were murdered by a Shinwari of Ningrahar who acting, as it turns out, on orders from Kabul moved out with his lashkar towards the Khyber. The Government of India, anxious to afford the Amir an opportunity of withdrawing from his mad enterprise, decided to treat these acts of hostility as the irresponsible freaks of local officials, and despatched an express message to the Afghan ruler couched in terms of stern warning, yet leaving an honourable way of retreat open to him. The forbearance of the Government of India, however, was totally lost on the Amir who responded by sending three regiments of the Afghan army with two guns to Bagh. Reports have also been received of the despatch of Afghan troops towards various points on the border. It is surmised that the motive of the Amir in launching this harebrained project is to provide a distraction for his army and the Afghan people who are incensed against him for screening the real assassins of his father by executing two innocent persons. Despite the ostentatious unanimity with which the Durbar condemned Colonel Ali Raza to death as the actual assassin, and Sardar Nasrullah Khan to life-long imprisonment for complicity, murmurings were heard in the audience even before it left the assembly. Inured as the Afghans are to despotic authority, they have a quick sense of justice in them, and the mockery of justice in punishing two innocent men moved their rough hearts to wrath. Before many days had passed, these murmurings grew in volume and it was openly bruited abroad that an innocent man had been executed and Sardar Nasrullah Khan equally unjustly incarcerated for life in order to shield the real assassin. Accusations against many of the high officers were freely levelled and the name of the Amir, Amanullah, himself was not spared. Disaffection spread among the troops, and among the Afghan tribesmen and Mullahs. The Amir's position became one of great danger and it is in this fact that the explana-

tion is thought to lie of the sudden change from the Amir's marked demonstrations of friendliness for the British Government to open hostility. He seems to have won over the soldiers and the peasantry by absurdly exaggerated stories of rebellion in the Punjab. The Government of India have promptly put into force the arrangements for resisting an invasion which are always in readiness for such a contingency. There can be no doubt as to the issue of this unequal conflict between a world-power which has just emerged victorious from the greatest war in history and the small and backward kingdom of Afghanistan. The people of India, Hindus and Mahomedans, Christians and Parsis alike will wholeheartedly support Government in adopting measures to teach a sharp lesson to the Amir for this act of wanton and treacherous aggression. There are said to be already signs of disaffection in Kabul and it is not improbable that the Amir may find that the Afghan people are too shrewd to be deceived as to his real motive in starting this absurd adventure.

**The Question of the Caliphate.** When the idea of sending Indian representatives to the Peace Conference was talked about, we strongly felt that one of the delegates should be a Mahomedan Indian, and mentioned this to one or two influential publicists of our acquaintance. The most important question for Mahomedans is that of Constantinople and the other Holy Places of Islam, and it was most desirable that the feelings of our Mahomedan countrymen should be represented directly by one of themselves at the Peace Conference. This was found impossible for reasons of the validity of which we have not the least doubt. The Government of India have, at the same time, been most anxious to afford Moslem Indian sentiment full force at the Conference, and we have had the emphatic testimony of His Highness the Aga Khan that His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner and Lord Sinha have completely identified themselves with the Indian Mahomedan position in this matter. Influential Indian Mahomedan gentlemen in London like His Highness the Aga Khan, the Right Honourable Mr. Ameer Ali and others have submitted a very temperate and reasonable memorial to His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs suggesting a settlement which, while satisfying the religious sentiments of their coreligionists in this country, would ensure to the different nationalities under the Turkish Empire the fullest measure of autonomy. "We welcome," they observe, "the proposal to create self-governing institutions in the occupied provinces of Turkey and in Armenia under the guarantee of the League of Nations, but we most strongly deprecate the suggestion to sever them absolutely from the Turkish Empire. Our reasons for this submission are not sentimental: they are founded on grounds of expediency and policy which we respectfully venture to think deserve the serious consideration of His Majesty's Government and the Allied and Associated Powers. We hope that, with the disappearance of the two Empires that had hitherto exploited Asiatic unrest and misgovern-



ment to their own advantage with a view to final political or economic absorption, the new Peace would assure the pacific development of Western and Middle Asia on durable lines. We have no hesitation in expressing our conviction that Turkey, under a Government such as she has now been fortunate enough to obtain, with her prestige among the Mussulmans of the world, would be an immense source of strength to England and the Allied Powers who rule over large masses of Moslems. We feel sure that a new era would dawn on Western Asia if His Majesty's Government were pleased to accede to the request of the Turkish Government—made, we believe, before the world-war—for the loan of the services of a distinguished Anglo-Indian administrator with a competent staff to take charge of the civil and revenue administration of Asia Minor. In any event, we venture strongly to urge that these proposed new autonomous States should not be withdrawn from the spiritual suzerainty of the Ottoman Sovereign as Caliph. Our reasons for making this submission are based, first on our desire for the peaceable development of Western Asia; and, secondly, on the necessity, in our opinion, of an endeavour on the part of His Majesty's Government to meet—so far as possible—the wishes and legitimate feelings of the Mussulmans who form fully one-fourth of the population of the Empire." These are most moderate requests such as might be expected from such responsible and well-informed leaders as the signatories. Though not directly interested in the matter, His Majesty's non-Mahomedan Indian subjects would heartily associate themselves with the Government of India in their anxiety to see this business settled in a manner to satisfy the reasonable desire of their Mahomedan countrymen. Indians, Mahomedans and non-Mahomedans, are fully aware that the final decision does not rest with the British Government alone. But what we would respectfully submit for the consideration of His Excellency the Viceroy is that the Indian people should be told of all the efforts which have been and are being made to persuade the Peace Conference to adopt a settlement of the Turkish question, which will be recognised by intelligent and well-informed Mahomedan opinion as a real effort to meet the cherished sentiments of the Islamic communion in India. We all know that Great Britain did her best to keep Turkey out of the war and that it was a clique of political adventurers who plunged the country into it. Now that this clique has wrought its own ruin with that of Turkey, it will be generous on the part of the Powers to give this ancient Empire, with satisfactory guarantees regarding freedom and good government for the non-Mahomedan races under its suzerainty, a fresh chance in the great era which is opening to all the world.

**The Sikhs and the Punjab Disturbances:** The *Khalsa Advocate*, a Sikh journal, published at Amritsar states, in its issue of the 29th April, that, in spite of the disturbed areas being mainly Sikh, Sikhs have been conspicuous by their absence in all sorts of demonstrations and meetings. Our contemporary explains as follows the fact that Sikhs had a very large number of the casualties that resulted in dispersing an assembly at the Jallianwala Bagh in Amritsar on the 13th instant by military force. "On account of the very day being sacred to the Sikhs as one when the foundation of Sikhism was laid," writes our contemporary, "thousands of Sikhs had assembled from outside to have their annual bath at the Golden Temple, none knowing what was happening in the city. The agitators took advantage of this and sent a word through round the Golden Temple and elsewhere that a big Diwan was being held at Jallianwala Bagh. To

the Sikhs who were sitting idle since morning on account of there being absolutely no business in the city, this was a jolly news. Because the term Diwan to the Sikhs means a religious meeting. They therefore flocked to the place little knowing that a snare was laid for them there. The authorities had already prohibited by means of the beat of the drum all such meetings. They considered it therefore an open defiance of order and opened a fire which resulted in several hundreds having been killed and as many more injured. Among them were poor Sikhs who had gone there under the belief that there was a Diwan there, and not in the least knew of the criminal intention of the organisers. This is how these innocent people were killed. The Deputy Commissioner on having learnt of this, by means of a public notice, regretted this heavy loss of innocent lives, as a result of the tactic to drag in the Sikhs."

**Problems of Reform in the Government of India:** We are indebted to the Theosophical Publishing Office, Adyar, Madras, for a valuable publication with the above name published as Transaction II of the Neo-Fabian Society of Madras. The book deals with the proposals, made in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, concerning the Legislative machinery of the Government of India, in a spirit of constructive criticism which we much appreciate. The most valuable part of the Transaction to the Indian publicist is the chapter on Electoral Methods, which, contains a detailed description of the different electoral methods in use in different countries or have been suggested for use. The literature on this subject is not extensive, and such books as there are, are not easily accessible to the general public. At the same time the question is one which is of great practical importance in every electoral scheme. The Neo-Fabian Society of Madras has done a distinct service to Indian publicists by placing the information available within easy reach of them. The Transaction is priced Re. one, and its printing and get-up are worthy of the high standard of the Vasanta Press.

**The Rowlatt Act as a School Text Book.** We call the attention of the Government of India, and especially of the Education Member, to the letter which we publish in another column from Mr. C. F. Andrews. The resolutions prescribing the Rowlatt Act as a text book to be taught in schools is said to have been arrived at a Conference of principals of colleges and head masters of schools presided over by Dr. Ewing, late Vice Chancellor of the Punjab University. With all deference to these Punjab educationists we venture to think with Mr. Andrews that this resolution is a dangerous and degrading innovation in the history of Indian Education. The Rowlatt Act cannot be taught honestly by any teacher without reference to the arguments advanced for it by the officials and against it by non-official Indians. Is it intended that the students in the Punjab schools and colleges should be taught that their countrymen who presented a solid opposition to the Act in the Imperial Legislative Council were fools or knaves, and that Sir William Vincent, Sir Verney Lovatt and Sir George Lowndes have the monopoly of political wisdom? We would also point out to the Government the danger involved in compelling teachers, who may not share the official view of the Act, to give lessons inculcating that view on the students at the risk of the displeasure of their superiors. This is a direct incentive to hypocrisy, and if this innovation is tolerated by the Government of India we may as well cease to speak of the development of character as an end of Indian Education. What would Dr. Michael Sadler think of this when the news reaches him in England? What would Mr. Fisher think of it?



# INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, MAY, 11, 1919.

## DR. SADLER ON THE EDUCATIONAL MOVEMENT IN INDIA AND BRITAIN.

### FUNDAMENTAL SIMILARITY OF PROBLEMS.

On the eve of his departure to England, Dr. Michael Sadler, the distinguished Chairman of the Calcutta University Commission, delivered a very suggestive address before the Senate of the Bombay University, which we are glad to see issued in the form of a pamphlet by that University. In order to avoid any appearance of anticipating the publication of the Commission's report the address was given in private. Moreover, the points on which Dr. Sadler dwelt, though vital to every sound system of education bear only incidentally and indirectly on the subject proper which the Calcutta University Commission was appointed to investigate. These points are: first the relation of the State to teachers; secondly, improvements in higher secondary education; and, thirdly, new departures in primary education. At the outset, Dr. Sadler emphasises the fundamental similarity of many educational problems which press for solution in England and in India. This does not seem to be the case with education or in England alone. By the last mail we received a letter from Mr. W. T. Cross, General Secretary of the National Conference of Social Work, Chicago, who had seen a copy of the report of the Bombay Provincial Social Conference held last year at Bijapur. He writes: "There is a surprising likeness between your methods of procedure with social work and ours in America. You may know that your literature is keenly interesting to me, because there is a certain romantic atmosphere about developments of this sort on the other side of the globe. I doubt not you sometimes consider the situation quite unromantic and discouraging." Is it likely that this similarity is confined to educational and social, and does not extend to political, movements? We cannot help feeling that if all persons, who are in some measure responsible for the ordered progress of this country, viewed the problems with which they have to deal more as phases of world problems than as aberrations peculiar to India, having their origin in Indian stupidity or perversity, or fomented by agitators whose sole aim is to cause trouble and uneasiness to authority, there would be a much greater chance of their being solved more effectively as to the ends in view, and more economically as to time, energy and temper. Dr. Sadler doubts whether this fundamental similarity of English and Indian educational problems, is wholly due to our intercourse through books, newspapers and correspondence, though these give to us much experience in common. "Perhaps," he adds, "there is some deeper and wordless influence at work which is inclining our thoughts in a new direction and causing us to see in a fresh light

the claims which we make on lip and upon one another, claims which affect our view of what education should compass and of the temper in which it should be given. Perhaps, as has happened more than once before in human history, we who live in this age are being moved to consider afresh the values which we have been accustomed to set upon different shades of loss and gain, of success and failure, of good and evil."

### TEACHERS AND THE STATE.

Dr. Sadler naturally dwelt at greater length on the relation of the State to teachers than on his two other points. These latter concern the internal economy of education while the former relates to the extent to which and the manner in which the irreducible minimum of State control can be applied without endangering the great ends of education. A right decision on this point is necessary in order to give the right shape to our conclusions in matters relating to the contents and methods of education. Otherwise, we shall constantly find the working of educational principles deflected from their anticipated courses by the pull exerted on them by an uncalculated external factor. There have been two schools of thought regarding the relation of the State to teachers. The one is typified in the German system in which the teaching force is organised as a branch of the Civil Service. The other extreme is represented by England which has hitherto assigned to the Central Governments no share whatever in the actual appointment of teachers in any grade even of public, tax-supported education. India, to use the words of Dr. Sadler, has adopted a two-barrelled system—the State educational service existing alongside of a much larger body of teachers who are privately appointed and dismissible by those who employ them. We think that in each of these cases, there is clearly discernible a close correspondence between the relation of the State to teachers and its relation to the rest of its subjects, in other words, its historical and political position in the country and the community. In Germany, a brand-new Empire had to be organised and developed—and destroyed—from top to bottom in about fifty years. In England the State and society grew together, and, indeed, till the new industrialism created a gulf between the classes and the masses, the State and the society were but two aspects of the same entity in England. The forces which moved the one, moved the other. Those which limited the one, limited the other. In a case of this kind, the teachers stand in organic relation to the State because they, the society and the State are products of and are controlled by a common environment. This was also the case in India so long as India retained her internal autonomy, which she did not only under indigenous but also under all foreign rulers down to the establishment of British rule. In fact, there was no foreign rule in India till British rule, except for the short intervals of time that it took particular foreign dynasties to get acclimatised and absorbed into the grand Indian synthesis so vividly depicted in Mr. E. B. Havell's admirable "History of Aryan Rule in India," published last year. We may



say in passing that this is the very kind of Indian history for which we have been looking forward all these years, and while we are profoundly grateful to Mr. Havell, we must confess to a feeling of some disappointment that it is not the work of an Indian author. This is a vast subject to one or another of the innumerable aspects of which we shall have to recur again and again. The net result of the German, English and Indian systems of the State in relation to teachers, is thus epigrammatically summed up by Dr. Sadler: "Central Europe has got a great deal for its money. England pays a great deal of money for what it gets. India, deemed able to afford but little, has got little in return." Dr. Sadler thinks that England, under the new conditions, will probably modify its system somewhat on the lines of Indian practice. The Indian practice itself will have to be correlated to the higher consciousness of the community according to the formula suggested by Dr. Sadler. "Education seen in its larger aspect of national life," he says, "is too great a power for the State to leave it unhusbanded and unrestrained. But the vital influences of education are too intimately connected with personal conviction and with family life for it to be wise or safe to leave their control and direction to the discretion of Government alone. A middle way must be discovered between two extremes. How shall it be found? *I see no other way than that of discussion, affecting administrative policy through organs of representative Government.*" The italics are ours. The plain English of it is, political reform must go hand in hand with educational reform.

#### FREEDOM, THE LIFE BREATH OF EDUCATION.

The balance between communism and chaos which is equally destructive to education can be struck only in a State where the Government is not afraid of the people nor the people of Government. For where Government distrust popular freedom and the people suspect the irresponsible—so far as they are concerned—authority of Government, it is extremely hard for Dr. Sadler's wise and noble words to obtain even a hearing. "It may be objected," he says, "that unless the State keeps a tight hold upon teachers by means of the obligations of Government service, schools and colleges may become centres of political propaganda. I do not deny this danger. Educational history is full of examples of it. But our fears as to the ultimate effects of greater liberty of self-expression may become exaggerated. For many of the inconveniences of freedom, freedom is often the best cure. In freedom England has found what is perhaps the most valued of her possessions. One cause of her adaptability and political fair-mindedness lies in the liberty which bitter experience taught us gradually to allow to the expression of discordant and often inconveniently trenchant opinions on fundamental questions of politics, ethics and religious belief." Dr. Sadler illustrates this trait of English character by a delightful literary parable. "Think for example," he says, "of Milton and Dr. Johnson. Of the first, Wordsworth says in his sonnet:

We must be free or die who speak the tongue  
That Shakespeare spake; the faith and morals hold  
Which Milton held.

But Samuel Johnson damned Milton because he hated Milton's politics. Milton and Johnson were characteristically English and so was Wordsworth who had a good deal of both of them in his temperament. Mix Milton, Johnson and Wordsworth and you get England. It was a shrewd judge of English character and political thought who said 'Take Tom Paine's *Rights of Man* and Burke's *Reflections on the French Revolution*; bind them in one cover; and you have a good book.' If the English tradition is capable, as I believe it to be capable, of rendering fresh and vital service to the new India, it is because we English are like a compensating pendulum made up of different metals which behave very differently at the same temperature of thought and feeling." This little excursion into the working of the English mind, whether intentionally or not, has a meaning and significance beyond the context in which it was undertaken.

An ardent and eager mind like Dr. Sadler's could not have been content to absorb only so much of its Indian environment as was directly concerned in the official mission on which he came to us. It did one good to come in living contact with the simplicity, the spontaneity, the overflowing freshness of this great English educationist. Whatever may be the *system* of education, one in which young men in their most impressionable period are brought in intimate contact with a teacher with Dr. Sadler's infectious enthusiasm for great ideas, cannot but produce vast and wonderful results for the youths concerned and for the society of whose future they are the trustees. Our universities cannot do better than invite English educationists as well as educationists of distinction in the British Colonies, in the United States of America, in France, in Japan and in any other country to come out, were it only for a cold weather, to speak to our teachers and students on subjects and problems of educational interest in their respective countries.

#### MR. HORNIMAN'S DEPORTATION.

We said in our leading article on Mr. Horniman's deportation last week that "the summary deportation of an Englishman apparently for no other offence than that he espoused the Indian cause, not always wisely, perhaps, but, there cannot be the least doubt, whole-heartedly and thoroughly, is a measure which no Indian publicist can view with equanimity." Commenting on this, the *Times of India* wrote on Thursday as follows:

"Those who were readers of the *Bombay Chronicle* in recent days will be able to judge for themselves whether it is fair to suggest that Mr. Horniman was deported for mere espousal of the Indian cause. No official statement has been issued showing the passages in the paper to which Government took particular objection, but the dates of certain forfeited copies have been announced and they presumably contained passages of a worse character than commonly appeared in the *Bombay Chronicle*.



It must have been no easy task to distinguish the bad from the worse, for the policy of the paper was continually to misrepresent the Government, to abuse it in the most unrestrained terms, and to work upon the feelings of its readers in such a way as to make them suppose that they were labouring under a most tyrannical form of repression which allowed them no rights and no privileges. We remember how the *Bombay Chronicle* said that by passing the Rowlatt Act, the Government of India had destroyed its title to a civilised name, and the rights of the people were said to have been "filched" by a legislative measure which can hurt none but those who think they have a right to pursue the methods of anarchy and revolution. It implied that Government had adopted those very methods of anarchy which the Rowlatt Act is aimed at. It denounced as an engine of oppression the Press Act, of which no honest journalist has the least fear. It indulged in a paroxysm of indignation because Martial Law had to be introduced for the protection of men and women, Indian and English, whose lives were endangered by the lawless mobs of the Punjab and Ahmedabad. It spoke of the Government drawing weapons of terrorism from the lumber room of obsolete statutes and accused the Government of the Punjab of being in a mood of panic and wrath. It proclaimed that the Government of the Punjab was meeting the troubles in that Province with powers of torture and terrorisation, and spoke of atrocities and orgies of cruelty and homicidal mania. It published letters professing to give a true version of events which would have been farcical if it were not for the tragic fact that they might be believed by some of those whose minds had been poisoned by the constant outpouring of venom from the *Bombay Chronicle*. When the ghastly tale of murders and violence committed at Ahmedabad, Amritsar, and Viramgam began to be circulated it was the policy of the man who has been deported to excite the greatest amount of indignation against the authorities who were engaged in restoring order. Finally, it should not be forgotten that it was his policy to lead, if he did not inspire, the passive resistance movement which was followed by the most appalling suffering, and loss of life and property."

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We have reprinted the whole of this lengthy passage, because by following the method of picking out a sentence here and another there, without reference to the context, we may, without in the least intending it, be doing injustice to our contemporary. It is necessary to clear the ground by recalling that there were three orders dealing with Mr. Horniman and the *Bombay Chronicle*. The first, in order of time, was that deporting Mr. Horniman; the second, that imposing a censorship on the *Bombay Chronicle*; and the third, that forfeiting the security deposited by Mr. Horniman as publisher of the *Chronicle*. The order of deportation served on Mr. Horniman, as we said last week, has not been published, and the press note announced the bare facts of, and gave no reasons for, the deportation. The order imposing the censorship was published and it stated that it was passed under the Defence of India Act as there were reasonable grounds for Government to believe that the Directors of the Indian Newspaper Company by means of the *Bombay Chronicle* Press had acted, were acting, and were about to act in a manner prejudicial to public safety. A Press Note conveyed the news that the security of the *Chronicle* had been forfeited and declared all issues of that paper of four specified dates

forfeited to His Majesty. The *Times of India* wishes us to understand that the reasons for the deportation are to be deduced from the issues of the *Chronicle* forfeited with the security under the Press Act. But while the Press Act prescribes forfeiture of security as a penalty for publishing objectionable articles, it does not, so far as we know, authorise the deportation of the Editor as an additional penalty. The Legislature has laid down a certain penalty for a certain offence. That penalty has been exacted, and the offence has been purged. No other publisher whose security was forfeited—and there are many such—has been deported. In fact, for a precedent for Mr. Horniman's deportation we must go back nearly a century when Mr. Silk Buckingham, the Editor of a Calcutta publication, was deported under the orders of the Governor-General of the day for criticising the acceptance of a Government appointment by a clergyman. The public, under the circumstances, cannot help concluding that the fact of Mr. Horniman's being an Englishman has something to do with this exceptional order of deportation passed on him. But, it asks, was Mr. Horniman the only English editor of a newspaper in India addicted to strong language? It sees that there have been and there are others who are no less addicted to it. The only difference is that they employ it adversely to the feelings and aspirations of the Indian people, while Mr. Horniman employed it in support of such feelings and aspirations. The only way in which the feeling in the public mind conveyed by our remark can be dispelled, is by Government publishing a full statement of the reasons which led them to deport Mr. Horniman, in addition to imposing the censorship and forfeiting the security of the *Chronicle*. There cannot ordinarily be three punishments for the same offence under two different enactments. There is only one sentence in the long list of the *Times of India* which can be held to be relevant to the point. The sentence is this: "Finally it should not be forgotten that it was his policy to lead, if he did not inspire, the passive resistance movement which was followed by the most appalling suffering and loss of life and property." Mr. Gandhi, we are sure, will stoutly contest the proposition that Mr. Horniman was the leader, if not the inspirer, of the *satyagraha* movement. The *Chronicle's* sins being punished by forfeiture of security and censorship, and the leadership of the *satyagraha* movement being Mr. Gandhi's, the deportation of Mr. Horniman still remains unaccounted for.

\* \* \* \*

The *Times of India* is merely repeating the official opinion when it says that the Rowlatt Act "can hurt none but those who think they have a right to pursue the methods of anarchy and revolution" and that "no honest journalist has the least fear of the Press Act." These are not the opinions of Indian publicists. For a true idea of Indian opinion regarding the Rowlatt Act, we would refer our readers to the speeches of the Indian members of the Viceroy's Legislative Council and to Sir Narayan Chandavarkar's articles in the columns of the *Times of India* and of this journal, and the extract from his recent



letter to the *Madras Mail* which we reprint to-day. What the *Chronicle* is alleged to have said about that Act is not a whit stronger than what these gentlemen have said and written. The Hon. Mr. Jinnah said in the Legislative Council that the Rowlatt Bill was unworthy of a civilised government. We had ourselves said in our first article on the Rowlatt Bills (January 26): "What the Government seek to do is to meet revolutionary crime by revolutionary legislation abrogating the elementary rights of citizenship in a civilised country. Our feelings towards these revolutionary proposals are scarcely less repugnant than those to the revolutionary crime they are intended to put down." The Press Act is regarded by the vast majority of Indian newspapers as an engine of oppression. In these respects, the *Chronicle* was not guilty of any more heinous offence than we and other Indian publicists have been guilty of. We are not prepared to say and we have never said, that Martial Law was needlessly or prematurely introduced in the Punjab and Ahmedabad. An Indian gentleman from the Punjab published an account of the origin of the disturbances in Amritsar and Lahore which conveyed the impression that the situation could have been saved at the outset without recourse to martial law. His statements are entitled to as much weight as those of any Englishman, official or non-official. But a Government in the position of the Punjab Government has to be supported, however little we may like it, in an emergency like the present one, and only an independent investigation can show how the troubles originated and if they could have been avoided by tactful handling of the situation.

If the *Chronicle* had indulged in a paroxysm of wrath without any more information than was available to the general public, it was certainly wrong and even culpably reckless in so doing. But it is not a penal offence to indulge in a paroxysm of wrath, and if editors are to be deported for that reason, none of us can be safe. And we do not see that it is a very serious offence to say that the Punjab Government was in a mood of wrath and panic. Many people, not exclusively Indians, have a suspicion that the Punjab Government has been over-doing it a bit. We have outlived the divine right of kings, and surely we are not going to be called upon to acknowledge the divine right of Lieutenant-Governors. We are not called upon to defend or justify everything that the *Chronicle* wrote on recent or remote events, and indeed, we had pointed out in our paragraph on the censorship last week that our contemporary was often given to violent language. There are, however, certain occasions when it is a sin to refrain one's tongue or pen from strong words, and the whipping of persons in the public streets of Lahore was one of them. If Mr. Horniman had been put on his trial, the world would have been in a position to know what defence he had to make of his conduct. The verdict of a journal however eminent is not a valid substitute for a verdict of a judge and jury. The defect of deportation as a penal measure is that you do not give the

accused person an opportunity of defending himself. We have acknowledged that, having decided to put an end to Mr. Horniman's activities in this country, the Government of Bombay had chosen the method least restrictive of his liberty. We are even prepared to go so far as to admit that in the present circumstances of the country, there are public dangers attaching to a legal prosecution, probably long-drawn-out, which it may not be wise to risk. But we are not satisfied by the *Times of India's* elaborate indictment, that the deportation is justifiable for the reasons given by our contemporary. We do not seem to be alone in this matter. Mr. B. J. Padshah, the distinguished scholar, educationist and industrial organizer, who had declined to sign a representation on Mr. Horniman's deputation because he did not know the reasons which actuated Government to order it, sent word to the editor of this journal, after reading the *Times of India's* article—and expressly authorized its publication—that if the reasons given therein were all that could be urged in defence of the deportation, he could not help concluding that the deportation was without justification.

**Sedition in Sind:** Several persons have been arrested in Sind for sedition. There have been police searches of the houses of prominent men. We have not been able to account for the difference of policy in these matters between Sind and the rest of the Bombay Presidency. The Sind Press, English and Indian, seem to agree that the thing is being overdone. That is what we infer from the following passage in the leading article in the *New Times of Karachi*, in its issue of the 2nd instant:—"We must congratulate our Anglo-Indian contemporary on speaking the barest truth concerning the present policy of arrests. For the first time the *Daily Gazette* joins hands with the *New Times* in dissipating the local government's illusions concerning 'plots' and 'plotters' in Sind. The *Daily Gazette* does well to advise the authorities to take 'serious thought before they pursue or extend the policy of arresting political agitators lest they defeat their own object of allaying public uneasiness.' The turn of events since the day the first arrest was made should dissipate the delusion and dread of 'sedition' in Sind; 'plotters' are as rare in this Province as serpents in Norway. Even the *Daily Gazette* is constrained to admit that 'wholesale arrests are apt to create the impression that there is a considerable amount of revolutionary or anarchistic agitation in Sind—and for the best of our belief there is none."

**Christian Missions and the Drink Traffic:** We have received a copy of a letter addressed by the Rev. T. D. Sole and the Rev. J. A. Graham D. D., C. I. E., Clerk of the Eastern Himalayan Presbytery, to His Excellency the Viceroy. It is dated the 14th February, and encloses the following resolution adopted at a Meeting of the Eastern Himalayan Presbytery (which represents a Christian community of 7,000 persons) of the Presbyterian Church in India, held at Siliguri on the 25th January 1919, after a full consideration of the moral and economic harm wrought among the people of the District by the use of strong drink:—"It was unanimously resolved to petition the Government of India to follow the great example set by the United States of America by passing a law to prohibit all intoxicants throughout India." We trust all other Christian missions in India will also make representations to Government to adopt total prohibition. India will be grateful to Christian missions for helping her to achieve this great national end.



# THE ROWLAIT ACT TO BE TAUGHT IN SCHOOLS.

(By MR. C. F. ANDREWS.)

To The Editor of the *Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,  
Many years ago I resisted to the utmost of my power the action of the Government of India in promulgating the Risley Circular. That Circular, with its prohibition of any discussion of current political questions in Schools and Colleges, appeared to me to be a direct menace to a liberal education. I pointed out, that it would render the teaching of modern History and Economics impossible and create an atmosphere of hypocrisy and concealment between teacher and taught.

The wheel has indeed come round full circle! On all sides we have evidence of a complete change of front on the part of Government. The authorities no longer desire that no current politics shall be taught in Schools and Colleges, but that only *their own* type of politics shall be taught. There have been ominous signs in Burma—that most docile of all the Provinces—of this political *volte face*, but the latest and most flagrant example comes from the Punjab.

I have in my possession a circular containing two resolutions passed unanimously at a meeting of the Principals of Colleges and Headmasters of High Schools in Lahore on April 21st, 1919. A former Vice-Chancellor of the University, the Rev Dr. Ewing, C. I. E., presided. The following resolutions were passed:—

1. (a) Resolved, that copies of Act No. XI of 1919 (commonly called the Rowlatt Act) together with copies of the Abstract, prepared by the Honourable Mr. Fagan, be distributed in all the Schools and Colleges in Lahore.

(b) That all College Students be directed to read these, and invited to ask questions about anything in the Act they cannot understand, and informed that they are all liable to be called upon for *viva voce* examination on the main features of the Act.

(c) That each Principal and Headmaster arrange for his Staff to meet one of the lawyers, who have volunteered their assistance, and go through the Act with them, in order that they may be able to explain simple difficulties.

(d) That each Headmaster undertake to make his own arrangements that students of the High Classes are informed of the main features of the Act and are examined thereon.

2. Resolved, that this body of Principals and Headmasters meet again a fortnight hence to report progress.

(SIGNED.) E. D. LUCAS.

*Honorary Secretary.*

In order to show the essential unfairness of such pressure being brought upon our Universities and Schools, let us take the political issue involved in the Rowlatt Act itself. As has been pointed out a hundred times by the opposition, the objection does not lie so much in the theory of the Act (it was agreed that in an extreme emergency the theory might be accepted) but in the practice. It was urged with a unanimous voice throughout the country that the danger of even the suggestion of putting new powers into the hands of the executive and the police was too great to risk. That is to say, the opposition was not to the Act *in vacuo*, but to the Act here and now in India,—in India, as we all know it, with its executive high-handedness playing into the hands of an unscrupulous and corrupt police.

To show that this practical objection carries with it the weight of the highest authority, let me quote one passage from the Indian Police Commission's Report, 1902-3:—

"The Commission have received endless narratives of the worries involved in a police investigation. A body of police

comes down to the village and is questioned on it for several days. The principal residents have to dance attendance on the police all day long and for days and days together. Sometimes all the villagers are compelled to be in attendance and inquiries degrading in their character are conducted *coram populo*. Suspects and innocent persons are bullied and threatened into giving evidence they are supposed to possess. The police officer owing to want of detective ability or to indifference, directs his efforts to procure confessions by improper inducements by threats and moral pressure. Actual physical torture is now rarely resorted to; but it is easy, under the conditions of Indian Society and having regard to the character of the people, to exercise strong pressure and great cruelty without having recourse to such physical violence as leaves its traces on the body of its victims."

I have only space for this brief quotation, but page after page of similar evidence might be given from the same report and other authoritative sources. It must also be remembered that the C. I. D., with its own peculiar avenues of bribery and corruption, has been separated off, since 1902-1903, into a new police department. In many ways, owing specially to the vagueness of charges brought forward under the head of 'sedition', the corruption is worse today than it was when the Commission's Report was written.

This police oppression is the daily lot of the common people of India. It enters into every village and hamlet. The evil is universal. Herein lies the principal reason for the immediate instinct of resistance to the Rowlatt Bill among the masses. And who that really knows the country would dare to say that this instinct was mistaken?

But—this is my main point,—throughout all this College and School propaganda in Lahore which is now being encouraged by Government, there will be little or no mention of this vital objection to the Act. The different clauses will be explained by the lawyers; the theory of the Bill will be carefully expounded; the Government view of the case will be advocated; laborious tutoring will be given to show that there is nothing in the details of the Act for loyal and law-abiding citizens to be afraid of. All such things will be done, but the rest will be left untold. The students will probably hear nothing of the practical dangers of adding one more arbitrary power to the Executive, the police and the C. I. D., that is to say, they will be given a wholly one-sided impression.

What is even worse, teachers will be forced to teach, and students will be forced to learn, things which they do not really believe. In consequence of this, sycophancy and hypocrisy will spring up, like weeds in some foul, unwholesome soil. Lip-loyalty will grow rank and fatten itself on deception, while heart-loyalty will wither away and die for lack of moisture. *Viva voce* examinations, carried out under Government pressure, will make the students suspect the very things that the Government is only too obviously anxious that they should believe. The means taken will defeat the end in view.

Every religious or political movement which has attempted to exploit the young by using the schools and colleges as a forcing ground for its own propaganda, has in the end come to naught and retarded, by its own ruinous decay, the upward growth of society. Education is the most sacred citadel of human freedom. When the Government of any country itself attacks that citadel, the call comes to every true citizen to take up arms in its defence.

Yours faithfully,

C. F. ANDREWS.

Delhi.



## THE REV. MR. POPLEY ON THE PRESENT SITUATION.

To the Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*,  
Dear Sir,

The events which have occurred during the last month throughout India must make every Englishman in India think deeply concerning the political development of this country. One thing that has struck us more than anything in the recent disturbances has been the anti-English character of the whole movement, and the fact that a very large number of educated Indians, perhaps the majority, look upon the British Government in India as an alien Government. It is not their own Government in their eyes, and this is undoubtedly the reason which has led many of them to condone the unjustifiable outrages which have been chronicled in the papers during the last few weeks. I have just been reading your leader in the *Indian Social Reformer* of the 20th of April. One cannot help feeling that you are correct in stating that these outbreaks of violence have been helped by the recent action of the Government of India in pushing through legislation against the wishes of practically all those who represent educated Indian opinion. While mob violence must be met by military force, and while at a time of mob violence, it is necessary to entrust the securing of order to the military authorities, it is not possible to rest content with these. Force cannot effect a settlement, but will only lead the way to greater force. If we are to have a real settlement, we have got to go to the causes which lie behind the present troubles. It is probably true that these outbreaks have been engineered by an organization of conspirators who may be working in co-operation with the Bolsheviks of Europe. What makes the situation so desperate however is not this, but the fact that Government has not, and is not receiving, from the educated Indian leaders the whole-hearted support which it would have in a country like England in dealing with such a situation. As long as this state of things remains, so long will it be possible for a few conspirators to upset the whole machinery of Government for periods of time. When however Government receives the whole-hearted support of Indian leaders, then it will be difficult for conspiracies to make their way so successfully as this has done.

I have just been reading an article in "Public Opinion" which goes to the root of the whole question. It takes up the question of Democracy versus Autocracy, and declares that these are the two great political issues of today and that there is no mid-way house between them. The article says, "we are beginning to realise that the conquest of the world for the world's good is as unrighteous as the conquest of the world for the world's destruction". He says, "we long ago repudiated the old doctrine of election to special privilege, but we have widely cherished in its place the doctrine of election to special service. The danger lies, not in assuming a call to service, but such a call as violates the independence of others and puts them beneath us. Even the good of the world is bought too dear at such a price. Democracy is consistent only with the recognition of a universal call."

The events of the past four years have made this issue between democracy and autocracy vital for the whole world. India cannot escape from it. As you point out in your article, during the last four years India did everything she could to help the Empire in this great war. She gave freely of her own men, and gave it in sacrifice, and by so doing she has received from the world's spirit of democracy the ideals for which the Empire fought. We cannot go back on

these. We must go forward. Government by force can never be a solution either in India or in any other country.

One cannot help feeling with you that Anglo-Indian papers which have held up to abuse and to scorn the efforts of Indians to go forward along the path of democracy have been instrumental in creating this anti-English spirit which has shown itself so violently during the last few weeks. The Englishman in India must make it clear that he is here not as an alien seeking to exploit the wealth of the country, but as a citizen, if he wishes to receive the consideration which he claims; even those of us who are missionaries cannot hold ourselves entirely aloof from the politics of India. To quote again from the article mentioned above, "to democratise Christianity, and to Christianise democracy, this is the two-fold duty facing Christians of today and tomorrow. Of all their duties none is more imperative, and more pressing." Christianity is not merely an individual religion, it is a social religion which stands for the principles of equal justice and equal opportunity as well as for the principles of individual welfare and sacrifice. We need all these in India today. The time has come when the English missionary must make clear his belief in these principles as applied to India. Many of us were grateful for the bold stand taken by the late Bishop of Calcutta when he proclaimed these principles from the Cathedral in the merchant City of India. The only way to remove the causes for the deep-seated discontent which has been expressing itself during the last weeks in mob violence is to insist on the whole-hearted application of these principles to the political situation in India. We cannot go back on the path of political progress. We cannot expect the panacea of resolute Government advocated by some papers to be the antidote for such conspiracies. We have seen recently how in England the danger of civil war has been averted not merely by the determination of Government to secure order but by the willingness of Government to meet the reasonable demands of the workers. It has been said in relation to the labour troubles in England that the only remedy is the removal of the suspicion which the workers have that they are being used by the other classes for their own self-interest. We have got to remove the same suspicion in India. Here also, as some one has said in referring to the labour troubles in England, it is not only a question of the present situation, but of a fifty year's history which has justified this suspicion. We have the same thing here in India. There has been very much in the past treatment of India by England, and by Englishmen, to justify the suspicion that she has been exploited for the benefit of England. This suspicion can only be got rid of by making government in India democratic and responsible to the people of India, and we hope that nothing will deter the Government of India or the Parliament of Great Britain from going forward on this path. As one who has lived for many years in the villages of India and who knows both the village people and the educated people in many parts of the country, I have no hesitation in saying that political thought today is not confined to the towns, or to the educated classes. Men are thinking politically in the villages of India, and their thought is not always very complimentary to England. No Government can prevent the circulation of ideas amongst the people and the only hope for a secure and orderly development of Indian political reform lies in a real advance on the path to constitutional Government.

At the same time we, Christians, have the right to claim, and do claim, that anti-Christian propaganda should form no part of political agitation. There has been too much of this in the past and even educated political leaders in India have lent themselves to it far too widely. The result is that many



in the Christian community today in India look with suspicion not upon the British Government, but upon a possible Indian Government. The way Christians have been treated both by the educated and uneducated and the way they are still being treated in many places lends considerable point to this suspicion. Has not the time arrived when Indian political leaders should make it quite clear that they believe in the removal of all social disabilities of Christians or of any who desire to separate from any of the dominant religions of India? A public declaration to this effect by a body like the Congress would go a very long way towards removing the distrust which Christians feel towards a possible Indian Government. It would also remove one of the arguments against advance in responsible Government in this land. I have ventured to put this in, because I know that you, Sir, have always advocated real religious toleration in India.

There is one other thing also which would go a long way to create the right sort of atmosphere needed for responsible Government, and that is for the Brahmins of India and for the different bodies which are representative of them like the Mahamandala Sabha to follow the example of the Samurais of Japan and renounce for ever their claims to privilege instead of continuing to assert, as so many do, their right to a privileged position and the old caste organization. It is no good removing the causes on one side unless we also remove them on the other side. The situation in India today calls for real measures of advance on every hand. It is not enough for the Hindus and Mohammedans to claim advance from the British Government while they themselves remain where they stood centuries ago. It is time this great truth was more widely recognised and acted upon. The social and the political cannot be separated. They are vitally inter-related. Autocracy must go in Government, in society, and in religion, and we must have real liberty that is not simply confined to one or two departments of life.

I trust you will forgive this long letter, but it is not possible to deal with this question unless one looks at it from all sides, and there are many of us both Englishmen and Indians in India today for whom it would be much easier to express their sentiments of sympathy with the aspirations of Indian leaders towards democracy and self-Government, if only Indian leaders would recognise some of the facts of the situation which I have mentioned in this letter. I hope you will be able to publish this in your paper.

Yours faithfully,

H. A. POPLEY.

#### SIR NARAYAN CHANDAVARKAR ON THE ROWLATT ACT.

In the course of a long and closely reasoned letter to the *Madras Mail* on the Rowlatt Act, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar observes:

I think that this is an opportune moment for and no harm can come from emphasising the view that an Ordinance, not a law like the Rowlatt Act, is the appropriate remedy against revolutionary crime. I say the moment is opportune because to meet the present situation the Governor-General has been making Ordinances—and that fact carries the moral against the Rowlatt Act for which I contend.

How that is I will now endeavour to state.

When the Rowlatt Bill was under discussion in the Council, some Indian members proposed amendments to define the term revolutionary and anarchical crime. The member in charge of the Bill declined to accept the amendment; and it was rejected by a majority of votes in the Council. I can well

understand and appreciate the reasons which led the majority to decline to define the crime. Definitions in Acts are often hard nuts to crack and when—especially judges—have to act upon them, they prove embarrassing. This is especially so as regards terms which in these days of rapid events and social, political, and industrial transformation, have to be applied with changed meanings to the actual conditions of crime. Revolutionary and anarchical crime is one of such terms. History is replete with instances of that crime to show how it has changed, as to its methods, from period to period. At present in India, no doubt, we have become familiar with the current and contemporary methods of that crime. Having regard to those methods—namely, the plotting in secret, the strict pledges of secrecy, the murder and terrorising of witnesses, the Police and Judicial officers so as to render the trial of a revolutionary abortive and impossible in a Court of law according to its procedure and the ordinary principles of justice—Mr. Justice Beachcroft and myself in our report on Bengal internments have explained the nature and character of revolutionary and anarchical crime, so as to supply a workable definition. But our definition, such as it is, is founded on the existing methods of that crime, and cannot be said to be exhaustive. But, I apprehend, it is useful as showing that the expression revolutionary and anarchical crime has become, for the purpose of trial of the crime, a term of art, well understood and understandable and, therefore, not requiring a strict legal definition.

That being the meaning and nature of the crime, constitutional lawyers like Blackstone have laid down that in grave emergencies, when such crime becomes a danger to the country, Parliament, as the supreme Legislature of the Empire, should arm the Executive with emergency power, according as the emergency arises, to deal with persons whom the Executive suspect of that crime, without giving reasons. Such power Parliament has already given to the Governor-General by vesting in him the power of making Ordinances in the interests of peace and order. That is a very arbitrary power, but the crime is itself arbitrary.

It has been urged that the Rowlatt Act has this merit to differentiate it from an Ordinance and the Defence of India Act and commend it to the Indian public as a much milder and more judicial and judicious measure than the latter, that it provides certain judicial safeguards, borrowed from the accustomed procedure of an ordinary Court of Justice.

It is this very look of mildness and judicial garb that makes the Act an insidious measure, and therefore more objectionable than an Ordinance or the Defence of India Act.

That statement of my view is apt to seem paradoxical. It is not; and that for the following reasons:—

(1) If revolutionary crime is of a kind, which, on account of its *secret* and *terrorising* methods, makes it impossible to try it according to the recognised judicial principles of law and justice, it is necessary that a measure adopted to combat the crime should present itself in its true light, required by the necessities of the case, as an arbitrary measure, demanded for temporary emergencies. That is the merit of an Ordinance and of the Defence of India Act. They do not pose as and profess to be judicial. They are extreme remedies for extreme cases. If an arbitrary measure is the proper cure for a crime which, unlike ordinary crime, works by extraordinary methods, let the arbitrariness stand out plain as a warning to revolutionaries that they shall have no mercy, and as a satisfaction to the public that an arbitrary measure adopted for emergencies does not stalk abroad as a judicial measure, and that liberty, meaning the liberty of a judicial machinery



is not tampered with so as to lull the public sense. We have the authority of Burke that such "great determined measures, are not commonly so dangerous to freedom because they are marked with too strong lines to slide into use."

(2) When such determined remedies as revolutionary crime calls for in exceptional times assume the garb of a judicial machinery they become what Burke calls "a sort of masked proceeding," cutting away liberty by parts, while professing to safeguard it and "the true danger is when liberty is nibbled away for expedients and by parts."

(3) In India we have become familiar since 1873 with that form of legislation, which while depriving our Courts of Justice of jurisdiction in the trial of certain matters, transferring that jurisdiction to the executive, has invested that jurisdiction with some of the judicial forms. This is the real danger of the Rowlatt Act. I admit, it is what constitutional lawyers would call "a remote and constructive danger"—but Englishmen will understand me when I say that those people alone deserve the safeguard of equal laws and justice, which forms the true temper and tradition of British history, who strive constitutionally, and not by disturbances of peace and order, whether designed or undesigned, to avert remote and constructive dangers.

#### BLACK LISTS WITHDRAWN.

A Government of India Press Communique says: Information has been received from His Majesty's Government that the Allied and Associated Governments have decided that after midnight of April 28th all Black Lists of firms and persons which they have published or compiled shall be withdrawn and that all disabilities attaching to trade and communication with firms or persons on such lists shall cease to operate. The Allied and Associated Governments reserve right to re-introduce all or any of such Black Lists should such action become necessary. The Statutory List and the China and Siam White Lists are accordingly withdrawn with effect from the 29th April 1919.

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THE

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

## CONTENTS.

:o:

The Afghan War.  
The Situation in the Punjab.  
Wanted Vice-Chancellors.  
Another Educational Project.  
Pandit Iswar Chandar  
Vidyasagar's Daughter.  
Indians in the American  
Army.  
A Nagar Brahman Widow.  
Marriage.  
A Prohibited Document.

Karachi's Ignorance of  
Bombay.  
The Draft Peace Treaty.  
The Reform Committee's  
Reports I.  
Trade Control in War Time.  
Mr. Padshah on the Present  
Situation.  
How it Strikes Two Con-  
temporaries.  
Mr. Gandhi on the Bhaga-  
wat Gita.

## NOTES.

:o:

**The Afghan War:** The Afghan War seems to be drawing to an end. The Afghan army has collapsed and the Commander has applied to the Commander of the Indian forces requesting cessation of hostilities. His Excellency the Viceroy has issued a proclamation to the Afghan people, which has been distributed by aeroplanes, pointing out the Government of India's services to the Afghan rulers and people in the past, its solicitude for their independence and prosperity, and the utter futility of their trying conclusions with the British Empire. We trust that this will have immediate effect, and that we shall be able to record next week that the Afghan affair is satisfactorily settled.

**The Situation in the Punjab:** We envy Sir Michael O'Dwyer his capacity for believing in his own infallibility and ascribing all that has gone wrong in his province to the wicked machinations of others. As he happens to be the head of the administration, this is of more than academic interest to those others to whom His Honour attributes his failure to leave Punjab happy and contented. However, he has announced that the last was really his last speech. Several leading men have been arrested and are awaiting their trial. The request of leading Indian daily newspapers for permission to send Mr. Andrews as their Special Commissioner to report on the occurrences in the Punjab, has been met by the Martial Law Administrator forbidding Mr. Andrews to enter that province. A similar prohibition on Counsel from Calcutta who had been engaged to defend the Editor of the *Tribune* in his trial for sedition before the Lahore special tribunal, has been over-ruled by higher authority, and we hope that this will be done in Mr. Andrews' case also. It is absolutely intolerable that he should be subjected to this insult merely because some newspapers asked permission to send him as their representative to investigate the situation in the Punjab.

**Wanted Vice-Chancellors:** The two new Universities of Benares and Mysore seem to be experiencing some difficulty in finding Vice-Chancellors.

Commenting on Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar's resignation of the Vice-Chancellorship of the Benares Hindu University, the *Leader* of Allahabad observes: "Only a few months ago the then Pro-Vice-Chancellor, an educationist of great capacity and experience, also threw up office. For whatever reason it might be, Professor Batheja first, Prof. Nag next and Pandit Manoharlal Zutshi thirdly, left the service of the University in the interval of a little more than a half-year and we learn that Prof. Jadu Nath Sircar is very likely to revert to his post at Patna at the opening of the next session." Our contemporary thinks that the resignation of Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar may be taken to show that all is not for the best in the Hindu University. The *Leader*, while unable or unwilling to fix the blame for the present deplorable state of things on any one in particular, hazards the opinion that the appointment of Principal of the Central Hindu College made last year has not proved happy. Our contemporary concludes by urging Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya to take up the Vice-Chancellorship. It writes: "The University is Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's, he is on the spot, and it is to be hoped that he will be able to pull it through its difficulties. Nothing better can be done than for friends to induce Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya to allow himself to be elected Vice-Chancellor. Whoever else may be brought in, will have to look up to the father and founder of the institution for support, and he alone is in a position to get the funds without which progress cannot be made. It is his ideas that must prevail, as is right and natural, and it is common ground to those who see eye to eye with him and others who are less fortunate, that Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya is the one indispensable man in the University."

It was announced some time back that Dr. Brajendranath Seal, Professor of Philosophy in the Calcutta University, was offered and had accepted the Vice-Chancellorship of the Mysore University in succession to Mr. H. V. Nanjundayya. This has led to a somewhat acrimonious discussion in the Indian press in Bengal, some correspondents contending that Dr. Seal's acceptance of the Vice-Chancellorship of the Mysore University was in some sort of way an act of disloyalty to his own province. There seems, however, to be a general feeling in Bengal that Dr. Seal should continue to give the benefit of his services to his own province and University. The *Indian Messenger* of Calcutta observes: "The fact that Dr. Brajendranath Seal has accepted the Vice-Chancellorship of the Mysore University offered to him for the second time, though in itself an honour to Bengal, has caused a feeling of widespread regret in the province. The *Sanjibani* correctly represents this feeling when it says that Bengal can ill spare a first class man like Dr. Seal. In its opinion his work lies here, not in Mysore which is still in an embryonic stage as regards high education. This general feeling is



reflected in the Senate of the Calcutta University which far from accepting his resignation has unanimously resolved at the motion of Sir Ashutosh Mukerjee to do everything in its power to secure the retention of Dr. Seal's services to the University." Apart from the merits of this controversy, we think that the Vice-Chancellor should always be one who has had previous experience as member of the Senate and the Syndicate of a University. Both the Benares and Mysore Universities are new Universities, and may not have men in their Senates qualified for the Vice-Chancellorship. In that case, they should go to the Universities with which they are most closely connected for their Vice-Chancellors. Sir Sivaswami Aiyar will do admirably as Vice-Chancellor of the Mysore, and Dr. Seal, perhaps, of the Benares University. It should also be borne in mind that the Vice-Chancellor is the administrative head of the University and while, of course, it is most desirable that he should be a scholar of repute or, at any rate, one with a feeling for scholarship, a scholar, pure and simple, however eminent, need not necessarily prove a successful Vice-Chancellor.

**Another Educational Project:** The growing dissatisfaction with the present official system of education in this country is exemplified by such institutions as the Gurukula at Kangri, the Shantiniketan at Bolpur, the Women's University at Hingne Badruk, and Mrs. Besant's National Education Scheme. The *Behar Herald* calls attention to another project, the proposed *Acharyasram* at Rikhia. The *Acharyasram*, writes our contemporary, will be a residential school, in which it is intended that the students should live in close association with their teachers. At present only students between the ages of seven and twelve will be taken into the institution. The idea is to give the students a thoroughly sound moral and religious training and special attention will be given to the formation of character. On the intellectual side, the course includes the usual school curriculum. All instruction will be given through the medium of Bengali. The students will also be trained in agriculture, cattle-tending, and in such technical art as spinning, weaving, carpentry, book-making and rope-making. Accommodation will be found for boys of all castes in the pale of Hindu society, and the students will have to live simple strenuous lives. The place selected viz., Rikhia, is situated six miles to the north of the town of Deoghar, and is an exceedingly healthy one. Among the promoters and organisers of this institution are such distinguished men as the Hon'ble Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nandi, Mr. C. R. Das, Mr. P. R. Das and Babu Kumar Krishna Datta. Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nandi will be President for life of the council or governing body of the institution.

**Pandit Iswar Chandar Vidyasagar's Daughter:** "We are distressed to learn" writes the *Indian Mirror* of Calcutta, "that a daughter—a widow—of the late illustrious Pundit Iswar Chander Vidyasagar is in dire pecuniary distress. All honour to the educated Bengalee ladies who are raising funds to help her in her monetary troubles. Contributions should be sent to Mrs. K. B. Dutt, 39, Ram Mohan Dutt Road, Bhowanipur, to Lady Doctor Miss Bidhu Mukhi Bose, Hurri Ghose's Street, and to Mrs. A. P. Sen, 10-1, Lansdowne Road. We are sure the appeal will evoke a generous response from all quarters." It is the duty and the privilege of every Indian social reformer to respond generously to this appeal on behalf of a daughter of the great Pandit who never spared any sacrifice for the cause of social reform, especially the remarriage of widows, which he had so closely at heart.

**Indians in the American Army:** The *Modern Review* for May has the following editorial paragraph: "In our last issue we made a mistake in saying that Duggu Ram was the only Hindu in the United States Army. Mr. R. Ahmed, D. D. S. points out that there are more. He has sent us a copy of *Young India* (for August 1918) which is published monthly by the India Home Rule League of America from 1400 Broadway, New York. In this magazine there is an incomplete list of the men who adopted Uncle Sam's uniform and fought for the war aims of the United States. This list contains the following 15 names: Ahmad Ali, K. C. Kerwell, D. N. Mitra, Amulya Mukerji, S. A. Mullah, M. K. Pandit, K. H. Patel, R. D. Shelke, C. L. Singh, Devi Singh, Iswar Singh, Haqiga Singh, Karm Singh, Sher Singh, Lab Singh Tehara. To these Mr. R. Ahmed adds the names of Lieut. Dhiren Roy, Lieut. B. Sharma and Chandra Singh. It is to be noticed that some of our boys got commissions, too, in the U. S. Army. Considering that there are only about 125 Hindu students (any native of India, Hindu or Musalman or of any other sect, is called Hindu in America) in the American Universities, those of them who volunteered for fighting for the "world's freedom" do not form a negligible proportion."

**A Nagar Brahman Widow-Marriage:** A correspondent writes:—Mr. Kunjvihar Gopila Dhru a Vadnagara Nagar Grihastha of Ahmedabad was married on the 12th May 1919 at Jamnagar to Surama (alies) Suraj grand-daughter of Mr. Bapubhai Jadav Ray Mazmudar of Junagadh and belonging to the same caste. Surama had become a widow at the age of twelve, her age is at present twenty two. Mr. Bapubhai is a Barrister-at-Law and is Chief Judge at Jamnagar. He got his widowed daughter remarried last year and the remarriage of his grand daughter followed in the wake. He gave away the bride. The marriage was celebrated according to Hindu rites. Mr. Kunjvihar is aged 26. He is a grandson of the late Sardar Rao Bahadur Bholanath Sarabhai who was one of the great pioneers of Social Reform in Gujarat."

**A Prohibited Document:** It is notified by the Government of Bombay that a document purporting to be a Farman issued by the Amir of Afghanistan and beginning with the words "I send this order" and ending with the words "God be with you" has been transmitted to India. This document is a prohibited document within the meaning of Rule 25 A of the Defence of India (Consolidation) Rules 1915, and any person having it or a translation of it in his possession or under his control in the circumstances described in sub-section (2) of the above rule, is liable, on conviction, to be punished with imprisonment which may extend to 3 years and is also liable to fine.

**Karachi's Ignorance of Bombay:** The *New Times* of Karachi says: "At a meeting of the Punjab University Senate on May 3 Miss Holmer of Delhi took her seat as a fellow. She is the first lady to be made a fellow of any University in India." For years past there have been women Fellows in the Senate of the Bombay University. Mrs. Anderson and (Dr.) Miss Benson were Fellows for several years. Mrs. Carmichael and (Dr.) Mrs. Dadabhai are now Fellows. Our Karachi contemporary should really learn something of Bombay affairs.



# INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, MAY, 18, 1919.

## THE DRAFT PEACE TREATY.

On January 18, 1871, King William of Prussia was proclaimed German Emperor at Versailles. That was the birth of the German Empire. At the same place, on February 26 of the same year the preliminaries of peace between the newly-formed Empire and France were signed. On the 7th May, 1919, at the same place, again, the draft treaty of peace was handed to the German delegates by the representatives of the Allies and the nations associated with them in the present war which has seen the end of the German Empire, as it was founded 48 years ago. The personal details of the consummation of a nemesis so dramatic and so complete arrest even minds inclined to regard the story as the interplay of shadow and sunshine on the mountain side. Count Brockdorff Rantzau, the head of the German delegation, was visibly affected when he arrived at the Trianon Palace on the 28th April. The 7th May was the day fixed for the presentation of the draft Peace Treaty. M. Clemenceau opened the sitting and in the course of his speech said that the time had come to settle accounts. Everything, added the French Premier, would be done with courtesy, but this second treaty of Versailles had cost them too much not to take all necessary precautions and guarantees that the peace would be a lasting one. While M. Clemenceau's speech was being translated into English, Lord Balfour, Secretary General of the Conference, quietly walked across to the Germans and handed to Count Brockdorff Rantzau, who rose to receive it, the bulky khaki-bound volume containing the text of the draft treaty. The Count followed M. Clemenceau, speaking in German, without rising from his seat. The explanation given by his Secretary of this discourtesy, which was much commented upon, is characteristic. The Count, he says, spoke at the Peace Conference seated because he was master of his voice and not of his knees, and was afraid he would be unable to stand. The Count admitted that Germany was completely defeated and the power of her arms broken, but he maintained that she was not solely responsible for the war. He urged that all European nations shared the guilt as the Imperialism of all the European states for the past fifty years had poisoned the international situation. He was likewise ready to confess the guilt as regards the war crimes. He repeated the declaration of the Reichstag in 1914 that wrong had been done to Belgium and they were willing to repair it. He pleaded that the crimes of the war were due to the conscience of the peoples ignited by passion and declared that the non-combatants who perished since 11th November, owing to the blockade, were killed with cold deliberation. He demanded an impartial inquiry to apportion the war guilt and declared they were not wholly unprotected as the Allies were pledged to the Treaty upon President Wilson's fourteen points which the whole world supported. Germany was committed to the reconstruction of Belgium and Northern France,

but the worst method would be the using of German war prisoners therefor owing to the hatred it would arouse. He added: "Without an immediate solution of this question we cannot come to a durable peace." Concluding, he urged that all must join the League of Nations and said that the Treaty would be examined in a spirit of goodwill.

### THE TERMS.

The draft Peace Treaty is designed to establish those international arrangements which the Allies have devised for the prevention of war in future and the betterment of mankind, and to set forth the conditions upon which the Allied and Associated Powers will make peace with Germany. Thus it is a treaty among the Allied and Associated Powers embodying, among other things, a treaty with Germany. The Covenant of the League of Nations and the International Labour Convention are thus an integral part of the new arrangements. The main features of the League of Nations were indicated in a leading article in the *Reformer* of the 23rd February. The only point to be noted here is that the clause relating to the equality of all nations of the League, which was proposed by Japan, was subsequently withdrawn by her in deference to the wishes of the other Powers and does not find a place in the Covenant. The question is left to be decided by the League of Nations. As the very idea of such a League presupposes the equality of all its members, the omission to adopt the Japanese proposal, like Caesar's pageant shorn of Brutus' bust, does but remind us the more of the disabilities of the non-white races in a scheme designed to ensure international peace. If the white races persist in their attitude, the question of a convention of the non-white peoples must force itself to the front. At the same time, we think that the movement for the recognition of equality should begin with the universities, the intellectual, cultured and and commercial sections of the communities concerned, and spread gradually to the rest of the population. From this point of view, we are glad to see a provision in the International Labour Convention against the automatic application of the conditions of factory labour in the west to countries in the orient. The treaty with Germany begins by defining the geographical boundaries of the new German commonwealth. The frontier with France is that of 18th July 1870 with a reservation regarding the Saar. Elsewhere, Germany makes over territory to the new State of Poland and in a smaller measure in various other directions. Germany renounces her colonies and interests outside Europe. The military terms provide for the demobilisation of the German armies and the imposition of other military restrictions within two months of the signing of the Treaty as a first step, it is said, towards international disarmament. There shall be no conscription and the total strength of the German army should not exceed 100,000. The number of warships which Germany can retain is similarly limited the total exclusive personnel of her navy being fixed at the maximum of 15,000. Germany is not allowed to include any military or naval air-craft forces in her



defensive equipment. Allied and Associated troops will occupy German territory west of the Rhine for fifteen years as guarantee for the execution of the terms of the treaty. The Allies publicly arraign the ex-Emperor William II "for a supreme offence against international morality and the sanctity of treaties." The Emperor's surrender is to be asked for from the Dutch Government and a special tribunal is to be set up consisting of one judge from each of the five Great Powers. The tribunal is to be guided by the highest principles of international policy and is to have the duty of fixing whatever punishment it thinks should be imposed. A Reparation and Repatriation Commission will be appointed and it will sit in Paris to decide how much Germany can pay and in what manner, in addition to £ 5000 millions sterling to be paid before 1926. Such are some of the principal clauses of the Draft Treaty.

#### THEIR RECEPTION IN GERMANY.

That the Germans should regard these terms as intolerably severe, was to be expected. The German Prime Minister, Herr Schiedmann, considers them as nothing less than a sentence of death for Germany. The German Government have issued a proclamation denouncing the peace terms as unbearable and impracticable. On the Allies' side, there is no disposition to minimise the severity of the Peace conditions. The French feeling is voiced in the sentence from M. Clemenceau's opening speech which we have quoted. Germany did not show any the least consideration for the interests or susceptibilities of France in 1871, and has no right to expect that France would show her any, now that the wheel of fortune has turned full circle. Even England whose most distinguishing characteristic is moderation in the hour of triumph, does not speak of moderation in the case of Germany. The English press almost unanimously insists on stringent terms, and some of the papers think that the conditions of the draft treaty leave some loop-holes which should be stopped. Even the Liberal and Labour papers which plead for less severity do so, not out of consideration for Germany, but for fear that excessive severity may defeat its own ends. We have only a meagre indication of the opinion of the American press on the Peace terms, but the Germans seem to have some expectations in that direction. President Wilson's influence has been largely that of a moderator, but he has made it clear that too much should not be expected of him. He is far more interested in the League of Nations part of the Peace Treaty than in the details of the conditions exacted of Germany. Speaking at the International Law Society in Paris, he said that one of the things which disturbed him in recent months was the unqualified hope men entertained everywhere of immediate emancipation from the things that hampered and oppressed them. "We must see," said the President, "that those who hope were not disappointed by showing them the processes by which hope must be realized, the processes of law and the slow disentanglement from many things that bound the people in the past. The habits of society must be slowly altered and adapted." These are wise and

weighty words. In ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, it will be found that what stands in the way of the emancipation of men and nations is something within and not something without themselves. They are not equal to making the necessary effort of will and so adopt the easy, and futile, course of throwing the blame on others. The story of the prisoner who after many years in prison, was astonished one day to find that he had merely to push lightly to open the doors in order to be a free man, and that there was no one to bar his way, embodies a moral for men and nations. Thou shalt know the truth, and the truth will set thee free, is an ancient version of *Satyagraha*. What, however, is of importance at the moment is that the Empire which had applied all the resources of science and system to perfect its policy of military domination of the world, has been laid in the dust. Acton concluded his lecture on "Peter the Great and the Rise of Prussia" with these prophetic words: "Reformation and counter-Reformation have pushed religion to the front: but after two centuries the original theory, that Government must be undivided and uncontrolled, began to prevail. It is a new type, not to be confounded with that of Henry VIII., Philip IV., or Lewis XIV., and better adapted to a more rational and economic age. Government so understood is the intellectual guide of the nation, the promoter of wealth, the teacher of knowledge, the guardian of morality, the mainspring of the ascending movement of man. That is the tremendous power, supported by millions of bayonets, which grew up in the days of which I have been speaking at Petersburg, and was developed, by much abler minds, chiefly at Berlin; and it is the greatest danger that remains to be encountered by the Anglo-Saxon race." That danger is now past: both Russia, the originator, and Germany, the adept pupil, are in a state of chaos. The League of Nations is the distinctive contribution of America and Great Britain to the future of humanity, and it is an indication that the English speaking world intends to use its hard-won freedom from the German menace to good purpose.

#### THE REFORM COMMITTEE'S REPORTS. I

##### THE FRANCHISES.

The Montagu-Chelmsford scheme proposed the enlargement of the Provincial and Indian Legislative Councils; the creation of a Council of State as a sort of second chamber to the Indian Legislature, and the transfer of some subjects of provincial administration to Ministers chosen from among the elected members of the Legislative Councils. The task of making recommendations regarding the details of these reforms, such as the size of electorates, the qualifications of the electors and the constitution of the Councils, and also the subjects to be transferred to Ministers, was left for investigation by two Committees. These Committees, presided over by Lord Sonthborough and Mr. Feetham respectively, conducted their enquiries during the last cold weather, and the



reports together with the despatches of the Government of India thereon were received by us on Friday. To take the report of the Franchise Committee first, we wish at once to record our emphatic protest against the proposal to disqualify women. We are surprised to see that Mr. Hogg was the only member of the Committee who dissented from this reactionary recommendation. We certainly expected Mr. Srinivasa Sastry to do the same. Mr. Surenranath Banerji was almost incoherent in his opposition to women suffrage in this country. This defection of the Moderates in the Committee cannot but alienate the sympathy of educated Indian women but, we hope, they will not think that the only other alternative is to turn extremists. The Government of India have, of course, endorsed the Committee's proposal, but we are glad that Sir Sankaran Nair accepts the view of Mr. Hogg that the sex disqualification should be removed from the outset. The arguments with which the Committee have supported their proposal are absolutely unsound. We shall return to the subject again. But we wish to take this the first opportunity we have of writing on the report, to express our disappointment at and disapproval of this recommendation of the Franchise Committee and its endorsement by the Government of India.

The Committee's general proposals for the franchise are based upon the principle of residence within the constituency, and the possession of certain property qualifications as evidenced by the payment of land revenue, rent or local rates in rural areas, and of municipal rates in urban areas, and of income tax generally. In one case only would the Committee make an exception, namely, that of retired and pensioned officers of the Army. The Government of India dissent from this proposal on the ground that this will carry politics into the Indian Army. We are sure that the general opinion in the country will be in favour of the Committee's proposal to confer the franchise on this most deserving class of men. The interests of Indian soldiers are not at present represented in the Legislative Councils. These retired officers will be able to speak with first-hand knowledge and, therefore, with authority on the wants and aspirations of our soldiers who are as much citizens as all other Indians. We are glad that the Committee have taken a wider view of communal electorates than the distinguished authors of the joint report. In addition to Mahomedans and Sikhs, they have recognised the claims of Indian Christians, Europeans and Anglo-Indians to such electorates in those provinces in which the strength and importance of these communities justify this special treatment. Indian Christians of Madras, Europeans in all provinces except the Punjab, the Central Provinces and Assam, and Anglo-Indians in Madras and Bengal, are considered eligible for communal electorates. The Committee, however, were not able to see their way to give special representation to non-Brahmins and the depressed classes, defects which we are glad to see the Government of India propose to rectify. We strongly support the

arguments of the Government of India in favour of giving the depressed classes more adequate representation than that suggested by the Franchise Committee. As regards the non-Brahmins of Madras, though we do not agree with all the grounds urged by the Government of India, we are entirely in favour of their suggestion to reserve a moiety of the seats of the general electorates in Madras for non-Brahmins, allowing Brahmins and non-Brahmins to contest the remaining seats without restriction. We had ourselves suggested that something of the kind should be done in the case of the Marathas in Bombay, and we hope this will be done. The new era cannot be assured of a full measure of success unless we do every thing possible to start our reform scheme so as to secure the goodwill of all classes of the population. By the side of this important requirement, mere academical arguments are of no value. The example of the Mahomedans clearly and conclusively shows that communal electorates have not had the effect feared of widening the differences between Hindus and Mahomedans. There is every reason to hope that in the case of the other communities the result will not be different.

Speaking of Mahomedan communal electorates, we appreciate the reasons advanced by the Government of India, notwithstanding the dissent of the Home Member, for adhering to the Moslem League—Congress compact regarding the proportion of Mahomedan seats to be allotted in the Legislative Councils in each of the provinces. "The Congress League compact," they observe, "is an accomplished fact and a land-mark in Indian politics which we cannot possibly ignore. The last thing that we desire is to belittle the importance or significance of concord between the two parties upon so highly controversial a subject. The difficulty with which the agreement was reached is a measure of the earnest efforts made to attain it; and those efforts imply on behalf of the larger community at least a subordination of their immediate interests to the cause of unanimity and united political advance which we should be sorry to appear to undervalue." The Government of India proceed to point out that since the compact was made, there has been some reaction against it. Several of the more conservative Muslim associations of the Punjab are ill-content with the measure of representation assigned to them, while a large section of Bengali Mahomedans repudiate the agreement altogether and have besought Government not to give effect to it. "Nevertheless," they say, "the Muhammadan community as a whole has not disavowed the action of the League. Organised Hindu political opinion stands by the action of the Congress. We feel, like Lord Southborough's committee, that the compromise, whatever may be its defects, is not one that we ought to reopen, and that it would be a poor recognition of the genuine efforts that have been made in the cause of unity if we were to throw this very difficult problem into the melting-pot again." After this, one would think that Government will not attempt to



alter the terms of the compact which, however it was arrived at, represents, to our mind, the real equities of the case. But, no. The Government of India proposes to give 10 seats more to Bengal Mahomedans than that agreed upon in the Lucknow compact. We do not think that the number in itself is important, but a principle is involved in the proposal. To our knowledge, many Hindus have adhered to the terms of the compact feeling all the time that they were not quite just to the other communities. It remains for Mahomedan leaders to decide whether they will adhere to the terms of the compact which, of course, has to be taken as a whole, or whether they will take advantage of the temptation thrown in their way by the Government of India's proposal to add ten more Mahomedan seats in the Bengal Legislative Council to the number fixed by the Lucknow compact.

With regard to the qualifications of candidates, we wish once again to urge what we have repeatedly urged before, namely, that there should be no residential restriction. The Committee have recommended, and the Government of India have accepted, the imposition of such a restriction in some provinces. Madras and Bengal are to be exempted. The only argument we have heard advanced in favour of this restriction is that it will not do to encourage the carpet-bagger. This is really rather abuse than argument. But in any case what is right in Madras and Bengal cannot be wrong in Bombay and the Punjab. While it is necessary to vary details with reference to the conditions of each province, it is hardly wise to introduce distinctions merely from a vague distrust of uniformity. The Montagu-Chelmsford report insisted on the importance of doing away with indirect elections. The Committee nevertheless recommend the continuance of special electorates such as landholders and Chambers of Commerce. The Government of India, we are astonished to see, agree to the retention of these electorates but object to the Universities sending representatives to the Legislature. The English Universities have been given increased representation in Parliament in the recent expansion of the electorates. The Government of India object to University representation on the ground—the same as that urged against conferring the franchise on retired Indian army officers—that it will carry politics into academic circles. In the remarkable address which Dr. Sadler delivered at the Bombay University, he said he would be happy to see new conditions as to tenure and new methods of appointment adopted in the case of teaching universities and their constituent institutions, “mainly on the ground that India would gain by the presence of bodies of scholars holding high positions in the educational world and at liberty to express publicly (with the moderation and circumspection which every teacher should observe) their convictions on questions of public policy thus strengthening the forces of independent educated opinion in this country.” The Government of India's point of view is the very reverse of this. We trust that the Secretary of State, will not lend countenance to a suggestion so retrograde and prejudiced.

## TRADE CONTROL IN WAR TIME.

In the course of the last year or more the Government of India have put into operation more than one measure of control devised for the purpose of meeting inconvenient developments in civil life arising out of war conditions. We do not know whether they were closely modelled on any ready-made plans in operation in England; but it may be remarked that they are all open to the criticism that they have been behind time or inept or both. We may consider to begin with, the question of gold coin. The king's coin is not ordinarily an article of trade; but in the peculiar circumstances brought about by the dislocation of commerce and currency, sovereigns began to be bought and sold in the bazar; quotations were being given in the English papers; and speculative transactions ending in adjustment of differences were daily taking place. Government however kept looking on until the price rose to Rs. 19 and then suddenly promulgated an order under the Defence of India Act making all such transactions criminal with the result that a number of people lost money and a Marwari speculator broke down; but the matter closed there without leaving a legacy of serious trouble—which is more than can be said of the other measures to be immediately referred to.

We may take the control of cloth. Prices of cloth all over the country rose not by the legitimate operations of trade which carried goods into consumption but by mere speculation in the most approved share-bazar fashion. Paper contracts for identical goods passed through half a dozen hands and more in succession, while the goods remained sealed up and went on accumulating in the godown of the selling importer or his buyer; the deceptive rise in prices enabled manufacturers both in India and in Lancashire to demand and obtain higher and higher rates for further supplies; and the higher quotations in their turn goaded on speculation to rampancy and brought about a vicious circle. The pitch to which prices at last rose made serviceable stuff unobtainable by the humbler classes. Government could not have been unaware of what was happening as, besides general sources of information, they must have been in touch with the continuous daily record of market rates on the files of the Collectors of Customs at the Docks; but here again they looked on for two years and more until positive distress led to disturbances in places as late as 1918, when on the enactment of the Cotton Cloth Control Act the whole situation changed suddenly as by a wave of the magician's wand. The mere fact that the Controller appointed by Government under the Act held in reserve the power to commandeer looms and put their cheap production on the market, proved effective in the manner of the rehabilitation of credit, and has been described in the following words: “The immediate effect of the steps taken by the Government of India was a heavy fall in the piece-goods market. The cloth utilized by the poorer classes dropped from slightly under Rs. 4 per lb. to less than Rs. 1-2-0 per lb., that is lower



than the equivalent of raw cotton. Consequently the need for the introduction of special measures of price control temporarily vanished and the Cotton Cloth Controller issued a communique stating that his powers for requiring production of standard cloth would not be exercised unless circumstances again necessitated them." In spite of ordinary market fluctuations this general position continues as described; yet few people outside the trade need be aware that there is any machinery of Cloth Control in existence. This smooth working, to our mind, is the best testimony to the adaptation of the right means to the end but let it not be supposed that the harm done by the delay in its introduction has been as negligible as in the case of deals in sovereigns. The daily advertisement of auctions of goods on account of defaulting buyers and the enormous number of suits—said to be about 2500—pending in the High Court are an aftermath which cannot be contemplated with equanimity. Timely action would have obviated all these troubles besides serving the convenience of people who were hard hit in its absence.

The latest measure of control is also the most important one as it relates to the first necessary of life viz. food stuffs. We have not quite been able to understand the action of Government in introducing throughout the country complicated machinery for preventing free movement of Rangoon rice, for instance. Judging from reports the supplies in Burma have been far from short; export out of India has been practically prohibited expressly with a view to meet the country's internal requirements; and yet the Government—whether in India or in England makes no difference in the result—have failed to make the requisite tonnage under their exclusive control available in time to relieve the shortage here months after the war has ended. We are not aware that the rice-eating population of India, or any other part of the world with a claim on India, has increased; and yet we are feeling a pinch the like of which was not experienced even in the famine of 1899-1900 which was admittedly the most devastating of recent years; and it required the scene in the Controller's office, and the subsequent criminal complaint, to awaken Government from their habitual torpor even in so vital a matter. We are anxious to know why it should be necessary to prevent the free movement of food-stuffs in the country itself when no such device was considered needful in 1899-1900. Moreover have Government nothing to learn from their own measures relating to cloth control? The drop in prices in the piece-goods bazar did not wait till the Cloth Control Act was passed, and the machinery under it was elaborated; the simple information that such a Bill was about to be introduced into the Council, and cloth at cheap price would be put on the market, immediately started the fall. We must recognize, of course, that Government cannot create new supplies of food-stuff as speedily as of cloth. But they have been able to add to them partly by importation, and they might, perhaps, be able to do more in that direction. There is also a persistent rumour that Government have bought up huge supplies of rice which are

not bring freely parted with. Any one reading between the lines of the reply given in the Viceroy's Council can see that the separate store of the military authorities is also in excess of all requirements and they ought to release a reasonable quantity for the civil population. We have not seen the figures of food-stuffs, of which Government have taken a census; and we cannot say in what way they have been used to justify the existing methods of control; but we think that if Government devote any systematic attention to seeing that the fixed sale prices are not exceeded in preference to preventing movement, the object aimed at can probably be achieved with far less friction, trouble and expense than is now incurred. As there cannot be two sale prices for the same stuff in a market it is important to make the fixed sale price really effective, and if this is done other restrictions must be superfluous. Hoarding, if resorted to by merchants by way of evasion of sale measures, cannot be difficult to remedy and cannot last long.

Since the above was written we have seen a press note which has recognized the importance of seeing that goods are available at the proper price and are not hoarded.

RAMBLER.

#### MR. PADSHAH ON THE PRESENT SITUATION\*

##### I.

On the morrow of the events at Amritsar, I strongly felt and strongly expressed my feeling that Indian gentlemen should invite Government to call for a guard of special Indian constables under command of British officers in each particular centre of disturbance for general protection. The proposition went no further because Sir George Lloyd addressed the citizens of Bombay desiring leading Indian men to get together and speak their minds through any constitutional channels on all grave political issues.

I was disappointed that no expression had so far been given to the aversion which all thinking men feel for the precipitation of political decisions by measures of violence.

I am not a student of political affairs and I do not follow events consecutively. Up to the end of last week, my impression was that all the violence was on the part of those who wanted to defeat Government measures and that was scarcely fair to Government motives. I kept this impression in spite of the fact that, generally speaking, I am persuaded that all Governments are blunderers, that sometimes they use force without need and that usually they use force in excess of the need.

Circumstances required me to consult Mr. Jinnah about the present position of the *Bombay Chronicle*, and after a four hours' interview I felt I could not retain my old impressions unmodified.

I came to the conclusion that the officials of the Government of India had shown temper and obstinacy equally with the Indian leaders with regard to the Rowlatt Bill. I do not believe that the majority of

\* These are excerpts from a communication which Mr. B. J. Padshah has addressed to a correspondent, and which he has been good enough to place at our disposal. Ed. I.S.R.



the Indian members of the Council wished to dispute that exceptional disorders had prevailed before and they had to be met with exceptional measures and that the Defence of India Act had been salutary in dealing with those disorders. The difference between Government and the Indian leaders was of the slightest. Indian leaders claim that, in their judgment, the necessity for exceptional measures had passed away. I think they were ready to assure the passage of exceptional measures rapidly when needed. I understand that they went so far as to require delay of this particular measure only till September next to obtain the views of Local Governments. The Defence of India Act would not have expired before then. Government had all the powers they wanted and if they had shown a conciliatory spirit towards the views of the Indian members, who had also to adjust themselves to uninformed or misinformed Indian public opinion, then I believe Government would have had all the powers they ever needed with the moral authority of the bulk of Indian public opinion behind them. Government would then have dealt with the remainder with ease and without embarrassment.

It does not follow that the Indian leaders were right in resisting the Bill because Government did not use sufficient conciliation. As far as I am advised I think the need for the Bill is completely proved, but even if it had not been, I should have considered it a shocking expression of public opinion to meet the passage of the Act with such organized disorders as the event showed, and, therefore, I am still ready to voice this sentiment if people wish to associate themselves in such general expression.

## II.

The conversation with Mr. Jinnah further revealed to me that there is no excuse whatever now for the continuance of the censorship of the *Bombay Chronicle*, that the presence of this censorship prevents the publication of the *Chronicle*, and the non-publication of the paper inflames public opinion. The one-sided distribution of news is never convincing. Take my own case. I had made up my mind that the Egyptian leaders in precipitating the recent disorders were wrong. I knew four distinct sets of Egyptian grievances and I had sympathised with nationalist Egyptian opinion in making grievances of those four items. But, as there must be some proportion between the grievance and the reaction against it, I was prepared to condemn the violent reaction in Egypt against the valid grievances. What was my surprise when I read in the "Nation" of March 29th the statement about the forcible drafting of the Fellahin into the Egyptian Army, the bad treatment, including lashing, administered to them, and the upheaval caused by the return of these badly-treated soldiers to their own country! How do we know that similar things have not taken place in the Punjab? A censored press would not give decisively correct news, and Governments generally, nor the British Government of India, cannot claim that they would not keep back anything from the public mind which would modify their impression in favour of Government.

The present Egyptian troubles give indications of more than mere presumptions. The last mail brings a letter to the *Daily News* of Miss M. E. Durham, a distinguished publicist to whom I owed many intimations of truth in the Balkan Peninsula. She served in one of the War canteens of Egypt and had the means of observing the behaviour of colonial troops towards the educated Egyptians and uneducated servants at the canteens, and she declares her bitter shame for her country from what she witnessed.

If, therefore, the Egyptians are wrong in the expression of their reaction against shameful conditions, the Government of Egypt can claim no presumption that their methods have always been conciliatory and worthy.

## III.

The views Mr. Jinnah put before me, which convinced me of the absolute needlessness of the censorship of the *Bombay Chronicle*, have been also before the Government of Bombay, and before His Excellency the Governor personally, and the fact that the censorship still continues is to me proof positive either of the incompetency of the Government or of want of a conciliatory spirit. They have the strength and have the means to show it. Law and order are to be restored by implanting fear for the British Government and not on an understanding by free discussion of its merits. Frankly, I consider that law and order can be restored much more rapidly by greater conciliation, and the present policy, though not as yet inhumane, is really stupid.

When the *Times of India* gave the case for Mr. Horniman's deportation, I said to myself, "Mr. Horniman and his writings are not exactly sweet scented, but is deportation the necessary remedy for these shortcomings? Could not something less have sufficed? Was it necessary to couple deportation with censorship? Would the censorship by itself have been inadequate? Was even the censorship necessary? Would not a public order to the Board of warning that a censorship would be imposed unless the paper omitted writings of an inflammatory character, have sufficed?" In my own mind, I am sure that it would have, and, therefore, I think it is up to Government now to justify the order for the deportation of Mr. Horniman, if they wish to maintain their character for preference of conciliation over a show of force.

## HOW IT STRIKES TWO CONTEMPORARIES

We give below two extracts representing two views of the present situation. The first is from the *Kaukab-i-Hind*, or *Star of India*, an Urdu-English periodical published by the Method Publishing House, Lucknow. The second is from *The World and New Dispensation*, the English weekly organ of the Brahmo Samaj of India, published in Calcutta. Verily, the eye sees what it brings with it the mean of seeing.

Incidentally, as the Brahmo Samaj of India which follows Keshab Chander Sen's New Dispensation goes very near Christianity in its view of Jesus



Christ, the two quotations many serve as an index of the different results produced on the minds of the professing Christian and the professing non-Christian writers by the contemplation of the life of Christ Jesus.

(The *Kaukab-I-Hind*.)

India has not escaped the wave of discontent and anarchy. The Rowlatt Bill is really not the sole cause of the recent troubles in India. Western education is to blame a great deal for it. Every youth who becomes a graduate thinks himself equal to any other man. Many become pleaders and a few going to England and come back as Barristers. When in England, they are made too much of and invited to many homes. In India the conditions are altogether different, and thus this class of people are dissatisfied. Not only these, but many other influential persons delight in attributing every evil and trouble that befalls India to the Government. A little stiffness on the part of some official is made too much of. Some of the 1st and 2nd Class European passengers are to blame a great deal for their behaviour towards Indian passenger of the same class. Some of the subordinate grade railway employees are also very impolite and impertinent if any complaint is made to them. But why is the Government to blame for the sins of every offending person! Justice is meted out to the culprits when brought to the notice of the Government. The prosperity and the condition of India to-day is 50 times better than it was in the times of the Mohammedan or Hindu rulers. There are some very able and learned leaders in both the Hindu and Mohammedan communities, no one can deny, but the time has not come yet, when the interests of one community could be entrusted to the leaders of the other community. The Muslims must have their separate electorates and special privileges, to show a united front the Hindus have given way in many things to them. There are other communities in India, whose existence these two communities hardly recognise. Government also seems slow to feel that besides the two great communities there are others that exist in India, and they can not become a part of either of the two communities.

The motive of the recent troubles is very hard to grasp. The whole thing is not the result of a day or a week's manœuvring. It looks the whole thing was well organized and arranged before-hand. Government machinery is slow to move but under martial law it is moving fast. Some of the ring-leaders in Lahore have already been found guilty and punished, and many others will probably be dealt with accordingly. But what about the real instigators? The men who keep behind the scenes to save their skin, are the real cause of all troubles. Some of the editors are left free too long to sow the seed of discontent and sedition. Some of the big mischief-makers ought to be publicly censured. No one should be permitted to poison the minds of the common people. Many have died through their vile teachings, why should not the property of the great seditionists be confiscated and used in the support of the dependants of the deceased ones? We hope a thorough enquiry will be instituted by Government and results publicly announced.

(The *World and the New Dispensation*.)

But the biggest lesson of at-one-ment has come through Mr. Gandhi, and it is a lesson which has been as a leaven to the whole Indian people. We are witnessing, to-day, the inspiring spectacle of a real mass education in India, and this education is not the tedious, clumsy filtration of dead matter into passive minds but the sudden, electric quickening of

spirit caught from the atmosphere. And this new atmosphere is, directly or indirectly, the outcome of the utterances and activities of Mr. Gandhi:

Politics we do not dabble with. We hold no brief for any political party, and yet we cannot but dwell on the larger issues which emerge from the dust and smoke of party strifes and contemporary politics. What are these larger issues which the new atmosphere has made articulate and imperative? What is this new atmosphere which is even as a school to the literate as well as the illiterate of our land? A new vocabulary characteristic of this movement of the spirit has come into being. 'Vows', 'penance', 'soul-force', 'perfect self-possession', 'self-restraint', 'suffering', 'truth-pledge',—these speak a message which even the man in the street can understand. And we are sure that the soul of the people of *Bharatvarsha* has been touched and stirred by these ancient appeals in a way it never had been. It has brought a new lease of life to the mass, and our fellow-citizens have beheld a vision and found themselves at one with one another. "Where there is no vision", said the great prophet of Israel, "the people perish", and this new atmosphere with its new vision means hope, life and fulfilment to the people. The words of Mr. Gandhi, spoken straight from the heart, are so different from the diplomatic discourses and demonstrative oratory of platform politicians; the beautiful and touching love, the brotherliness and humanity of this man of the people, are so different from the disgusting political patriotism, of time-serving opportunists that we cannot do better than quote Mr. Gandhi's own words taken from a message to the people of India immediately after his arrest.

There is no mistaking the spirit of this devout lover of India and humanity, and his recent utterances, however misrepresented by most of the Anglo-Indian Journals, leave no loophole for any perverse interpretation by race-obsessed Imperialists or servile reactionists.

A nation at school—Hindus and Mahomedans fraternizing with one another, learning the lesson of self-respect, mutual trust and understanding, and in the quickest and the most effective way—that is, by doing and being! Said the great teacher,—"If you do the will of God you will know it". Who could have dreamt of Hindus standing side by side with Mahomedans praying in the Jumma Masjid, Delhi, or entering together the sacred sanctuary of the Bombay Temple? The forbidden has become the lawful, the larger faith has included in itself the *Hindus* and *Yavanas*, the Moslem and Kaffer. The people have been lifted up to a diviner atmosphere. the miracle has come to pass. And who has more cause of rejoicing than the man of the New Dispensation to whom it this means more than a local or national affair, to whom it means the presence and triumph of God Himself who is seeking to gather those of the East and the West, the North and the South into one fold?

#### MR. GANDHI ON THE BHAGAWAT GITA.

In one of the leaflets issued in connection with the *hartal* last Sunday, Mr. Gandhi takes occasion to explain his view of the teaching of the *Bhagwat Gita*, the Song Celestial, so beautifully and correctly rendered into English verse by Sir Edwin Arnold. Mr. Gandhi observes: "I shall now endeavour to consider in all humility a doubt raised by some Hindu friends regarding the meaning of the *Bhagwad Gita*. They say that in the *Bhagwad Gita* Sri Krishna has encouraged Arjun to slay his relations and they therefore argue that there is warrant in that work for violence and that there is no *Satyagraha* in it. Now the *Bhagwad Gita* is not a historical work, it is a



great religious book, summing up the teaching of all religions. The poet has seized the occasion of the war between the Pandawas and the Kanravas on the field of Kurukshetra for drawing attention to the war going on in our bodies between the forces of Good (Pandawas) and the forces of Evil (Kanravas) and has shown that the latter should be destroyed and there should be no remissness in carrying on the battle against the forces of Evil, mistaking them through ignorance for forces of Good. In Islam, Christianity, Judaism, it is a war between God and Satan, in Zoroastrianism between Aurmazd and Ahriman. To confuse the description of this universally acknowledged spiritual war with a momentary world strife is to call holy unholy. We, who are saturated with the teachings of the Bhagwad Gita but who do not pretend to any special spiritual qualifications, do not draw our sword against our relations whenever they perpetrate an injustice but we win them over by our affection for them. If the physical interpretation alluded to of the Bhagwad Gita be correct, we sin against it in not inflicting physical punishment upon our relatives whom we consider to have done us injustice. Everywhere in that Divine Song we note the following advice given to Arjun: "*Fight without anger, conquer the two great enemies desire and anger; be the same to friend and foe: physical objects cause pleasure and pain, they are fleeting: endure them.*" That one cannot strike down an adversary without anger is universal experience. Only an Arjun who destroys the devil within him can live without attachment. It was Ramdas brought up in the teaching of the Bhagwad Gita who not only endured the lashes of a wrong doer but actually produced for him a *Jaghir*. Narsinh Mehta, the first poet of Gujrat and the prince among Bhaktas, was nurtured in the Bhagwad Gita teaching. He conquered his enemies only by love and has given through one single poem of matchless beauty the great text of their conduct to his fellow Vaishnavas. That encouragement from violence can be deduced to from the Bhagwad Gita demonstrates the deadliness of Kaliyuga. It is only too true that we often find an echo of our sentiments in what we read and see. If it is true that God made men in his own image it is equally true that man makes God also in his own image. I have found nothing but love in every page of the Gita and I hope and pray that every one will have a similar experience on Sunday."

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

## CONTENTS.

—:—

Sir Sankaran Nair's Resignation.

The Situation in the Punjab.  
The Afghan War.

Ne Sutor Ultra Crepidam.

Professor Lakshmi Narasu  
on Social Reconstruction.

The Late Mr. N. V. Tilak.

A Hindi Reader for Southern  
India.

New India Journalism.

The Reform Committee's  
Reports II.

The Rate of Exchange.

An Indian Christian View of  
the Present Situation.

Government by Experts.

Ganjam District Social Con-  
ference-Barua.

The Unrest in the Punjab.

A Japanese Parallel.

## NOTES.

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**Sir Sankaran Nair's Resignation.** The news of Sir Sankaran Nair's resignation of the office of Education Member of the Government of India does not come as a surprise. The attitude of his colleagues in regard to the Rowlatt legislation and constitutional reform, has not been such as to make his position in the Government tolerable to an Indian leader of Sir Sankaran Nair's acknowledged eminence in our public life—the Hon. Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru once spoke of him in the Legislative Council as one of the makers of modern India—and of his strong and unbending personality. The one thing he cannot endure is assumptions of superiority whether by the Brahmin or the Britisher. In earlier days, he was known as a Brahmin-hater in Madras, but his antipathy has always been to the system and not to individual Brahmins who are among his best and closest friends. Sir Sankaran Nair was a towering figure in Indian public life before he accepted official preferment. He has been President of the National Congress and the Social Conference. A staunch social reformer, a believer in the sympathetic evolution of the East and the West, an undaunted patriot, we welcome Sir Sankaran Nair's resignation for two reasons. First, it is a precedent for Indian public men and a reminder to them that high office is for public ends, not public ends for high office, and that retention of office in circumstances adverse to what they regard as public ends is incompatible with a high standard of public life. Secondly, the resumption by Sir Sankaran Nair of his place in India's public life at this juncture is wholly to the good. The immediate occasion for his resignation is, probably, the order of the authorities in the Punjab prohibiting lawyers, engaged to defend several persons accused of sedition, from entering the Punjab. This is virtually denying the accused, in cases involving some of the severest penalties of the Indian Penal Code, the right allowed them by law to have their defence conducted by counsel of their own choosing. Both as a lawyer and as a public man, Sir Sankaran Nair no doubt found this to be the last straw, coming as it did on the top of a series of events which must

have been intensely distasteful to a man of his temperament and convictions. Sir Sankaran Nair's personal relations with Lord Hardinge were exceptionally cordial, but it is no secret that he has not been getting on with Lord Chelmsford with anything like equal felicity.

**The Situation in the Punjab.** News from the Punjab is reassuring. There has been no fresh trouble. A message dated the 22nd reported that the telegraph line near Khewra in the Jhelum district has been cut, but this seems to be a sporadic occurrence. Prosecutions are going on. Several sentences have been reduced or commuted by the Lieutenant Governor. Such information as can be gathered from persons coming from the Punjab, shows that there is a real and urgent need for an open investigation into the recent happenings by an independent Commission which will command public confidence. Without such an investigation, the feelings created by the administration of the martial law are likely to obtain permanent hold on the minds of the people. Meanwhile, the Government of India will do well to insist on the Punjab keeping them informed at least of what its policy is. That this is not being done in all cases at present, seems to be the only conclusion possible from Mr. C. F. Andrews' experience at Amritsar. He went up to Simla, and sought an interview with the Viceroy, who, in response to his request, told him he might go to the Punjab to ascertain facts at first hand. He goes straight from Simla to Amritsar and finds himself arrested and removed from the train under orders of the Martial Law Administrator, and is released, even after explaining that he had the permission of the Viceroy, only after he had been put out of the area under Martial law.

**The Afghan War.** Little fresh news is coming from the scene of the Afghan War. We expected to be able to announce its termination this week. But there is no news of the end of the war. There is no reason to doubt that our troops are continuing to drive back the Afghans. A number of Afghan subjects residing in the Punjab have issued a manifesto warning their compatriots of the suicidal folly of the Amir.

**Ne Sutor Ultra Crepidam:** The *Kaukab-i-Hind*, the Christian Missionary Urdu-English bi-weekly published at Lucknow, whose effort at throwing light on the cause of the present situation we quoted last week, concludes as follows a paragraph sympathising with Mrs. Besant for her lost leadership in Indian politics: "Let us not do anything by which misery and sorrow is brought to many homes. Mr. Gandhi's movement is responsible for most of the trouble in the Punjab. We hope he will reconsider his decision about again restarting the passive resistance movement in July next. We know if he had been in some Indian state, he would not get the chance to do more mischief." We suggest to our



contemporary that it should first advice Christian Missionaries to give up making converts, for that undoubtedly brings misery and sorrow to many Indian homes. Otherwise, its profession of sympathy for Indian homes is merely a profession. As for the responsibility for the Punjab troubles, the *Kaukab-i-Hind* has evidently not heard of Sir Michael O'Dwyer's administration. The following sentences from a letter from a Punjab correspondent, evidently an Englishman, published by the *Statesman* of Calcutta, may, perhaps, induce our contemporary to reconsider its verdict: "And let me put the truth as mildly as possible. Sir O'Dwyer has not quite succeeded in making British rule in the Punjab more beloved, nor has he himself gained, even in a small way, the affection or esteem of the Punjab people. He has been "strong" no doubt: but that is all. Nobody who lives in the Punjab can say that Sir M. O'Dwyer has left the Punjab better than he found it. He leaves the Punjab seething with discontent and more seditious than Bengal." No doubt, as Burke has said somewhere, it is exceedingly pleasant to reserve all our charity for the acts of men in authority, but a Christian missionary journal is excepted to rise above such worldly wisdom. Our contemporary's gratuitous advice to Mr. Gandhi is ridiculous as the *Satyagraha* movement is not a thing to be started or stopped. Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Iswar Chandar Vidyasagar and the other religious and social reform leaders were *Satyagrahis* long before the word was invented. *Satyagraha* as applied to the Rowlatt Act is a small side issue, the relinquishment of which cannot possibly affect the onward progress of the great movement towards Truth and Light. As for the *Kaukab's* dogmatic assertion about what would happen if Mr. Gandhi had his domicile in an Indian State, is it our contemporary's position that Mr. Gandhi has no right to expect a higher standard of justice in British India than in an Indian State? If so, what, in the opinion of our most Christian contemporary, is the *raison d'être* of British rule in India?

**Professor Lakshmi Narasu on Social Reconstruction:** Professor Lakshmi Narasu of the Pachappa's College, Madras, presiding at a meeting of the Purasawakam Dravidian Association, is reported, in *Justice*, to have said: "When once a man believed in this theory of Soul and Karma he had no option but to observe strict caste system and worship the Brahmin. The whole Brahminism therefore rested upon this theory of Soul and Karma and to successfully attack Brahminism this theory should first be demolished. It was no good to attack the Brahmins while at the same time clinging to those teachings which maintained their supremacy. The whole Hindu religion rested upon caste system and when once the caste system was taken away what is now called the Hindu religion would fall down of itself. The Hindu theory of Soul, Karma and the caste system were therefore the main citadels against which they should direct their attack if ever they wanted to do away with the vested privileges of any particular class of Hindus, and toleration and equal opportunities were to be given to all." Professor Lakshmi Narasu, we believe, is a professing Buddhist. The doctrine of Karma is absolute in Buddhism as it is in no other sect of Hinduism. As for the soul, it is not clear whether what the Professor objects to is the Hindu theory of the soul or to the belief in the existence of the soul altogether. Caste has nothing to do with belief in the soul, as proved by other religions; Karma has nothing to do with caste, as shown by Buddhism. If caste cannot be attacked except by denying the existence of the soul, and the law of cause and effect applied to the moral world, the outlook before those who labour to destroy caste,

should be a gloomy one. But it is not. Caste is already losing its grip on an increasing number of men and women in India. Professor Narasu, however, has looked deeper into the subject than many other supporters of the anti-Brahmin movement in Madras.

**The Late Mr. N. V. Tilak.** We regret not noticing earlier the death of the distinguished Marathi poet and scholar, Mr. N. V. Tilak. Mr. Tilak was a devoted Christian but his Christianity was that of an increasing number of Indian Christians, but added to the fervour of his love for his country. He was a true patriot who looked deep into the future, and was widely respected by all classes for the genuineness of his religious life. As a Marathi poet, he occupied a very high place among his contemporaries. Reviewing a volume of his poems four years ago in these columns, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar wrote of him: "Mr. Tilak is a poet of flowers. His language, simple and sinewy, never obscures, often appealing straight to the heart, can be read and understood more or less easily by young and old. Just because he is more easy of understanding than some other poets, especially Sir Rabindranath, some have written of him, as if it is a point in his favour, that he is not *mystical*. Mr. Tilak is a mystic. He sees the spiritual behind the material and communicates his vision." Mr. Tilak's death is a loss not only to the Indian Christian community. It is a loss to the whole nation which will cherish the memory of his truly dedicated life.

**A Hindi Reader for Southern India:** We have received a copy of the first Hindi Reader intended for the use of the educated classes of the Madras Presidency, published by Swami Satyadeva Parabrajaka. The Swami says in the preface: "The vernaculars being akin to Hindi in grammatical construction, we suggest to all those desirous of learning Hindi to make use of the vernaculars as a medium rather than English. We know by experience and many who have attended our Hindi classes feel with us, that even twice the time and energy spent in learning the language through the medium of English leaves us in doubt regarding many grammatical points and idioms which do not puzzle us when interpreted in the vernaculars. One has only to compare the particular use in Hindi with its equivalent in the provincial language to solve any doubt that may arise during the course of the study of Hindi through the medium of English. Telugu is a much better aid in this respect than any other Southern vernacular inasmuch as it saves the trouble of learning the Sanskrit pronunciation and words. One is surprised to see such a remarkable similarity in all the Indian languages." The Reader is excellently printed at the Modern Printing Works, Madras, and is priced only annas two.

**New India Journalism:** In an editorial note in New India (Madras) of the 19th instant occurred the following sentence. "Reuter's announcement today that Mr. Montagu's unpopularity may necessitate his retirement from the India Office to facilitate the passing of the Reform Bill demands more serious consideration." We have searched among Reuter's telegrams published on that date and during the week, but find none among them regarding Mr. Montagu's unpopularity necessitating his retirement.



# INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, MAY, 25, 1919.

## THE REFORM COMMITTEE'S REPORTS II.

### SOME ELECTORAL ANOMALIES.

The Government of India begin their despatch to the Secretary of State on the report of the Franchise Committee with the remark that the work of the Committee has not to any great extent been directed towards the establishment of principles. This is true but all the principles involved in the questions submitted to the Committee, had been laid down in the joint report and the Committee had merely to apply them with such modifications as were imperatively indicated by the conditions which their enquiry disclosed in the several provinces. The Committee, however, have not done one thing which they were expected to do. They have not co-ordinated their recommendations for the different provinces and they have not endeavoured to arrive at a standard for all India, upon which variations in respect of the special conditions of each province might be worked out. They have, in fact, treated each province as a separate entity without any sort of affinity to any other province. Take, for instance, the electorates of the two Presidencies of Madras and Bombay. Whether we look at the progress of each of these two provinces in respect of education (vernacular or English, men's or women's), administration or any other aspect of public life it is impossible to hold that the differences between them are at all commensurate with the difference in the voting strengths which the Committee have assigned to them. The total number of voters in the Bombay Presidency under the scheme of the Southborough report is estimated at 653,000, while the total number of voters of Madras, with a population more than double that of Bombay, is only 542,000. Even this latter figure, according to a later estimate of the Government of Madras, exceeds by 100,000 the actual number of voters under the Southborough scheme. This glaring discrepancy is almost entirely due to the contrast between the helpful spirit in which from the first the Government of Bombay approached the problem of reform as a whole, on the one hand, and on the other, the petulant and obstructive attitude adopted throughout towards it by the Government of Lord Pentland. It was, we venture to think, one important purpose of the Committee to provide against such accidental differences. The Government of India is right in holding that a considerable enlargement of the Madras electorate is necessary. Some enlargement of the Punjab electorate is also necessary, as suggested by that Government. We are of opinion that the total number of literates in each province affords a rough measure of what the total number of electors in that province should be. This is not to say that every literate person should be given the vote: some literates may not have the vote and some illiterate persons may have it on the strength of property qualifications. We accept the reasons against mak-

ing literacy a principal qualification, but at the same time, in a country like India where it represents a somewhat rare achievement, literacy should not be made a disqualification, as it is when you enfranchise only about 400,000 persons in Madras where the total male literates above 20 years of age number over 2 millions. From this point of view, the United Provinces and Bengal get suitable electorates under the scheme proposed by the Southborough Committee. The Government of India wish to see the size of the electorates in these two provinces cut down but we think this ought not to be done. Apart from other grounds, we hold that the Government of India and the Secretary of State should interfere only to liberalise and not to narrow down the proposals of a provincial government. In Bombay on this principle an electorate of about one million persons would be a proper one. The total number of voters proposed by the Southborough Committee is about 650,000.

### INDIAN STATES SUBJECTS AND THE FRANCHISE.

The question of the eligibility of subjects of Indian States to vote at and stand as candidates for elections to the Legislative Councils, is one on which the Government of India have expressed themselves as being strongly at variance with the recommendation of the Southborough Committee. The Committee did not evidently expect that the Government of India would take up a position of such resolute opposition to their proposal, or they would have surely elaborated their arguments in favour of it at much greater length than they have done. As it is, they have merely stated, in support of their inclusion of subjects of Indian States in their franchise schemes, that there are many persons who, though technically subjects of Native States in India, reside in British territory, with which their interests are identified. If their proposals had been confined to this special class of subjects of Indian States, the Government of India's opposition would probably have been far less uncompromising. But this is not the case. The actual recommendations of the Committee make no distinction between subjects of Indian States who for all practical purposes are British Indians and those, the far larger proportion of them, who have little or no interest in British India. It is obvious that the two classes stand on an entirely different footing so far as their right to participate in the elections to the Legislative Councils of British India are concerned. The Government of India go to the other extreme and their criticism ignores the existence of a class of subjects of Indian States whose interests are identified with British territory, who permanently reside here, and who are only technically subjects of Indian States. The Government of India take their stand on the broad principle that while in relation to a foreign power they (subjects of Indian States) can claim the protection of the paramount power, in respect of the domestic affairs of British India they are aliens. "No one," they add, "is entitled to assist in making the laws of a country but the citizens of that country; and if subjects of Indian States who are settled in British India desire either to vote or to stand for the provincial legislatures



they should first, in our opinion, acquire the status of British Indian subjects." On abstract grounds, it is impossible to question the justice of this doctrine. In practice, however, subjects of Indian States in British India, more especially the men of property among them, feel some delicacy and even difficulty in formally and openly transferring their allegiance in the manner suggested. Indian States are rather jealous of the allegiance, nominal though it may be, of their subjects who are doing well in British territory, and they have effective ways of resenting what some of them may regard as the slight involved in a formal transfer of allegiance from themselves. Another consideration which renders such an hard and fast rule, as that suggested by the Government of India, unworkable, arises from the intimate social relations between the districts of British India and those of Indian States adjacent to them. Not only are intermarriages very common, but there is a widespread social custom—which has a practical bearing on the point under consideration—of women going to their parental homes for *acconchement*. Thus, the children of several subjects of Indian States have their birth-places in British India, and those of several British subjects theirs in Indian States. The number of the former is probably fewer than that of the latter, as our research, so far as it has gone, into the subject points to the existence of a stronger tendency on the part of parents in Indian States to prefer to find homes for their daughters in British India than for parents in British territory to give their daughters in marriage in Indian States. We are disposed to explain this difference as arising from a recognition of the constantly improving position of women in British India, owing to the existence of social reform and other movements for the elevation of public and personal standards of life. To return to the question of the franchise: we think a middle course between those suggested by the Committee and the Government of India, will clearly be the right course to adopt. The recommendation of the Committee should be amended so as to apply only to subjects of Indian States who have lived in British territory continuously, for, say, five or seven years.

#### THE INDIAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY AND THE COUNCIL OF STATE.

Another matter which has given rise to a difference of opinion between the Franchise Committee and the Government of India is that of the electorates for the Indian Legislative Assembly and the Council of State. The latter, it will be remembered, is to be a sort of second Chamber of the all-India Legislature. The Franchise Committee adopted the suggestion of most of the Provincial Governments that the elected members of the Provincial Legislative Councils should be constituencies for returning members to the Indian Legislative Council and the Council of State. The majority of the Government of India accept this suggestion as regards the Indian Legislative Council, but not as regards the Council of State. Even as regards the former, they accept it with regret as they look upon direct electorates as the only system that is compatible with true respon-

sibility to the voters. As regards the Council of State, the Government of India point out with great force that "to obtain the elected members of both chambers (the Indian Legislative Assembly and the Council of State) from the same electoral College would reduce the smaller chamber—the Council of State—to a position barely distinguishable from that of a standing Grand Committee of the Assembly." They, therefore, suggest the creation of a special constituency which will directly elect members to the Council of State. The acceptance of indirect election by the Provincial Legislative Councils for the Indian Legislative Assembly, and the proposed creation of a direct electorate for the Council of State, involve the anomaly, referred to by the Government of India, of the popular body having a less direct mandate than the revising body. The whole question is admittedly left in an unsatisfactory position. It seems to us that a more satisfactory solution of them is feasible. We agree that it is not easy to devise a scheme of direct election to the Indian Legislative Assembly, for the reasons given by the Southborough Committee. But we think that there is a less indirect method of electing to that Assembly than that, suggested by them, of election by the elected members of the Provincial Legislative Councils. The members of the Provincial Councils are at present elected by Municipalities and Local Boards. These form their general electorates at present. Our suggestion is that these bodies should elect in future to the Indian Legislative Assembly. The advantages of this course will be, firstly, that the constituencies will be many times more than the 80 or 90 elected members of the Provincial Legislative Councils and, to that extent, partake more of the advantages of a direct and less of the disadvantages of indirect elections; secondly, that it will serve to continue the connection between civic and national life, which is so important, and which the creation of direct electorates for Provincial Councils will dissolve with, we apprehend, the immediate consequence at any rate of a considerable falling off in the interest taken by energetic and aspiring public men in municipal and local affairs; and thirdly, that the adoption of this course involves no novelty, the material and the machinery being ready to hand, and the electors being accustomed to work them for many years past. By this method, the Indian Legislative Assembly will get a type of member with experience of dealing with civic problems and, therefore, with a better appreciation of the difficulties of the executive than the member chosen by a general electorate such as that proposed for the Provincial Legislative Councils. If this suggestion be adopted for the Indian Legislative Assembly, it becomes easy to devise a suitable electorate for the Council of State by joining the elected members of the Provincial Legislative Councils with the members elected to the Indian Legislative Assembly from their respective provinces. This joint electorate will combine popular influence with civic experience. The anomaly of the popular body having a less direct mandate than the revising body, will not arise. From every point of view, this seems to us as to be the most equitable



solution of the problem which has perplexed the the Southborough Committee and the Government of India.

#### THE FUNCTIONS COMMITTEE'S REPORT.

It will be seen from our rapid survey of the recommendations of the Franchise Committee in the last issue and in this of the *Reformer*, that the Government of India's criticisms of them are on the whole conceived in a spirit of liberality. The most important point on which they have taken a retrograde view is the representation of the Universities in the Provincial Legislative Councils. We would like to see the Universities represented not only in the Provincial Councils, but also in the Indian Legislative Assembly and the Council of State. We trust it may yet be possible to supply this serious omission in the proposals for the two chambers of the Indian Legislature. The second Committee appointed in accordance with the Montagu-Chelmsford report had for its object to define the functions which may be transferred to Ministers under the scheme of diarchy therein described in the administration of the provinces. In order to do this, the Committee had first to demarcate the functions of the Government of India from those of the Provincial Governments, and next to determine which of the functions of the latter should continue to be administered by the Governor-in-Council and which can be made over to Ministers to be selected from among the elected members of the Legislative Council, subject to the control of that Council. The work assigned to the Functions Committee, which was presided over by Mr. Feetham, was more difficult and complex than even that of the Franchise Committee; and it will be the verdict of all open-minded and impartial judges that the Committee have acquitted themselves well in getting through their task. The Government of India's despatch on the Functions Committee's report is, as might have been expected, rather sharply at issue with several of the recommendations of the Committee. As against this has to be set the trenchant minute of dissent of the Hon. Sir Sankaran Nair, appended to the despatch, in which the Indian Member of the Government of India elaborates his reasons for supporting some of the conclusions of Mr. Feetham's Committee, which do not commend themselves to his colleagues. It is impossible within the limits at our disposal today to enter into a consideration of the details of the complex and largely technical matters which the Committee's recommendations cover.

#### THE RATE OF EXCHANGE.

(Contributed.)

We would like to draw the serious attention of our political and industrial leaders to the momentous step recently taken by the Secretary of State, which is likely to do serious harm to our agriculture and our industries. We refer to the rise in the rate of exchange from ls. 6d. to ls. 8d. This rise of 2d. on the rupee practically means a rather bonus to all foreign countries selling goods

to India and to that extent is a most serious blow to all our indigenous industries, because it means a bonus of nearly 12 per cent. on all imported goods. When we remember that Lancashire raised a very strong agitation on account of the so-called discrimination of about 4 per cent. against it in our import duties, the snpiness and apathy of our captains of industry in not doing anything to protest against this continued raising of the rate of exchange, which practically means a bonus of not 4 but 25 per cent. today on all imported goods is really a matter for surprise. We shall try to point out here how this raising of the exchange will harm India and in what directions.

It is superficially argued that such raising of the exchange cannot do any harm because, while it reduces the price of our exports, it reduces also the price of our imports, and that while the producer may be a loser to some extent, the consumer is bound to be benefitted. There are some who even argue that this raising of the value of the rupee really means giving us 20d. instead of only 16d. before the War and that to that extent the country actually stands to benefit. Let us take this last argument first. Do we really get 20d. where we used to get 16d? A little reflection will show that our buyer in Europe when buying our cotton or our seeds or any other article really offers a price in gold (in the currency of his own country) and has no concern how many rupees we are to get in exchange for it. Thus supposing we sell something in England at £ 100, the buyer pays us these £ 100 because he thinks the article worth that much compared to the same article offered from, say, America, and not because it happens to cost us £ 100. In other words, we can only get in the world markets such prices as are justified by the prices of similar articles from other countries and no more. Now if the article was cotton, our cotton cultivator would have got against these £ 100 Rs 1,500 in this country. To-day he will only get Rs 1,200 for the same cotton, for no fault of his but because exchange has been raised. When we consider the very great poverty of our ryots, we can easily imagine what a very serious blow this cutting down of his income by 20 per cent. will mean to him. Let us bear in mind that there is not going to be any similar reduction in what he owes in taxation to the Government or in the money he owes to his Sowcar. Let us assume that his dues to the Government and the money he owes in the shape of advances and interest to the Sowcar amount to Rs 1,000; the ryot has a surplus of Rs 500 to cover the maintenance of his family and live stock and to pay for his labour in the first case when he got Rs 1,500, and only Rs 200 when he gets Rs 1,200 at the new rate of exchange, or in other words, his surplus income is cut down to less than half, although the gross income was only reduced by 20 per cent. This would be unbearable enough in normal times and with normal food prices, so narrow is the margin on which the cultivator manages to live from day to day, but when we reflect that the prices of all foodstuffs have gone up to extraordinary heights on account of famine, and when we further



bear in mind that owing to a very unfavourable season the outturn from the fields has been much smaller to the cultivator this year than it was in previous years, the enormity of the step tending to cut down his income farther in the way explained above seems all the greater at this particular moment.

The Government take up the attitude that they are helpless and that it is all due to the rise in silver. Is this really so? Is there no other remedy? We shall take up these questions in some future issue. Today we will take it for granted that there is this loss on silver in coining it into rupees and that the Government must somehow make up this loss.

First, let us see what this loss is. Last year the Indian Government secured 150 millions American silver dollars to convert into rupees here. This is about 45 crores of rupees, and it is said all this silver is now practically absorbed. During the next 12 months our requirements should certainly be smaller as the impetus given to trade by the war is over and this will tend to reduce demands on the currency. We have again the famine and so are unable to export as much as we did, say, last year. In fact, if we reflect that the export of Burmah rice and Punjab wheat is now prohibited, there should be a reduction of our exports by about £ 20 millions on these two heads alone. The exports in many other food stuffs are bound to be affected too. But for the sake of argument let us assume that another 45 crores of fresh rupee currency will be necessary during the next 12 months. If the Exchange had not been raised, the loss to the Government would be somewhere about 4½ crores. Is it to save this 4½ crores that the Government has put the country to many times greater loss? For, to take only one leading staple, cotton, and to take only the balance of the crop still unsold, we have about 20 lacs of bales. The market declined about 80 rupees a candy on the news of the rise in Exchange. This means a loss of rupees 40 a bale, and on 20 lacs of bales it means a loss to our producers of eight crores of rupees on this one article alone. This is not all. Silver may go down next year and there may be eventually no loss to Government but if the exchange is kept at its present level there will be a similar loss on next year's crop. Taking the average cotton crop at 45 lacs of bales the loss to the producer will be anywhere from 15 to 20 crores. When our other important staples are considered, the total loss to the producer will amount to astounding figures. Is it just, is it right, to put all this loss on the producer just to save a beggarly few crores to the Currency Department? If the Government must needs get this prospective loss on coinage back somehow, why not do it in some more direct, more straightforward way e. g. by an export tax just sufficient to cover this prospective loss of 4½ crores? A tax of 2 per cent. on the produce exported will suffice to cover the loss and save the cultivator from the much bigger loss of 10 to 15 per cent. to which the rise in Exchange puts him. There are other sides to this question to which we shall revert in our next.

## AN INDIAN CHRISTIAN VIEW OF THE PRESENT SITUATION.

BY MR. MUNILAL C. PAREKH, B.A.

In these days when India is passing through a most critical phase of her life, the mind of every thinking son and daughter of hers can not but be deeply exercised over many things that have happened in the immediate past, and about the future as well. It is most unfortunate that India should have to go through her present experience which is far from pleasant just when it should be rejoicing along with all the Allies and Associated Powers that the greatest war ever fought upon this planet has come to an end and that the principles of justice and liberty have triumphed over those of any injustice and tyranny. That the Indians should weep with the Germans and Austrians and not rejoice with English, French and the people of the colonies as she ought to have done as a reward for her services and sacrifices in the war is the tragedy of the whole situation.

The passing of the Rowlatt Act in the very teeth of all opposition from the whole of India including all the moderate leaders who have tried to serve the best interests of both the Government and the people all their life; the starting of the Satyagraha movement by Mr. Gandhi in opposition to the advice of the same leaders though with the country behind him and in perfect accordance with what he had said he would do if the Bill were passed; the mob-violence and the Martial Law with all the deportations, suppression of papers, floggings, hangings and all other things that have followed so naturally in its train, all these altogether unusual things that have followed in such quick succession have shocked the sober Indian mind as few other things have done in modern times, whether all this be due to the Bill and the most imperious manner of passing it, as to the Satyagraha and its over-enthusiastic acceptance by all the people as a heaven-sent immediate remedy, immediate in its effect against all evils and hence necessarily followed by a wanton misapplication and abuse, or to those mysterious "forces of evil" the existence of which has been believed in and admitted by both the Government and Mr. Gandhi at least, but which are more imaginary than real, or it be due to all these together each contributing something to the result, the fact is that in India a bad beginning is made with regard to what is nothing less than a New Era on which the whole world is entering, an Era which starts with the recognition, almost divine since the seal of the Providence is on the victory of the Allies, of Democracy as the best form of government of a country. The deservedly expectant India which has served the Empire at least better than such parts of the Empire as Ireland and South Africa, not only refraining from all violence whatsoever but giving its men, money, munitions and food if not in a very liberal at least in an unstinted manner, has been made to feel that in spite of all that it may refrain from doing or may do, it must not cherish any the least extravagant hopes of sharing in the same harvest of liberty which has



been and is being gathered in by all the nations of the world.

The most unfortunate part of the thing is that the Government has come into conflict with those very people, viz., those of Punjab and Mr. Gandhi who have rendered the greatest services of all in India during the war. The Sikhs alone have given more men than the rest of the Indian peoples, Mr. Gandhi has been the only Indian leader who put himself heart and soul into the recruiting-movement, not sparing even his eldest son, himself a father of five children, and thus going not only against all the traditions of his own caste which is the most peaceful of all in India, but even against his dearest principle of Satyagraha or passive resistance. And all this was done for the preservation of the British Empire. Surely the Government in insisting on the passing of the Bill and then actually passing it in the face of all this opposition, and that too at such a time, have betrayed a woeful lack not of only statesmanship of the right sort but even that sense of humour on which Englishmen usually so justly pride themselves.

But what is still worse and is the most sinister part of it is that the extremists on both sides have triumphed for the present. I have heard irresponsible men on both sides, men on whose words very little weight can be put except as showing which way the wind blows, almost rejoice at these things, and while some such Indians may be feeling that it did not matter much if a few thousands of their countrymen died in such a test of strength as they had just had with the Government since they were dying in as many lacs in influenza etc., similar men on the other side may be congratulating themselves that the actual test has been in their favour to the extent of the ratio of one to hundred or more. The simple fact that such a state of things should come to exist, and that the relationship between the rulers and the ruled be more strained than ever just when a better order should have prevailed, is sufficient to make all the sober-minded people among both the English and the Indians think seriously of the situation and try to find means whereby a better condition of things be brought about. The people as well as the Government must avoid such extremists who are to be found on both sides, and who form the real "forces of evil" in the country. In this connection the following words of Rev. H. A. Popley from his recent letter to this paper may well be repeated :

"One can not help feeling with you that Anglo-Indian papers which have held up to abuse and to scorn the efforts of Indians to go forward along the path of democracy have been instrumental in creating this anti-English spirit which has shown itself so violently during the last few weeks."

Next to the clearance of such extremists as "forces of evil", from both these camps, what is wanted is the union of the forces of good, of all those among both the English and the Indians who believe Democracy to be the ultimate goal of Indian Government. In spite of extremists on both sides, *the complete Self-Government of India under the British Empire,*

must be fought for by all those who are friends of both the countries. As most of the Indian leaders have been always upholding the cause of British supremacy in India, I believe it is now the paramount duty of all those Englishmen who have the best interests of both the countries at heart, to stand with the Indians in their just demand for a democratic form of Government in India, a Government which shall be ultimately responsible to the people of India. I am very glad to see that the Rev. Mr. Popley, who has identified himself with the Indians in so many ways in the right Christian manner sees the need of this and says:—"The Englishman in India must make it clear that he is here not as an alien seeking to exploit the wealth of the country, but as a citizen, if he wishes to receive the consideration which he claims. Even those of us who are missionaries cannot hold ourselves entirely aloof from the politics of India." The missionaries I, as an Indian Christian, would specially invite to this task which is not only one of pure justice but is moreover one of peace-making, which they as the messengers of Him who was called the Prince of Peace, and who has said "Blessed are the peace-makers for they shall be called the children of a God," ought to take in hand. This work is pre-eminently a mediating ministry, a peace-making mission, which will serve not only the best interests of India and England, but of the Kingdom of Heaven as well. I have been feeling the need of Christian missionaries taking up the advocacy of the Indian cause, and I am very happy to find that not only Mr. Popley does the same, but there are others in England as well, as can be seen from the following quotation taken from a lecture published in one of the latest issues of the *Christian Patriot*. "A Christian minister in England has recently been criticising missionaries in India because we have held back and allowed Mrs. Besant to be practically the sole English voice giving expression to Indian aspiration."

There have been such peace-makers both among the Indians and the English in the past, and there are some in the present. Men like Keshub and Gokhale, and women like Mrs. Besant, have contributed a great deal to the cause of unity of both these peoples whom Providence has brought together, and though one may not follow any of these one may learn from them all. In these days when Mrs. Besant stands discredited, the fact must not be forgotten that, most erratic and eccentric as her whole career has been, and religiously she has been but a blind guide to the blind, she has rendered a unique service to the cause of both Indian and Imperial politics during the last four years when she was herself again after a period of thirty or forty years, a service unsurpassed by that of any other after Mr. Gokhale. Under the overwhelming influence of the great idea of Home Rule for India, she succeeded not only in mastering the ship of Indian politics but in piloting it safely through the sea of universal conflict in which the whole world was thrown. Liberty and the Empire were her two watchwords, and though she may have said and done



things which were not always the best or the wisest and though today she is again uncertain and wavering, now that the outward impetus i.e. the war is removed us, there is not the least doubt that these are the only two poles on which the Indian political life can revolve.

The Indian Christians too have a special mission to fulfill in this mediating ministry which is not confined solely to the relations between English and the Indians, but extends to those among the various races of Indians as well. Our duty is to tell our brethren that as the Englishman owes justice to us, we too owe the same to those who are less privileged than we are, and who are suffering from like and even greater disabilities imposed on them by our forefathers, their conquerors, disabilities which do not become less oppressive because they were imposed centuries ago and because they have not the courage to protest against them. Ours is to tell our countrymen that they should do unto these less fortunate brothers of theirs what they want the Englishmen to do unto them. Again it is ours to tell our countrymen, our kith and kin, that what is wanted is the most thorough-going *Satyagraha*, persistence in truth in all matters, social, moral and religious above all, and not merely such as is mainly political or only negative.

**Government by Experts:** The *Saturday Review* has a slashing attack on the tendency in England to put business men in the place of statesmen. It describes this as an endeavour to turn the English people into a people of business men with a Government of business men who govern for business men. "This doctrine," our contemporary observes, "which, for the first time in history, gives precedence to the huckster over the statesman, the saint, the scholar and the good plain man in the street, would hardly deserve serious notice if it did not appear to chime with something gross and sinister that during the war has attacked the national imagination. It is indeed difficult, bearing in mind what the moulders of the world, from Plato to Disraeli, have left us as precepts of Government, to deal with a theory, which substitutes for the ability to foresee the forward movement of the world the ability to anticipate the downward movement of the money market." This theory, it adds, sets up the saint, or at any rate the statesman, against the huckster, and "demands that office shall not be the reward of the party hack but, if we may without indelicacy so describe him, of the business stallion." Our contemporary indulges in an amusing speculation regarding the particular type of business men who would be selected for each important office under a business government, and concludes: "Finally, let it be said that without the fervour to pursue business a modern community is helpless. But of all Gods ever erected for worship none is more sinister than that of the golden Calf. While Moses is still in the mountains, while the great issues of peace and the future of the world are being fought out in the high attitudes, do not let us be dancing round the Calf. For our clamour may reach the law givers and the Tablets of the law may be broken never to be refashioned."

## GANJAM DISTRICT SOCIAL CONFERENCE-BARUA

The following are extracts from the Presidential address in Telugu of Mr. A. V. Subbaram B. A. and B. L. High Court Vakil, Berhampore at the fifth Ganjam District Social Conference held at Barua on the 19th May, 1919.

### SOCIAL REFORM.

A Society that does not reform itself is a dead mass. From early times Hindu Society has been reforming itself wide the influence of Buddha, Sankara, Ramanuja. Reforms, not prompted by devotion to God and love of man will not conduce to the progress of Society. As Justice Sadasivier has emphasised often, social reform must have its basis in pure religion. The reform cause must be taken up by men of character and religion and those who seek in it merely worldly comfort will lead society to ruin.

### REFORM METHODS.

Three principal methods appear. The first is by a whole society effecting changes voluntarily. The useful reforms effected in Ganjam by the Reddi community fall under this head and redound to their credit. The Second is social legislation. Present legislatures are slow in this respect and it is urged they are not representative assemblies. So political reform must precede social reform. To deserve a more liberal form of Government we should try to present a united society. The third method is to adopt reforms, which strike towering lights. Socrates and Christ suffered in their own time. As Dr. Subrahmanya Iyer suggests, *Satyagraha* should be utilised for social reform.

### OBJECTS OF REFORM.

(i) Education of women and of Panchamas is essential. Mass education is urgent. Gokhale's Education Bill was throttled by those who taunt us on our caste divisions that are perpetuated by illiteracy. High infant and women mortality is due to the ignorance of women. National education should supplement Government efforts. Every district should have suitable girls' schools with lady teachers and appropriate curricula.

(ii) Marriage is essential for the progress of society though there are eminent exceptions like Sir P. C. Ray. Early marriages breed weak issue and men unworthy to hold the state when self-government dawns. Boys should not be married before 18 and a small appropriate amendment may be made in the Indian Majority Act by omitting the word 'marriage' therein in the case of males. Girls should not have consummation before 16 and the limit of 12 years in sec 375 Penal Code should be altered to 16.

(iii) *Caste*.—The non-Brahmin agitation is deplorable but even the shadow for its cause should be removed. Even among Brahmins, the fights of the several sects cause amusement to the authorities. Caste can't be removed at one stroke but differences should be obliterated gradually. Caste union can't be promoted by license in eating objectionable food or by unequal marriages though the Hon'ble Mr. Patel's Bill is worthy of support.

(iv) *Panchamas*.—It is amusing to see the non-Brahmin who fights the Brahmin look down upon the Panchama. Mr. Paddison now on deputation duty by the Madras Government, should improve their economic lot. Agricultural schools should be opened for them. They should be freely entertained in all offices as peons. Justice Sadasiva Iyer set a noble example in this District.

(v) *Widows*.—The sight of the widow is sometimes shunned more than that of a Panchama. Devotion to the lost husband or wife may prompt some to remain without remarriage. The noble life of Principal Venkatratnam



Naidu evokes reverential obeisance. The state should afford encouragement to child widow remarriage.

(vi) Religious and charitable endowments should be utilised to promote mass and Panchama education.

(vii) *Dancing girls*. They are peculiar visitation to Hindu society and should be educated to give up their unworthy profession.

#### REFORM ASSOCIATIONS AND CONFERENCES.

Not by defiance or ridicule but by persuasions and suffering the cause should be won. Funds should be opened and missionaries deputed to spread ideas. A society that does not progress with the times is bound to react even on its own best men.

### THE UNREST IN THE PUNJAB.

The following letter was published in the *Statesman* of Calcutta.

Sir,—In *The Statesman* of the 30th April there appeared a letter headed "A Voice from the Jungles," and signed "Mofussilite." This is the most sensible letter I have seen for a long time in any Indian daily newspaper, and it deserves the most careful attention—not from the haughty detachment of the mountain-tops, because that would be too much to expect—but from those of us who are "in it." When we are being sneered at as "too jumpy" it will console us to remember that we are not the first who have been sneered at for the same reason, but who lived to see the sneerers themselves far more "jumpy" in the end. It may suit some people to forget Lord Roberts, but we have not forgotten him.

I can entirely support the statements of "Mofussilite" in what he says about the widely-spread and insidious net of sedition and treachery now set all over India, which has nothing whatever to do with Gandhi, or the Rowlatt Bills, or anything of the sort. I know the Punjab well and I have been living here for some time. It is much better that we should know what we are up against than that we should live in a fool's paradise. Only a week ago I was talking to a Punjab zemindar, and he told me that large armies were coming from the north to sweep the English out of India, and to give the land of the Punjab to the zemindars of the Punjab. I could gather from his words—in which he solemnly believed—that attempts had been made to inoculate him and others like him with the poison of Bolshevism. I do not quite agree with "Mofussilite's" eulogy of Sir M. O'Dwyer. I agree that the late Lieut.-Governor has shown himself to be what is commonly called "a strong man;" but the world-lesson which has been taught in letters of blood during the past four years is that mere "strength" and force, by themselves, can do far more harm than good. And, let me put the truth as mildly as possible, Sir M. O'Dwyer has not quite succeeded in making British Rule in the Punjab more beloved nor has he himself gained, even in a small way, the affection or esteem of the Punjab people. He has been "strong," no doubt; but that is all. Nobody who lives in the Punjab can say that Sir M. O'Dwyer has left the Punjab better than he found it. Some of his predecessors were just as "strong" as he, and showed themselves to be so in times of the greatest difficulty and danger. But they were more than merely "strong" for they gained not only the respect, but the confidence of the people of the Punjab, who have not forgotten the honoured names of Nicholson, Lawrence, Montgomery, Macleod and Lyall. It would have been well for Sir M. O'Dwyer, perhaps, if he had taken a leaf out of the books of Lawrence. He leaves the Punjab seething with discontent, and more seditious than Bengal itself. The great men who preceded him may have sometimes trodden on people's feet

accidentally, but they never went out of their way to jump on other peoples' corns. "Sweeping aside all opposition" is a high-sounding phrase on paper: but for ordinary people it sounds too much like the words "mailed fist," and "shining armour." The more correct phrase would be "driving all opposition underground," and it is this underground work that we have to fear to-day. And the legend of our press, "All quiet in the Punjab," is too unpleasantly remindful of the Great Russian artist's picture "All quiet in the Balkans" to be quite reassuring.

PUNJABI.

May 7.

### A JAPANESE PARALLEL.

To The Editor of the *Indian Social Reformer*.

Dear Sir,

In a conversation I once had with a Japanese gentleman, I asked him, half in jest, to tell me the secret of the phenomenal success of the Japanese nation. His answer, given in an equally off-hand way, was to this effect: That when the Japanese leaders had decided to bring Japan in line with European countries, they found the people poor, backward, unorganized and altogether not very promising material for so great a task. But there was just one bright point. It was their traditional love of their king and country. The leaders recognised this fact, appealed them to submit to military discipline; and in a few years, their intense patriotism tempered by stern discipline produced a new type with which wise statesmanship has been able to achieve almost everything considered good for the nation.

With the intense wave of patriotism passing over India we too could do great things if our various and at times unruly energies could be submitted to some kind of discipline. Military discipline so successfully used by Germany and Japan is out of the question. The Boy Scout movement is a laborious process of doubtful value whose fruits cannot be gathered in our generation. The only chance of such self-imposed discipline on a large or national scale lies in the acceptance of Mahatma Gandhi's lofty ideal of Satyagraha.

Your own and most other people's objection to Satyagraha seems to be this: that unscrupulous or ignorant people may wilfully or unconsciously pass the boundary line of passive resistance into active and even violent opposition to lawful authority and thus become a menace to society. But there is a safeguard against this. It is the fear of the punishments, for the Satyagrahi does not break laws for the pleasure of annoying or obstructing the authorities, but for the pleasure of undergoing suffering in his own person. Very few indeed can have the privilege of suffering in this way. I for one will like to be one of the few, but circumstances will not permit me. If I was clapt up in a prison even for a week, I would lose my job and be starving. Similarly, no useful purpose will be served by your going to jail and letting your paper drift. But is it not our duty never-the-less, to give our utmost moral support to the little band who has taken the vow of suffering,—whose members wish to set a personal example of self-discipline?

Regarding the disciplinary value of Satyagraha, opinion may honestly differ, for as a national movement it has never been tried before. But this much is clear, that the advent of Mahatma Gandhi in the political life of Bombay has had a sobering effect. It has been noticeable in the articles of the *Bombay Chronicle*, in the absence of irresponsible speech-making, in the restraint at Mr. Horniman's deportation. If Mahatma Gandhi has succeeded, however imperfectly, in



harnessing the intense feeling of the country and directing it according to his judgment, how much more could be done if all leaders who have any following set about to do the same, hand in hand with him? Then only will there be no discordant clamour of clashing interests at every crisis of our fight for liberty, nor will the crowd hesitate to obey the orders of its acknowledged leaders. It is discipline that the nation needs at present and moral discipline is the only one within its reach.

And then, after that, we shall push the cart forward,—each in his own way,—for

The smallest effort is not lost ;  
Each wavelet on the ocean tossed  
Aids in the ebb-tide or the flow ;  
Each raindrop makes some flow'ret blow ;  
Each struggle lessens human woe.

Only no one shall be allowed to push it in the wrong direction.

Lastly, I hope you will print this letter in the spirit in which it is written. In the face of a really great question involving the future of 315 million people, there should be no moderate and no extremist, no Satyagrahi and no anti-Satyagrahi.

Yours faithfully,  
P. HARI.

[ If our correspondent had read our articles, he would have found that we accept *Satyagraha* as a rule of public and private life ; and that our reason for not subscribing to the application of it as a protest against the Rowlatt Act, is that it does not, and cannot, distinguish between the aims of the Act, which everybody should support, and the methods of it which every Justly-minded man must reprobate. Ed I. S. R. ]

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

## CONTENTS.

:o:

The Reform Bill in Parliament.	Open Competition for Public Services.
The Reform Despatches.	The Afghan War.
Councils and Franchises.	The Late Rao Bahadur K. Veeresalingam Pantulu.
The Situation in the Punjab.	The Government of India on the Reform Scheme.
The Press Act.	Sir Alexander Cardew on the Reform Scheme.
Another Notable Instance of Hindu-Mahomedan Goodwill.	The Rate of Exchange. II.
Swami Shraddhanand and Satyagraha.	The Samkhya System.
	Franchise for Indian Women.

## NOTES.

:o:

**The Reform Bill in Parliament.** Intimation has been received that the Reform Bill has been presented to the House of Commons by the Secretary of State, on behalf of His Majesty's Government. The name of Mr. Austen Chamberlain and Dr. H. A. L. Fisher appear on the back of the Bill, as supporters. The Bill has been published and its second reading is set down for next Thursday.

**The Reform Despatches:** We have received in all three despatches of the Government of India to the Secretary of State on the subject of constitutional reform. These are the first, fourth and fifth of a series. The second, third and fourth despatches have not been published so far. The fourth and the fifth were issued about a fortnight back along with the reports of the two Reform Committees, on which they were comments by the Government of India. The first despatch was delivered to us last Wednesday. This is dated the 5th of March, while the other two are dated the 16th and 23rd of April respectively. The fifth despatch and the Franchises Committee's Report with which it deals, were reviewed in leading articles in the last two issues of this journal. We concluded the last article with a reference to the Functions Committee's Report, the Government of India's despatch (the fourth of the series) thereon, and Sir Sankaran Nair's minute of dissent appended to the despatch. It was our intention to review at length in this issue the recommendations of the Feetham Committee, the criticisms of the Government of India of them, and the criticisms of the Government of India's criticisms by Sir Sankaran Nair in his minute of dissent. Meanwhile, however, we have, as mentioned above, received the first despatch of the Government of India embodying their final recommendations regarding the changes in the form of Government necessary to give effect to the declaration of August 1917. We think it desirable to deal with this subject before dealing with the division of functions. The human factors in the new proposals are the electors, the members of Councils, the Governors, the members of their Executive

Councils, and their Ministers. We have in our articles on the Franchises Report disposed of the two first categories. We have now a fair idea of who the electors will be and who the members they elect to the Councils will be. It is in the fitness of things that we should dispose of the other categories of persons in this constitutional drama before proceeding to discuss their respective functions under the proposals of the Feetham Committee and of the Government of India. Our leading article today is, accordingly, devoted to an examination of the proposals of the Government of India regarding the future form of Government, especially in the Provinces.

**Councils and Franchises:** Our review in the last two issues of this journal of the report of the Franchises Committee and the Government of India's despatch thereon, has shown that with the following improvements, some of them suggested by the Government of India, a satisfactory scheme can be based on the recommendations of the Southborough Committee: (1) Women should not be denied the franchise on account of their sex. We call attention to Miss Cousen's very cogent letter published in another column on the injustice of such exclusion. (2) The retention of the franchise in the case of retired military officers as recommended by the Committee. (3) Subjects of Indian States should have the right of voting for and sitting in the Councils provided they have resided in British India for a continuous period of seven years. (4) Non-Brahmins of Madras and Marathas in the Bombay Dekhan should have a certain proportion of seats in the Provincial Councils reserved for members of these communities, as suggested by the Government of India. (5) The number of seats for the representation of the depressed classes should be increased, as suggested also by the Government of India. (6) The Universities should have representation in the councils, as proposed by the Southborough Committee. (7) The residential restriction on candidates proposed for adoption in Bombay and the Punjab should be given up. On these two points, we are glad to have the support of the *Times of India*. (8) The Lucknow compact should be adhered to in the case of Mahomedan representation in Bengal as in the case of other provinces. (9) The electorates in Madras and the Punjab should be enlarged, the former considerably, as proposed by the Government of India. We should also like the Bombay electorate raised to one million voters. (10) Members of the Indian Legislative Assembly should be elected by Municipal and Local Boards, an arrangement similar to that by which members of Provincial Legislative Councils are elected at present, and (11) Members of the Council of State from the provinces should be elected jointly by the elected members of the Legislative Council of the provinces and the representatives of the provinces in the Indian Legislative Assembly elected as provided in the previous clause.



**The Situation in the Punjab :** Sir Michael O'Dwyer handed over charge of the Lieutenant Governorship of the Punjab to Sir Edward Maclagan on the 26th instant. The function seems to have been attended by unusual ceremony. A Government of India press note issued two days later, announced that acting on the advice of Sir Michael O'Dwyer before making over charge of his office, the Government of India had cancelled the orders suspending the function of the ordinary courts and establishing martial law within the districts of Lahore, Amritsar, Gujranwala, and Gujarat except in so far as those orders apply to all railway lands and to the following areas, viz.: (1) The Lahore civil area and cantonment; (2) the Kasur municipality; (3) the Amritsar municipality and cantonments and two neighbouring villages; (4) the municipalities of Gujranwala and Wazirabad and five notified areas in the Gujranwala district. It was hoped, moreover, that the conditions will admit of the withdrawal of martial law from the Lyallpur district at no distant date. There is no official confirmation of Sir Sankaran Nair's resignation.

**The Press Act.** We are surprised at the recrudescence of action under the Press Act so soon after Lord Willingdon assumed charge of the Governorship of Madras. The *Hindu*, the *Swadeshamitran*, (both Indian papers of the longest standing and highest reputation in the Presidency), and the *Hindu Nesan* have been required to deposit securities under the Press Act. The *Bombay Chronicle* resumed publication on Friday after depositing a fresh security of Rs. 5000. The leading columns were left blank and in explanation the following was printed at the top of them: "At the meeting of the Board of Directors of the Indian Newspaper Company held on Thursday May 29, the following resolution was passed:—'Resolved that the "Bombay Chronicle" including the Sunday edition thereof be published as soon as possible without any Editorial or other expression of views, and that it should be restricted to the publication of news for the present.' In accordance with this resolution, "The Bombay Chronicle" reappears to-day without editorial comments."

**Another Notable Instance of Hindu-Mahomedan Goodwill.** The free admission of Mahomedans to Hindu temples and of Hindus to Mahomedan mosques on recent occasions at Delhi, Bombay, Patna and other places, was a noteworthy sign of the times. It has been sought to be explained away as the outcome of temporary political excitement. But no such explanation will cover the following remarkable incident reported by the *Devalaya*, a monthly journal, devoted to religious topics, published in Calcutta: "On the 30th December, 1918, a very interesting and unique function took place at Jalalpur. The Hindu temple of Nandadulal Jieu at that village being in a ruinous condition Vaishnava Bhaktas of Calcutta and of the locality made arrangement for erecting a new temple in place of the old one and the 30th December last was fixed for laying the foundation stone of the same; and it was to be laid either by Probhupad Atulkrishna Goswami or Mahamahopadhyaya Promothanath Tarkabhusan. They were both unavoidably prevented from going to the place on the appointed day. The organisers were in a difficulty, for it was the earnest desire of all of them that the foundation should be laid by a devout Bhakta. At 2 P. M. Khan Bahadur Moulvi Asanulla, M. A., additional Inspector of Schools, Presidency Division, arrived at the place. His devotion was well known to the organizers and he was unanimously elected president of the meeting. He delivered a touching speech permeated by love and devotion and then amidst sweet Sankirtan laid the foundation of the temple. This is a unique event

in our religious world and marks great progress in the liberalisation of religious ideas. We offer our felicitation to the organisers of the function as well as to the revered Khan Bahadur."

**Swami Shraddhanand and Satyagraha.** We have information that several leading men in Bombay and other provinces, who signed the Satyagraha pledge in haste, are feeling that they would like to get out of it. Their reason seems to be that, while Satyagraha as applied to politics has been successful neither in avoiding violence nor in bringing about the disallowance of the Rowlatt Act, it has meanwhile like Aaron's rod swallowed up all other methods and brought public life to a standstill. Swami Shraddhanand in a letter to Mr. Gandhi resigning his membership of the Satyagraha Sabha, puts his view of the question thus: "You have suspended the civil breaking of laws temporarily because in your opinion 'a crisis has arisen in the country and it was not suited to the occasion.' You, however, hope that 'when tranquility was restored in the country and the people had thoroughly imbibed the true principles of it (Satyagraha),' the movement would be started again. Now, I am convinced that so long as the present system of Government lasts, there is no hope either of tranquility being restored in the country, or of the people at large being allowed to imbibe practically what you call 'the true principles of Satyagraha' through the signing of vows of sympathy on paper. I am, therefore, convinced that under the present conditions in India the civil breaking of laws without producing upheaval among masses, (for which neither you nor any Satyagrahi, is morally responsible) is impossible. Hence, consistently with the views you hold, the time for the civil disobedience of laws other than the Rowlatt Act, will never arise in the near future. I am further of opinion, that, when real tranquility is restored in India, the Rowlatt Act will have gone out and again no occasion of civil disobedience of laws on its account will arise. The result is that the actual result of my signing the Satyagraha vow formulated by you having disappeared I beg your leave to withdraw my name from the Satyagraha Sabha founded by you."

**Open Competition for Public Services:** The *Indian Mirror* of Calcutta is almost the only Indian journal which has supported the Rowlatt Legislation. Its verdict as to the result of nomination, and its plea for open competition, for recruitment to the Provincial Executive Service are the more noteworthy on that account. "We do hope," writes our contemporary, "that henceforth the competitive test will be adopted for recruitment for the Provincial Executive Service. It has for some years been a standing complaint that no graduate, however brilliant his academical career might be, need expect a Deputy Magistrateship, if he cannot secure letters of recommendation. First class men are left out in the cold while third class men are selected because they have influential men to back them. This is a state of things which should not be allowed to continue. The competitive test may not be an ideally perfect one but the wit of man has not been able to devise a better one." The competition should be really open, which it is not if candidates have to obtain nomination.

**The Afghan War:** A Reuter's telegram dated the 20th but published in yesterday's papers, says: "The *Times* and The *Westminister Gazette* criticise the Government for holding up for ten days the news of the Amir's request for the cessation of hostilities. The *Westminister Gazette* demands an explanation and points out that the announcement would have done good at home and in Paris, and would have relieved the anxiety of the relatives of the soldiers in India."



# INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, JUNE, 1, 1919.

THE LATE RAO BAHADUR K.  
VEERESALINGAM PANTULU.

We deeply regret to learn that the veteran social reformer, the pioneer of the movement for the remarriage of Hindu widows, the Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar of South India, Rao Bahadur K. Veeresalingam Pantulu Garud died at Madras on the morning of Tuesday, the 27th instant. We are sorry we can not attempt an adequate notice of his nobly selfless career this week.

## THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ON THE REFORM SCHEME.

The Montagu-Chelmsford report was signed at Simla on the 22nd April, 1918. It was published on July 8th of that year. On the 5th March last, the Government of India embodied in a despatch to the Secretary of State their final recommendations on the scheme of the report, formulated after consideration of the criticisms passed on it by Local Governments and by representative public bodies and persons in this country. The blue-book issued last week opens with the Government of India's despatch to which are appended two minutes, an explanatory one by His Excellency the Viceroy, and another of dissent by Sir Sankaran Nair, the Education Member. Then follow the address delivered by the Viceroy to a Conference of Heads of Provinces at Delhi, a minute by the Lieutenant-Governors of the United Provinces, Punjab and Burma, and the Chief Commissioners of the Central Provinces and Assam, another minute by His Excellency the Governor of Bengal and the Lieutenant-Governor of Bihar and Orissa dissenting from the former minute, a short but important note from His Excellency the Governor of Bombay who was unable to be present at the Conference at Delhi owing to labour troubles in Bombay, an extract from a speech by His Excellency the Viceroy in the Indian Legislative Council on the 6th February last, and representations by several public men and bodies conveying their opinions on the proposals of the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme. The rest of the blue-book is taken up by despatches from Provincial Governments to the Government of India embodying their views on the same scheme. The Bombay Government's despatch has appended to it a minute of dissent by the Hon. Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoolla.

### NON-OFFICIAL OPINION ON DIARCHY.

The first question taken up by the Government of India for discussion in their despatch, is the type of Government proposed in the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme for the Provinces. This, as they say, is the pivot of the scheme. Non-official opinion in this country both Indian and English, has accepted the diarchical type of Government as the best transitional device. The Delhi Congress voicing the most advanced political opinion in India declared that, while holding that the people are ripe for the introduction of full provincial autonomy, it was yet prepared with a view to

facilitate the passage of the reforms and to save the time which would otherwise be lost in controversy, to leave the departments of law, police and justice (prisons excepted) in the hands of the Executive Government in all provinces for a period of six years. At the other extreme, the Council of the European Association, while declining to believe that even 5 per cent. of the people of India were desirous of experimental advance towards the exotic system of representative Government, recognised as practical men that the Secretary of State and the Viceroy had created a situation in which some forward step must be taken, that merely to increase facilities for irresponsible criticism would be folly, and that compartmental transfer of power, though it had its own difficulties, seemed to be the best means of placing responsibility on Indian politicians without immediately jeopardising the whole administration. Moderate Indian opinion cordially welcomed the Montagu-Chelmsford proposals and, while suggesting modifications and improvements therein, expressed its grateful appreciation of the efforts of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State to start the country on a career of lasting and genuine progress. It is thus clear that organised opinion of all shades in the country, with many degrees of hesitation and many shades of enthusiasm, approves on the whole of the diarchical type of Government proposed in the Montagu-Chelmsford report for the provinces.

### OPPOSITION OF PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS.

The opposition to the diarchic type of Government has come from the Provincial Governments. It is not necessary to wade through their despatches to the Government of India. The minute of the Heads of five Provincial Governments drawn up after the Delhi Conference, dismissed the diarchic experiment outlined in the Montagu-Chelmsford report with an almost contemptuous gesture. The two other Heads of Provincial Governments who were present at the Delhi Conference, Lord Ronaldshay and Sir Edward Gait, alone among provincial Governments, had a good word to say for the diarchic experiment. The Government of Lord Pentland vehemently rejected the suggestion and so did the Government of Lord Willingdon in Bombay. Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoolla dissented from the wholesale condemnation by his colleagues of the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme, but in view of their objections suggested an alternative of his own. The alternative schemes proposed by the Heads of Provincial Governments except, those of Bengal and Bihar, omit the transfer of any subjects to Ministers. They would appoint two elected members to the Executive Council, they will increase the number of members in the Legislative Councils, they will throw open all subjects for discussion and vote, but they would accept the resolutions of the Councils only as recommendatory and not as binding on the Executive Government. Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoolla goes somewhat further and thinks that it would be a great improvement if the division of reserved and transferred subjects was carried to the largely elected Legislative Council instead of providing it in the Executive Government. In other words, the resolutions of the Legislative Council would be binding on Government



i n the case of transferred subjects but only recommendatory in the case of reserved ones. But there will be no Ministers responsible to the Legislature. The Congress. Moslem League scheme did not contemplate diarchy but it proposed to make resolutions of the Legislative Councils on all subjects binding on the Executive Government, subject to the Governor's veto. The Provincial Governments' scheme and Sir Ibrahim's scheme, are weakened forms of that scheme.

#### THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA'S DESPATCH.

The opening passages of the Government of India's despatch are more appropriate to a metaphysical disquisition than to a State document. Their ingenious arguments about what is dualism and what is non-dualism in Government would do credit to a professor of the Vedanta. The Government of India themselves claim that their proposals amount to a sort of *visishtadwaitism*. "We found on examination," they observe, "that pure dualism would be burdensome by reasons of divided councils and the results of inexperience. What we seek, therefore, is such modifications of dualism as will introduce the necessary elasticity and get rid of its worst inconveniences without confusing or disguising the responsibilities of the two parts of the Government." The despatch abounds in sentences of this kind which may mean anything or nothing. Sometimes the despatch betrays a curious discrepancy between profession and proposal. Here are two instances. "Pure separatism on the financial side," we are told in paragraph 32, "seems to us also an impossibility if the public interests are to be safeguarded." In paragraph 57, on the contrary, it is laid down that "within each province, each half of the Government should have a defined power of raising the revenue to provide for the expenditure which it considers necessary." Again in paragraph 46, we read "it seems to us inadvisable to make any general offer of a proportionate pension to men who are transferred and who may not like to serve under Ministers." In paragraph 48, it is stated that "an officer finding his position unendurable should be entitled to apply to the Government of India for a proportionate pension." Contradictions of this kind (which, of course, can be explained away) are not infrequent in this extraordinary despatch. The rapid transformations of ideas in the despatch make one giddy. We frankly say that we are unable to make head or tail out of some passages. We do not seem to be alone in this disability, for Sir Sankaran Nair in his minute of dissent often finds it necessary to prefix a subjunctive to his statements of the positions of his colleagues with which he is unable to concur. The scheme recommended in the despatch has few points of contact with the opinions of the Heads of Provinces or of any non-official school of Indian politics. The only document in this collection between which and the despatch we are able to discern some similarity of ideas is the memorandum of the Council of the European Association.

#### THE POSITION OF MINISTERS.

Diarchy as a transitional device in provincial Governments has been, as pointed out above, accepted

by non-official opinion in India, Indian and European. We need not, therefore, examine the arguments of the Government of India in overruling the plea against it advanced by all the provincial Governments with the exception of those of Bengal, and Bihar and Orissa. We can hardly believe that Parliament will agree to reopen the subject. If it does, the whole question of reform will be thrown once again into the melting-pot. We reserve the consideration of what subjects should be transferred to the charge of Ministers until we come to examine the recommendations of the Feetham Committee and the Government of India's views thereon. The question for immediate consideration in connection with the Government of India's despatch with which we are now concerned, is, what, if any, are the changes in the position of Ministers in relation to the Legislative Council, the Executive Council and the Governor personally, proposed by the Government of India, as compared with that proposed by the Viceroy and the Secretary of State in their joint report; and how do these changes affect their powers of usefulness, favourably or detrimentally? To begin with, it was proposed in the Montagu-Chelmsford report that Ministers would be appointed for the life-time of the legislative councils. The radical wing of Indian politicians who dominated the Delhi Congress demanded that, from the commencement of the first reformed Councils, the principle of the responsibility of Ministers to the Legislature should come into effect in the provinces. For quite different reasons, the Council of the European Association in their final statement on the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme threw out the same suggestion, though they intimated that the majority opinion in the Association inclined to the view that this would be premature and lead to practical difficulties in working if immediately adopted. The Government of India, however, have adopted the recommendation of the Delhi Congress on the extraordinary ground that the idea of amenability to constituents rather than the legislature strikes them as strange to English political theory (as if there are not many other things much more strange to that theory in their proposals) and that in view of the inexperience of the electorate compared with the legislature, and also of its communal character, as most unlikely to bear much fruit in practice. Almost in the very next sentence, Government admit that it is very hard to foresee how communalism in electorates and legislatures will deflect their working in India from the ways familiar to English experience. But they lightly pass over this difficulty with the remark that they feel bound at all events to proceed on the assumption that a Minister who finds himself at variance with the views of those who are in a position to control his legislation and his supply and to pass votes of censure upon his administration will recognise that he must make way for a more acceptable successor. This easy-going way of leaving everything to chance with regard to the Minister is in striking contrast to the meticulous care with which the most remote possibilities are provided against in



the case of the Members of the Executive Council and of the Public Services and certain other interests which we need not specify here. We think that the proposal of the joint report should be adhered to in order that members of the Legislative Councils as well as prospective Ministers may have time to adjust themselves to the new order of things. Some of the other important changes proposed in the despatch affecting, all of them more or less adversely, the position of the Minister, are: the increase in the number of official members in the Executive Council, avowedly as a set-off to Indian influence in the Government; the leaving open the question of the salary and status of Ministers with the invidious suggestion that they need not be on the same level as those of members of the Executive Council; the powers of dismissal of Ministers and resumption of their portfolios proposed to be vested in the Governor; the state of financial isolation in which it is proposed to place the Minister; and the privileged position sought to be assigned to officers serving under Ministers. We shall deal with these and others of the kind in the next issue.

#### SIR ALEXANDER CARDEW ON THE REFORM SCHEME.

(BY SIR NARAYAN CHANDAVARKAR).

Sir Alexander Cardew's note on the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme, attached to the papers of the Government of Madras, which are among the appendices to the Government of India's Despatch on the reports of the Southborough Committees, challenges attention because of his appeal to Indian philosophy and religion in support of his view that India is not fit for even a gradual advance towards a democratic form of government. He accepts the policy embodied in the declaration of the 20th of August, 1917. He sees no reason why all should not "desire to see India gradually advance towards democracy." But he thinks that the stable foundations for such advance to be either real or beneficent do not exist at present in India.

His grounds in support of that view may be shortly stated here. He thinks that the democratic idea, which regards the individual man, irrespective of his birth or status, as of equal worth with other men entitling him to full opportunity to allow him to obtain his full development in life, is opposed to the Indian philosophy of life, because that philosophy does not accept that idea but determines irrevocably a man's *status* and consequently his value in life by his birth and caste.

Assuming for the moment that Sir Alexander's statement of that philosophy is, whether absolutely or substantially, correct, his conclusion would be correct too as inevitably following from his premises, only if we accepted democracy to mean an end in itself, not a means. Sir Alexander himself regards it as a means to an end, because, in setting out to show that stable conditions for even a gradual advance towards democracy are at present absent in India, he is careful to point out that the advance

should be "real or beneficent." That can only mean that it must be real or beneficent as leading by the sure and gradual steps of democratic forms to a beneficent end. If then gradual advance towards democracy is a means to a beneficent end, what is that end? Sir Alexander is right in regarding that end as consisting in the maximum development of each individual in life. That maximum development means his attainment to the life of a moral being, moral, not in the popular sense of being virtuous, but as a citizen seeking and finding his good in the common good and working for it in that social and civic spirit. The function of government is to enable the individual to attain such development. Therefore the question is—what is the form of government which alone so enables the individual? Not the paternal system because it forces morality—even where morality and not self-interest is its motive force—on the individual instead of enabling him to attain by his own activity this maximum moral development. Forced morality is no morality because it is morality born of the bondage of fear. It is slavery. Moral development means the disinterested performance by an individual of self-imposed duties. That end is not secured but is retarded where the government under which the individual lives being paternal treats him as a subject, not as a citizen, and strives to make him loyal, not an intelligent patriot. This inherent sin of all forms of Government which are not democratic has been dwelt upon by all the best writers on the subject but by none perhaps so wisely as by T. H. Green in his lectures on political obligation, where, after pointing out that "the real function of Government being to maintain conditions of life in which morality shall be possible and morality consisting in the disinterested performance of self-imposed duties, 'paternal government' does its best to make it impossible by narrowing the room for the self-imposition of duties and for the play of disinterested motives," he says:—

"If the law which regulates private relations and its administration are so equally applied to all, that all who are capable of a common interest are prompted by that interest to conform to the law, the result is still only the loyal subject as distinct from the intelligent patriot, i. e. as distinct from the man who so appreciates the good which in common with others he derives from the state—from the nation organised in the form of a self-governing community to which he belongs—as to have a passion for serving it, whether in the way of defending it from external attack or developing it from within. The citizens of the Roman Empire were loyal subjects; the admirable maintenance of private rights made them that; but they were not intelligent patriots, and chiefly because they were not, the Empire fell. That active interest in the service of the state, which makes patriotism in the better sense, can hardly arise while the individual's relation to the state is that of a passive recipient of protection in the exercise of his rights of person and property. While this is the case, he will give no thanks for the protection which he will come to take as a matter of course, and will only be conscious of it when it descends upon him with some unusual demand for service or payment, and then he will be conscious of it in the way of resentment. If he is to have a higher feeling of political duty, he must take part in the work of the state."



If democracy means the active participation of the citizen in the state for the maximum development of his moral being and for the durability of the state and as such is 'the only proper and effectual means to that beneficent end, the fundamental principle of it must in application hold good in the case of all human beings, even of those whose view of the philosophy of life does not accept that principle. A people's view of the philosophy of life arises out of their religion; and religion, in spite of diverse creeds, is based on the idea that it is and must be one for the whole human race, and not choice portions of it. Christianity as other creeds proceeds on that basis of human life. Would Sir Alexander Cardew contend that Christianity should not be preached and adopted in India because Indian religions are hostile to it? The same argument should hold good in politics. Democracy in its genuine aspects is a religious principle and applies to the whole human race. Hence Mr. Balfour has said that "democracies have proved themselves capable of uniting over difficulties for the common good." A wrong theory of life is not corrected by the mere enunciation of the right theory of life but by practice. Theory and practice act and react on each other and lead to new theories and new practice. Theories, whether in religion, philosophy or politics, are ideas; and the abstract ideas of man are born of and after action and experience—what is called the evolutionary process of life. Man begins with a theory of life suggested by his environment and drops it when practice shows the theory to be unsound. The laws and institutions of government as the organisation of life, are as much his educators for his attainment to the sounder theories of the philosophy of life, as religion and social conventions and customs. Nay, they can be and often are better educators. Because whereas men's religions and social customs differ, their political destiny under one and the same Government for all brings them into a whole, and that unity, by enabling them to work together for the same political end, enlarges their vision of life and draws them out of the narrowness of creed, caste, and race. That is the modern political faith. Where the religion or philosophy of a people has inured them to the idea that an individual's value in life is irrevocably determined for him by his birth, and that value is not equal in the case of all men, the surest way of removing the man from the influence of that idea is not only to present to his mind the better idea as a theory but to put him in the situation to practice it instead of merely telling him that his idea is opposed to the latter and that until he gives it up he is not fit for it. That forms the *raison d'être* of the British Government in India,—that alone justifies it and gives it the human and divine claim to rule in India. If that *motif* be weak, the government becomes a rule by conquest, and the rulers, instead of removing the pernicious influence of the Indian view of the philosophy of life as to the value of the individual, serve but to abet it in reality, by creating a new caste of the ruling race and strengthening that Indian view, while condemning that view as narrow, selfish, and therefore anti-democratic. Such condemnation need

not necessarily be insincere. There are Indians as there are Englishmen who sincerely believe that Indian religious faiths, social customs, and philosophy are unsuited to democratic forms of government. It is unfair to say that all of them are influenced by the indirect motive of psychophancy if they are Indians, and race bias, if they are Englishmen. The fact is that in holding that view they do not take care either to enquire into or bear in mind the true meaning and purpose of democracy and the introduction of its forms by gradual stages. They commit the ordinary politician's error of ignoring the fact that democracy is a means to an end, is the only means for the self-realisation of individuals and through them of the society and the state composed of them. And that error colours the whole of Sir Alexander Cardew's Note.

I have so far dealt with that Note on the assumption that his view of the Indian philosophy of life as being anti-democratic is correct. The correctness of that view must be examined on its own merits if we are to meet his statement against India's fitness for a gradual advance towards democracy. I reserve that examination for the next number of this paper.

## THE RATE OF EXCHANGE.

### II

(Contributed.)

In our article on this subject last week, we have assumed for the sake of argument that the Government, helpless in the matter and their hands were forced by the rise in the price of silver and we have there already shown that a far better and more economical way would be to cover the loss, if there was one eventually, by taxation on exports. We have shown there that this would be very much cheaper to the ryot and the producer. We will now see if the Government are really so helpless as they say. Why does the price of silver rise? Why should we buy it if it is high? Let us take up the first question here today viz, the causes of the rise of silver.

Let us examine the causes of this rise. Anyone that looks into the subject will find that ever since the Franco-German war of 1870-71 silver has been steadily declining. The reason was the adoption by Germany of the Gold Standard. The decline was at first gradual as besides China and India, America was in favour of retaining silver in the currency, and there were many other countries particularly the countries of Europe, known as the Latin Union to students of currency matters, that used large quantities of silver for currency. However, the discovery of new chemical and metallurgical processes led to large quantity of silver being produced, not from purely silver mines, but from copper, lead and zinc mines and as a by-product of these metals. Therefore, so long as it paid to extract these metals, the silver was also produced as a by-product although nobody would have cared to work the mines for the silver itself. This continued increase in the production of silver led to a continued and since 1885, a more rapid fall in price. Under the pressure of the



silver mine-owners of America, their Government passed a law requiring the purchase of certain quantities of silver on account of the American Government but such bolstering up of prices could not go on for long and even that rich Government had to desist from the attempt to support the price of silver. The continued decline in the price of the metal so disorganised the finances of India that our Government appointed Commissions to devise remedies and as a result India practically threw over silver and adopted the gold standard with 16d worth of gold as the theoretical unit of value. Japan, that had just then come out of the China-Japan war and was a debtor in gold to England and had need of further gold loans to build up its industries, then saw the necessity of itself adopting the gold standard. Japan was followed by the Straits Settlements, the Philippines, Siam and Mexico, until today the only silver-standard country in the world of any economic importance is China.

During this period 1894—1914, as will be seen, one country after another discarded silver as currency and one would think that silver must have continuously declined during this period, but this was not so. Between 1900 and 1906 silver rose from about 22d to over 33d. Again between 1910 and 1913 it rose from 23d to over 29d and a careful study of silver movements of these two periods would have given our authorities a clue to the possible movements of silver during this war and saved us the very serious mistakes in the management of our currency that have brought us to the present pass.

Both these big rises were due to war and its effects, the first to the Russo-Japanese war and the second to the Balkan wars that started with hostilities between Italy and Turkey in 1911.

#### WHY DO WARS RAISE SILVER?

Wars raise silver as they do every other commodity by creating a sudden big and peremptory demand for it. As the sudden provisions of clothes or boots for millions of men raise the prices of cloth and leather, so the sudden need of large amounts of subsidiary coins for payment to the troops raises the price of silver. For it should be remembered that even in gold standard countries like England the coins below the half sovereign are all of silver and it is this silver that is most needed in payment of daily wages to large masses of men that a war mobilises in the field. This is not all. Military activities, as we have all seen during the past 5 years, lead to great activity in all lines of industry and call for larger number of hands and at higher and higher wages. Therefore payments to this industrial army call for further subsidiary coinage i. e. for still more silver. The prosperity of these classes tends to larger purchases by them of articles more or less made of silver. This same activity of general trade and industry leads to large demands for raw materials and consequently to increased earnings by agricultural countries like India and China and consequent demand for more than their usual quotas of silver by these big countries.

In short, the rises in the price of silver that culminated in the above two cases in 1906 and 1913 respectively, were both originally started by wars and the greatly increased activity in all trade and industry that wars always bring about. The same has happened in this war. Only, as it has been out of all proportion a far greater war than any yet known its effects on trading, industrial and agricultural activities have been similarly far greater.

The effect on the Indian demand for silver has been extraordinary, and that because while India required silver for coinage as well as for trade purposes, even in normal times, it was now itself actively engaged in war with over a million men in the field and millions of others mobilised in the various services and industries to supply much-needed food-stuffs and munitions. The Indian demand for silver was already large in pre-war days and practically ruled the silver market in those days, India taking from a quarter to a third of the annual silver production of the world. Since the war has been in full swing, India has taken increasing quantities and last year it took up more silver than the whole world's production for 1918. This, coming at a time when all the belligerent nations have been taking up considerable quantities of silver for subsidiary coinage, has brought about the present difficult situation in the silver market. India has raised the price of silver against itself by its own purchases on an unheard-of scale. If India did not buy or refused to buy above a given figure the market for silver cannot be long maintained over 40d. if even that. Those who will take the trouble to study closely the economic situation in the periods after silver has touched its highest in 1906 and 1913, will see that in a comparatively short period prices declined to very low levels. The superficial observer will attribute them to the causes immediately striking the eye viz., the American crisis in 1907 and the failure of the Indian Specie Bank (then the highest single operator in silver) in 1913. To any one that cares to look deeper it will be soon clear that these were not themselves causes but were merely consequences of the fundamental cause viz, the termination of hostilities and the gradual re-adjustment of the economic situation and the consequent contraction of industrial activities and of credits. This is sure to happen again. Already the re-adjustment process has begun. The first stages will be slow as there are still millions of men in the fighting line, but, shortly after the final signing of peace, the re-adjustment will be more marked and as prices of commodities and wages get re-adjusted to lower levels, the demand for silver will fall off and prices will follow suit. During the war, various circumstances have tended to hold back supplies from the world market, particularly the Mexican supplies. The supply is, therefore likely to increase just when the demand is likely to diminish. If, therefore, India can only postpone its purchases for a time it is likely to get its silver much cheaper. Then, why should it help the silver-profiters to cut its own throat by insisting



on buying now at what are cornering prices. This brings and to our second question viz. Why should we buy silver at extravagant rates?

Can we not defer the purchases as any sane Merchants will do when purchasing his stock? We shall take up this point in our next.

### THE SAMKHYA SYSTEM.

(By MR. NARMADASHANKAR D. MEHTA B.A.)

Indian Philosophy with its three phases of realism and phenomenalism depicted in the Nyaya-Vaisheshika, the Samkhya-Yoga and the Vedanta systems respectively, is hardly studied in these days in its entirety. The result is that the popular knowledge of Indian philosophy is centralized in the Vedanta system as propounded by that eminent theologian and philosopher, Sankara, and the independent conceptions of realism and idealism of the other orthodox schools have remained in the background. Dr. Bhandarkar rightly deplores that "the Samkhya Philosophy has long been driven away from the curriculum of Sanskrit students on this side of India, and that he has not heard of any Shastri in the Marathi or Gujrati country having devoted himself to it, and nearly all know but little about it."

The Samkhya system, however, has been interwoven in the Smritis, Itihasas and Puranas, and the powerful hold which it maintains on the Indian orthodox mind—consciously or unconsciously—is inferable from the daily offer of oblation of water to a number of Samkhya teachers by orthodox Brahmins. The Puranic Hinduism and Tantra or Agama literature of the Hindus, admit the validity of the twenty-five elements of the Samkhyas although they add some eleven more as anterior evolutes. Even Sankaracharya sees in the Samkhya system a powerful and honourable foe to his Vedant system on account of (i) the close proximity of its teaching with the Upanishads; (ii) its rationalism and (iii) the traditional veneration in which it is held.

That such a system should remain unexplored by Indian students is unpardonable, and Professor Keith deserves great credit for revealing this heritage of India with great perspicuity. His book discusses the subject from historical, traditional and critical stand-points, and all available literature on the subject appears to have been utilized. Mr. Keith finds the genesis of Samkhya ideas in the Upanishads, but a careful analysis of the Vedic literature reveals that the conception of cosmic substance of an indeterminate form with the principle of life involved in it is as old as the Rigveda. In the नासदीयसूक्त (Rigveda X. 11.130) the dark indeterminate cosmic stuff is represented as growing from within and giving birth to the primeval seed of intellect. This idea is more akin to the Samkhya Prakriti or Pradhana than to the Vedantic Maya which in itself has no basic reality. The fundamental difference between the Vedanta and the Samkhya systems both of which base themselves on the Upanishads, lies in the fact that the Brahman of the Vedant is Absolute and capable of explaining the multifarious world of egotism

and non-egoism; while the Samkhya posits Pradhana as the opposite of Purusha or spirit. This dualism has led to ontological and epistemological differences of opinion, and the *summum bonum* of the Samkhyas consists in absolute isolation of spirit without content whereby it is reduced to non-entity. Mr. Keith remarks that "in following the doctrine of the Upanishads that true knowledge involves the denial of individuality, the Samkhya system leads itself into the difficult position that it thus really denies the reality of its system of many spirits since there can be no multiplicity without individuality to distinguish the several members of the group of spirits. In the Upanishads, on the contrary, the idea is justifiable since the denial of individuality is due to the fact that all seeming individuals are really merely one single self. In the Upanishads, moreover, there is a real possibility of the binding of the self; whether the bonds be real or merely illusory, still in the first case they can be destroyed in the appropriate manner and in the second, the false belief can be removed by knowledge but the Samkhya denies any real connection whatever, and while it, therefore, leaves it to be assumed that the apparent connection is caused by ignorance, it does not, like the Vedanta, elevate that ignorance into a metaphysical entity thus leaving its existence even on the basis of the system unexplained."

The second stage of the Samkhya philosophy may be designated as associated with the Buddhistic period of Indian civilization. The preliminary enquiry of Gautama as to the solution of the world enigma through various Brahmanic teachers, among whom Arad is definitely mentioned, implies that before achieving enlightenment Gautama had come in contact with the Samkhya principles coupled with the belief in the personal supreme divinity of qualified dualism. The causal series of Buddhism commencing with ignorance and ending in misery with its consequential pessimism, has close affinity to the Samkhya theory of bondage, but in point of psychological conceptions the Samkhya is more advanced than Buddhism.

Before we reach the third stage of the Samkhya system as revealed in the Mahabharat it may be noted that the long period intervening between the Upanishads and the great epic justifies the assumption that there was one form of doctrine which cannot definitely be named Samkhya and from which both the Samkhya and Buddhism were derived. The Samkhya of the epic period associated with hoary sages some of whom have gone to the limbo of mythology, has a tinge of theism in as much as in some places the twentysixth principle viz, God or परब्रह्म is admitted. Mr. Keith's inference that Kapila, the reputed traditional author of the Samkhya system, is probably not a historical personage is justifiable in the existing stage of our knowledge. The reference to Kapila in the Svetasvatara Upanishad is dubious, and the text really refers to the primeval being Hiranyagarbha (golden-broed) of which Kapila (yellow) is a synonym. As regards the real nature of the system of Samkhya as taught in the epic two different views are propounded:— (i) Garbe is of opinion



at it is merely a popularizing and corruption of the true Samkhya and that it is unrahmanic in character having been influenced to large extent by the Kshatriyas; while (ii) Dehltman holds that it is essentially a science of the Brahman, mahavidya, but it is at the same time based on agic, Anvikshika, and while it never abandons additional foundations (only once, and that on the doctrine of Ahimsa, which he supports against addition, is Kapila pronounced the holder of an orthodox view in the epic) still it freely uses the processes of reasoning.

Neither of the two views is sustainable. The Samkhya of the epic is the result of gradual growth in different environments and the charge of Kshatriya influence is equally applicable to the Vedantic teaching of the Upanishads that Atman equals Brahman. It is not a corruption of a purer preceding doctrine as is supposed by Professor Garbe. Nor is the Samkhya doctrine of the epic identical with the doctrine of Atma-rahman of the absolute pantheists. Mr. Keith rightly holds that "the Samkhya of the epic is a conception based entirely on the view of the difference between subject and object and that this conception was formed independently of the existing Atma-rahman philosophy, or at least in conscious rejection of it."

Lastly, we reach the stage of classical Samkhya as taught in the Karika of Ishwarkrishna and the later Samkhya Sutra. Since Ishwarkrishna, who flourished in 450 A. D. we have not come across any independent thinker of the Samkhya school except the all-round scholar Vachaspati Mishra of the 9th century and the ascetic Vijnanabhiksha of the 16th century. Vachaspati Mishra was a clear independent thinker, and had no undue leaning towards any system; while Vijnanabhiksha was an eclectic philosopher who propounded a special school of Vedanta called Avibhagadwaita in which he tries to unify the teaching of the six orthodox schools laying stress on the Samkhya-Yoga view of the cosmos and rejecting the Mayavada of Samkara.

The get-up of the book is excellent and the exposition lucid. A few stories relating to the personal teaching of Kapila—whether we regard him as a historic personage or a mythic divinity—from the Puranas *e. g.*, his teaching to his mother Devhuti on the Bindu lake, or his stoic reply to Manu Vaivaswat who intended to keep the sage in a palace for the purpose of securing the sovereignty of the upper world, would have added to the charm of the book, for in our opinion speculative philosophy without its realistic setting does not appeal to the Indian mind. It has been rightly stated that the Veda requires exposition through Itihasas and Puranas lest the bald doctrine of the Veda be devoid of its practical application in life.

#### FRANCHISE FOR INDIAN WOMEN.

The Editor, The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

On behalf of the members of the 45 Branches of the Women's Indian Association, all of which have signed requisitions

in favour of women suffrage, I protest vigorously against the decision of the Southborough Committee that the franchise shall not be extended to women, because, forsooth, "the social conditions of India make it premature." Is this handful of men better able to judge of these conditions than were the thousands of Indian delegates to the Bombay and Delhi Congresses? These latter were the fathers, husbands, brothers and sons of the women concerned and, knowing at first hand their social conditions, with full understanding of what the necessary steps to women's voting would be, they voted enthusiastically for the removal of the sex disqualification in all the terms of the Reform Scheme; as also did the men in many Provincial and District Conferences such as Madras and Bombay. Are the considered opinions of these representative bodies of Indian men and women to be flouted by these few Committee members, some of the Englishmen already known to be opposed to the grant of the vote even to their own Englishwomen and who are thus dated as behind the times?

From the nature of the majority of the members of the Committee it was already so foregone a conclusion that they would oppose the enfranchisement of Indian women that immediately after the Bombay Congress I had written to the suffrage societies of Great Britain and Ireland pointing out that this question must be decided directly by Parliament and that the women voters there must insist on their voices being heard in support of their Indian sisters whose menfolk had so publicly showed their desire for their political freedom. I had replies from their societies promising such support, and we are not a bit downhearted, though rightly indignant, at the temporary insult offered to Indian men and women, for it cannot be considered final since it has evidently been based more on personal prejudices than on conformity with the wishes of the people.

With regard to points of detail, the Committee propose that there shall be special electorates for universities. Does it propose to use woman's sex as a disqualification of every woman graduate of such universities? If their social conditions have been such as to permit them to attend colleges and pass the same stiff examinations as their brothers, these "social conditions" will not debar them from voting at an election. It is impossible for such unfair and unjust differentiation to remain unchallenged in the British Parliament, or to be acquiesced in here. Western women in India will also have something to say to the authorities in England on the matter.

There was never a demand that all women should get the franchise—only that where they possessed the other qualifications required from electors such as payment of rates or taxes, residence, and property qualifications, the fact that they were women—their sex—should not put them outside the pale of responsible citizenship. The number so qualified would be comparatively few but they would be valuable assets to the Government of the country and, as Mr. Hogg remarked, at the outset of the development of Self-Government for India it was advisable that sex-disqualification should be removed.

If there were some social conditions which would prevent them from using their vote, which we deny, the very possession of such a right would act as an incentive to women to change their conditions so as to be able to exercise their power.

The Committee does not favour a test of "literacy," therefore it cannot be the present condition of women's education which forms the barrier; the qualified women would be quite well able to manage their own affairs (and often those of others!) and all politics reduce themselves to the best interest of the individual.



Presumably the purdah system is the excuse on which the denial of enfranchisement is based, but our women's societies pointed out to the Committee that Australia had given the precedent of collecting women's votes at their homes by specially appointed officers, who in India might be women and so this was not an impassable objection. If this is the "social condition" that makes enfranchisement "premature" then as it will take centuries to change it, women will have to wait for their vote till then! Also, the purdah system applies only to part of India. Are no women to have a great principle applied to them because of "the dog in the manger" views of this Committee?

Protest meetings should and will be held by Women's Societies throughout India and by men's also, and their Resolutions be sent to the Government of India, the Secretary of State and the British Women Suffrage Societies so that this decision may be overborne.

MARGARET E. COUSINS  
Acting Secretary

Brookhampton, Onty.

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not  
 excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
 WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

## CONTENTS.

Montagu's Budget speech.	The Government of India on the Reform Scheme II.
Montagu on Mr. Horniman's Deportation.	Sir Alexander Cardew on the Reform Scheme II.
Legislative Councils and the Vernaculars.	The Rate of Exchange III.
Madah Experts.	Ganjam Social Conference.
Rabindranath Tagore's Kinghood.	The Late Rao Bahadur K. Veerasalingam Pentulu Garu.
Birth Day Honours.	Egyptian Christians and Moslems.

## NOTES.

**Mr. Montagu's Budget Speech:** Mr. Montagu's speech on the Indian Budget in the House of Commons on the 22nd May was as able as it was adroit, skipping over some delicate matters. With reference to the new Currency Commission, we think that the composition of it, since announced, does not at all adequately provide for Indian interests. The single Indian gentleman, Mr. Dalal, who has been included in it, represents one important interest, but there are others which he in no wise represents. We should like an Indian economist and a representative of the Indian mills to be added to the Commission. We appreciate the position allowed to India at the Peace Conference. As Mr. Montagu pointed out, she not only had separate access to the Peace Conference and the King had empowered her representatives to sign the peace, but as members of the British Empire delegation the Indian representatives shared the task of concerting the policy of the British Empire. The Maharaja of Bikaner, Lord Dufferin and himself, added Mr. Montagu, had devoted themselves all the more concentratedly to the interests of India, because they realised that they were representatives of a people not yet, unfortunately, self-governed. We are grateful to Mr. Montagu for calling attention to the position of Indians in South Africa which, he rightly declared, was lower than the citizens of any other part of the Empire.

Mr. Montagu gave a substantially correct account of the causes of Indian unrest, but he has utterly failed to see the point of the objection that with the Ordinance powers at the disposal of the Governor-General, there was no need for passing an Emergency Act to cope with revolutionary crime. If the Government of India had proposed to give up the Ordinance powers, there would have been force in his contention that the argument that Government ought to have proceeded by ordinance instead of discussion in the Legislative Council could not be seriously used by anybody with a sense of civic responsibility. Mr. Montagu significantly hoped that everybody would look forward to the eventual "repeal" of the Rowlatt Act as unnecessary. Now, as the duration of the Act is limited to three years, the question of repeal can only arise before the lapse of that time. We can not think that the Secre-

tary of State used the word inadvertently. We are glad that Mr. Montagu took occasion to dispel the fears of our Mahomedan countrymen regarding the Holy places of Islam. In a passage of first-rate importance, Mr. Montagu referred to the future fiscal policy of India. He was, he said, a Free Trader, but he had always held that Free Trade should be achieved by a nation at its own risk and not imposed on it from outside by another Government. "Undoubtedly educated Indians were not Free Traders. If they were given fiscal liberty—he thought they soon would be—let them find their own salvation. Let them find what suits their destinies best." We had referred to Mr. Montagu's references to the Reform bill last week.

**Mr. Montagu on Mr. Horniman's deportation:** The Secretary of State for India made a reference to Mr. Horniman's deportation in his budget speech. "Mr. Montagu emphasised that the authorities in India were very patient with Mr. Horniman. There was never a better example of our reluctance to interfere with the mere eccentricities of political belief, but when Mr. Horniman began to use his paper in the midst of riots to fan the flame and published an accusation that British troops had used soft-nosed bullets in Delhi and his paper was distributed free to British troops in Bombay hoping to excite insubordination, it was high time that he left India. In normal times he would have been tried, but in view of the riots prompt, swift action for restoration of order was necessary. An Indian would have been deported and an Englishman on whom far greater responsibility lay could not be tolerated in India, if he was responsible for occurrences which Government associated with Mr. Horniman." The Directors of the Indian Newspaper Company have cabled to Mr. Montagu that the statement that the *Chronicle* paper was distributed free to British troops in Bombay hoping to excite insubordination is absolutely without foundation. As regards the use of soft-nosed bullets, they express their regret that it appeared in the *Chronicle*. They explain how it happened that the *Chronicle* did not withdraw the allegation and express its regret for its publication earlier. The reason given by Mr. Montagu for the deportation is, of course, far more serious than any put forward in India; but Mr. Horniman is now in London, and it is only fair to him to reserve judgment until after the statement which he will no doubt make in view of the Secretary of State's grave accusation.

**Legislative Councils and the Vernaculars:** The narrow jealousy of educated Indians which does duty for general principles in the despatch of the Government of India on the Reform scheme, is nowhere more vividly clear than in the paragraph relating to the use of the vernaculars in the proceedings of Legislative Councils. The Government of India observe: "The question is by no means free from practical difficulty. Assuming that in future there are three groups in the councils, (1) official members, (2) the rural members and (3) the representatives of the Indian educated classes, it will practically be



only the third of these who will enjoy the advantage of a fluent knowledge of both languages; and it is possible at least that they may be tempted to turn such a position to their advantage in various ways which it would be easy to suggest. It seems to us difficult, however, to provide a formal remedy and we think that the matter must be mainly left for the Governor to deal with." In our view, the only possible language in our Legislative Councils is English. The reasons are so many and so conclusive that it is superfluous to state them here. For one thing, and that not the least important, there can be no interprovincial influence if proceedings in the Legislative Councils are conducted in the vernaculars. There are in most Indian communities a sufficiently large number of men with a working knowledge of English. We should make it a rule that members of Legislative Councils are expected to have enough knowledge of English to enable them to follow and take part in the proceedings, with a proviso in favour of the backward and depressed classes who may, for the next five or ten years, be permitted by the president to speak in the vernacular. In the face of such broad considerations, it is painful to see the Government of India resorting to the argument that to permit speeches in the vernaculars will confer an undue advantage on educated Indians who may use it for ulterior purposes. The distinction made between "rural members" and representatives of the Indian educated classes, is, of course, absurd

**Purdah Experts:** In support of their views against the transfer of higher education to Ministers under the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme, the Government of India have adopted the extraordinary course of citing the opinions of persons who are evidently unwilling to have their names associated publicly with their views. "We attach as Appendix to this despatch," so runs the despatch, "three opinions upon this question which we regard as worthy of the fullest consideration: the first is from an experienced non-official Indian educationist who writes with first-hand knowledge, though we regard the second sentence of his opinion as too sweeping; the second is the opinion of two officials with special knowledge of educational administration, one of them being an Indian; the third is from the pen of a recent Vice Chancellor of an Indian University." This is remarkably like the puzzles set in some students' magazines. Two of our enterprising contemporaries, the *Independent* of Allahabad, and the *Searchlight* of Patna, aver that the experienced non-official Indian educationist with first hand knowledge referred to, is Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed of Aligarh. Dr. Ahmed was a member of the Sadler Commission on the affairs of the Calcutta University. The habit, we are afraid a growing one, of Government to rely on Indians who are afraid to give public expression to their views, is demoralising alike to Indians and to Government. The opinions of men who have not the moral courage to own them publicly are worse than worthless. The second sentence in the Indian educationist's opinion which even Government have not been able to swallow, runs as follows: "I do not hesitate to say that the only institutions that I know in India which are efficient are those which are under Government management, which are for that reason free from the illegitimate external pressure which all other institutions have to undergo." This only shows that the knowledge of educational institutions possessed by this gentleman is confined to some few good Government institutions and some bad private ones. There is no evidence in the rest of his opinion that his tendency to sweeping generalisation had exhausted itself with this single instance which even Government have felt bound to deprecate.

**Sir Rabindranath Tagore's Knighthood.** Some time back Dr. Subrahmanya Iyer of Madras felt bound to surrender his Knight Commandership of the Indian Empire on account of the aspersions cast on him for having addressed a letter to President Wilson calling his attention to the demands of Indian political reformers. Sir Rabindranath Tagore has followed his example and, in a letter to the Viceroy, the poet has requested His Excellency to relieve him of his knighthood which, in view of the disproportionate severity of the punishments inflicted upon the unfortunate people of the Punjab, he feels he could not continue to appropriate consistently with his duty to his country and countrymen. There is a wide-spread belief that the methods of restoring peace and order in the Punjab have been disproportionately severe. We do not know as yet the full extent of these measures. We are glad that Mr. Montagu has, in his speech on the Budget, promised an independent enquiry into the happenings in that province and elsewhere. Nobody, least of Sir Rabindranath, condones or minimises the heinousness of the murders and arson committed by the mob at Amritsar and elsewhere, but can it be said that to sentence twenty persons to be hanged for sacking a bank and killing two Englishmen is not disproportionate? Let it be remembered that these judicial punishments are in addition to the considerable number of persons shot down by the military and the police at Amritsar. The exact number of these is not known. We have heard estimates which run from hundreds upwards. Anyhow there is no doubt that a large number were killed on the spot. Apart from the disproportionate character of hanging twenty men for the offence—a very serious one—of sacking a Bank and killing two men, we doubt whether such wholesale executions are calculated to inculcate a wholesome respect for the law in the common people. Sir Rabindranath's action can hardly fail to arrest attention throughout the civilised world. There are scores of knights whose acceptance or renunciation of titles is of little significance, but Sir Rabindranath Tagore is not of this class. Wherever his poems are read and admired, there it will be known that he has felt bound to give up his knighthood, and people will hardly fail to ask, why?

**The Birthday Honours.** The most important of the birthday honours announced last week is the K. C. S. I. conferred on Dr. Michael Sadler, the President of the Calcutta University Commission. Dr. Sadler's valuable services in the cause of education are sure to have won recognition, but we feel it an honour to have his name on the roll of our premier Indian Order. The same honour is conferred on Mr. Carmichael, Member of the Executive Council of this Presidency, and is a well-deserved reward for many years of conscientious work in the Civil Service. Sir George Carmichael's courtesy and fair-mindedness have won for him the respect and confidence of the Indian public who are pleased to see this mark of recognition bestowed upon him by His Majesty. Mr. P. R. Cadell's C. S. I. is also noteworthy but from a different point of view. Mr. Manubhai Mehta, Dewan of Baroda, is also awarded the Companionship of the Star of India. The C. I. E. conferred on Mr. Purshotamdas Thakurdas is thoroughly well-deserved. Mr. Purshotamdas combines business ability with philanthropic fervour, and his services in recent times have been invaluable. The permanent Commissioner of Police, Bombay, Mr. Vincent, is included in the list of C. I. E.'s while his locum tenens, Mr. Griffith, is made an Officer of the British Empire in recognition, no doubt, of his admirable management of the critical situation in Bombay in April last.



# INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, JUNE, 8, 1919.

## THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ON THE REFORM SCHEME II.

In his speech on the Indian Budget in the House of Commons, Mr. Montagu definitely announced the rejection of the alternative scheme proposed by the Heads of Provincial Governments in India in place of that based on diarchy outlined in the Montagu-Chelmsford report. As regards the modifications suggested by the Government of India, he said, some would be incorporated in the Reform Bill, and that he would ask the Joint Committee, to which it will be referred, not to accept the others. Renter has transmitted the contents of a memorandum by the Secretary of State on the Reform Bill which has since been introduced in Parliament. There is some specific statements in it which give an indication of the principles actuating Mr. Montagu, and since this is a Cabinet measure, the Cabinet, in dealing with the changes suggested by the Government of India. In regard to Executive Councils, it is stated, the suggestion of the Government of India that one seat should statutorily be reserved for an Indian is not adopted because it is considered undesirable to include in the Bill any provision for racial qualification; but it is contemplated that in any event Executive Councils would continue to include at least one Indian member and if a second European member is added there will also be a second Indian member. This is a hopeful sign. The suggestion of the Government of India to increase the number of European and Service members in the Provincial Executive Council to two as against one recommended by the Montagu-Chelmsford report, was the first of the points we had reserved for consideration this week. We are now able to do so with more equanimity than we should have been but for the above announcement of the decision of His Majesty's Government. The point nevertheless affords typical illustration of the radically divergent attitudes with which Lord Chelmsford and Mr. Montagu in their joint report, and Lord Chelmsford and his colleagues in the Government of India (Sir Sankaran Nair, of course, excepted), have approached it. The Montagu-Chelmsford scheme contemplated an Executive Council of two members in the Provinces: one a European of long official experience, and the other an Indian. In order to provide against insufficient Indian official experience in the case of Governors from England, the scheme included the addition without portfolios of one or two officials for purposes of consultation and advice only. The additional members would still discharge, it was expressly stated, the functions of, and draw the pay attached to, their substantive appointments. This part of the scheme did not commend itself to Indian opinion. It was felt that these additional members, though they had no right to vote, would be still able to outweigh the influence of the Indian member who might find himself left in the cold. The Government of India, for reasons of a totally different character,

also disapproved of the proposal of additional members, but while Indian opinion wished it dropped, the Government of India recommended the addition of a second European member. More than the recommendation itself, the principal ground on which it was put forward is worthy of attention. Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford, as pointed out above, had suggested the appointment of additional members without portfolios to supply the want of official experience of a Governor from England. Lord Chelmsford and his colleagues in the Government of India assume, quite gratuitously, that the object of the recommendation was "to provide against the preponderance of Indian opinion which would occur in the joint deliberations of both halves of the Government." There is not a word in the joint report, so far as we can see, to justify this imputation of an ulterior motive to the distinguished joint authors. On the contrary, it is expressly stated that "the reduction of the European element in the council may be regarded as equivalent to an increase in the Indian element." Lord Chelmsford and Mr. Montagu have nowhere said a word to give colour to the view that they deprecated or dreaded the preponderance of Indian influence in any part of the administration. Lord Chelmsford and his colleagues in the Government of India (with the exception always of Sir Sankaran Nair), on the other hand, dread and deprecate the least possibility of such preponderance. This, in fact, is the idea inspiring most their modifications in the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme.

### THE PAY OF MINISTERS.

The joint report made no recommendation in regard to the pay of ministers. That was a matter which, the distinguished authors said, might be disposed of subsequently. The Government of India in their despatch of the 5th March last dispose of it in the following manner: "The question of their pay presents some difficulty. There is no real reason to prescribe for ministers the scale of salaries fixed for members of council. We feel, however, that if we were to ask you to fix beforehand for ministers a lower rate of pay than that sanctioned for council-lorships, such a treatment of the situation, however well justified by practical considerations, would be misconstrued in India. We see, therefore, no alternative but to suggest that the number of ministers and their pay should be fixed by the Governor, after consultation with the prospective minister or ministers when they first take office, and placed upon the transferred estimates. We have no doubt that the Governor will give due regard to the considerations of the burden of work, the expenses of the position and so forth, which have always been accepted as relevant to the determination of salaries to be attached to official posts." This is an extraordinary attitude to adopt for a Government which wants the salaries and pensions of the all-India Services to be guaranteed by the Secretary of State. This is the first time that the Government of India refrain from making a recommendation for fear of being misconstrued by Indian opinion. We do not, however, care to speculate on the reasons for this remarkable departure from



their usual lofty indifference to the impression which their acts may have on the popular mind. But we do think that, since they did not want to take the responsibility of making specific proposals, it would have been fair to the Secretary of State as well as to prospective Indian ministers, if they had refrained from expressing an opinion in favour of the scale of ministers' salaries being fixed lower than that of members' salaries. There is not the slightest ground for the view that there is real reason to prescribe for ministers a lower scale of salaries than that for members of council. There are half a dozen reasons why it should be the same, and one or two to make out a case for a higher. The minister will usually have to give up a professional or business career to take up the position of minister, about which there is not the same certainty of tenure as about a membership of council. He will have in many cases to maintain a double establishment in order to keep in social touch with his own people on the one hand and English officials and non-officials, on the other. As a minister, there will be many calls made upon his purse for contributions to public movements, from which English members of the Executive Council are exempt. An Indian in a high position has many duties and obligations involving expenditure of which Englishmen in India are almost wholly free. To take one instance: most Indians of some position subscribe for Anglo-Indian as well as several Indian newspapers. We wonder how many Englishmen in corresponding positions take in even one Indian newspaper. This is but one example. In every other way, the Indian occupying a high official or semi-official position has to spend more than an Englishman of the same grade. The Government of India's complacent reflection can not, therefore, hold water. We are bound at the same time to insist that the scale of salaries for the public services is already too high for a poor country like India, and one of the duties of a really responsible Government will be to adopt measures to bring it in accord with the economic capacity of the country. But this is expressly to be excluded from the purview of the present reforms. That being the case, the ministers' salaries alone can not be dealt with on principles which do not apply to those of the Services. The method suggested by the Government of India for settling the question is really unintelligible. How can the Governor consult prospective ministers as to their *number*? And as to pay, the first minister or ministers may be wealthy men who are willing to take up the post for a nominal or no salary. If that should become a precedent, only Maharajas, mill-owners and share-brokers, may aspire to the post. Or the first minister may be a man who has renounced the world and lives on next to nothing. That again would be a dangerous precedent. Surely there is no more reason why the ministers' salaries should be determined in this haphazard way than the members'. Indian opinion has emphatically declared itself against any invidious distinction in salary as between

ministers and members of Council. We can only understand the Government of India's observation as meaning that they would like to see the minister paid less, but could produce no presentable arguments in favour of their predilection.

#### THE MINISTERS' ROLE.

In the memorandum presented to Parliament with the Reform Bill, Mr. Montagu has lucidly summed up the position which, according to the Joint Report, the ministers are intended to occupy, first in relation to transferred subjects and, next, in relation to the administration of the reserved subjects by the official half of Provincial Governments.

As regards all Provincial functions, he says in the memorandum, the scheme of the Joint Report does give immediate responsibility to Ministers who represent the popular element in the Legislative Councils in regard to some departments of administration, though, as long as there is a division of functions between official and non-official sections, such responsibility cannot be complete. At the same time, by bringing Ministers into touch both at joint meetings and in the discharge of their own duties with the work of reserved departments it gradually familiarises them with the needs of the departments and considerations affecting their administration and thus prepares the way for assumption by the Ministers of further responsibility by degrees as additional subjects are transferred until the ultimate goal of complete responsibility is attained.

The plain significance of this passage is that though the minister will be immediately responsible for the transferred subjects, allowance must be made for the fact that his responsibility will not be complete so long as there is a division of functions between the official and non-official sections of the Government. And, besides administering his own subjects, the scheme of the Joint Report intended that he should have opportunities of familiarising himself with the reserved subjects also, with a view to the eventual transfer. The Joint Scheme thus definitely looks forward to the waxing of the minister and the waning of the member of Council as a necessary process in the progress towards responsible Government. Its attitude to the minister is that of a conscientious guardian to a minor heir to a great estate, who is rapidly approaching his legal majority. The contrast between this and the position which the Government of India's despatch seeks to place the minister in, is most striking. In the first place, there is a calculated attempt to "shift his responsibility"—the Viceroy's favourite phrase—while attenuating his powers of control over the instruments—again a Government phrase—with which he has to work. Secondly, his opportunities of being in touch and of familiarising himself with the official half of the Government are viewed with exceeding jealousy and sought virtually to be eliminated. Thirdly, the possibility, nay, the probability, of his failure is freely speculated upon, and provision is elaborately made for the resumption of his subjects by the Governor and its permanent re-absorption into reserved subjects. The Government of India, in contrast with the authors of the Joint Scheme, contemplate with complacency, if they do not look forward to, the w



ing of the Minister and the waxing back to his original plenitude of the Member of Council. The Minister's position under the Government of India scheme is that of a poor relation the extent of the hospitality offered to whom depends on the exigencies of other members of the household. When the others are dining out, he may occupy the place of honour, but when there are other guests in the house, he may be crowded out altogether.

In view of the introduction of the Reform Bill and Mr. Montagu's remarks in his speech and memorandum quoted in this and the previous articles, the need and the occasion for an elaborate examination of the Government of India's despatch have receded into the background. We shall therefore content ourselves with merely referring to the parts of the despatch on which our impressions of its effects on the position of the minister are formed. To begin with, the whole chapter relating to the public services implies an unwarranted distrust of the minister's possession of commonsense, to say nothing of his sense of fairness and, therefore, discredits him in advance with the Services, especially the English section of them. The Government of India have completely identified themselves with the extremists of the Indian Civil and other Services, and have sought to satisfy them at the sacrifice of the position and prestige of ministers. Next the financial bifurcation proposed by the Government of India is obviously aimed at curtailing the influence of ministers as members of the Government as a whole. We shall have to revert to this matter at greater length in discussing the Functions Committee's report and the recommendations of the Government of India thereon. Then, the proposals contained in the section on the Governor and his ministers are wholly retrograde. We quote one passage which speaks for itself: "When an order ultimately issues, it will issue as an order of the Governor acting 'after consultation with' his ministers. The expression 'on the advice of' is not in accord with what is proposed; 'with the advice of' might be misleading; and we should prefer to avoid misconception by refraining from the use of words which imply specifically a closer approach to the position in self-governing colonies than is actually intended." The Government of India do not evidently mind if the Governor's position in the reformed system implies specifically a closer approach than is actually intended to the position of a Greek "tyrant"—many of whom, to use the words of Oman, "were men abounding in good qualities, who used their power to the advantage of the country."

#### SIR ALEXANDER CARDEW ON THE REFORM SCHEME. I.

(By Sir Narayan Chandavarkar).

The view that stable conditions for even a gradual advance towards the democratic system of Government are absent in India because her religion and philosophy are anti-democratic, mistakes the external facts of the people's life for the tendencies of their

religion, philosophy, and polity, and takes a partial hold of their history by ignoring the inward spirit of the main line of its movement across the centuries. In the first place, that view which Sir Alexander Cardew, in his note on the Reform Scheme, has ingeniously sought to advance in opposition to that scheme, is a relic of the times when in Europe the Church dominated and dictated as the paramount power all the secular concerns of life, including the theory and practice of Government, and regulated the whole of man's life, individual or collective. That has been so in India also but the course of Indian polity, gathered from the books and life of the people from ancient times to now, shows the continuous struggle, as in Europe, to base Government on the changing and actual conditions of environment and modify thereby the influence of the theories of theologies and philosophy by the experiences of time. The experience of history has more or less contradicted the theory of Sir Alexander Cardew and proves that gradual advance towards the democratic system is inevitable, where the Government is a Government by discussion and public opinion. It has also writ large the lesson that as being an active force in the organisation of life a gradual advance towards the democratic idea is among the potent forces correcting a people's anti-democratic ideas so far as they are derived from their religion and philosophy. A dispassionate view of India's history must lead any right thinking man to the conclusion that if her religions and philosophy have influenced her political thought, laws, and institutions, the political organisation of her life has also in its turn been striving to influence her religions and philosophy for centuries now. The consciousness of his position as an active member of the Government he lives under as a citizen participating in its regulation instead of being merely a subject of it, *i.e.* a passive recipient of its benefits and burdens, does necessarily tend to democratise man and raise his religious and philosophical values of life, when they are anti-democratic.

This lesson from the course of Indian history is ignored by those who constantly appeal to the creeds, castes, and philosophies of India whenever it is a question of gradually democratising the administration. They lose sight of certain cardinal facts:—(1) that those creeds, castes and philosophies, which present to the superficial view the anti-democratic idea, are as in English history but dark spots in the struggle of the people for the growth of the democratic idea and its realisation in the religious social and political sphere and organisation of life, (2) that if the struggle has so far not fructified in favour of that growth, it is because the political organisation of life has been weak before the forces of religious, social and political autocracy and privilege, and (3) that it is to correct that reaction and favour India's long struggle for and tendency towards democracy from ancient times that the British are and ought to be in India.

Sir Alexander Cardew's view that India's religion and philosophy are anti-democratic may be examined from two standpoints: from the standpoint of the



shastras and the standpoint of history. As to the shastras, they are contained not in one book but many books. The principle common to all of them is that all men are equal in the sight of God, because one God pervades all hearts; but that common principle of equality and fraternity which as a theory of life is formulated in all the shastras, more or less, is not applied as to the extent it ought to be to the concrete organisation of life; hence the idea and practice of caste by birth. Does that concrete organisation justify the theory that the people are not fit for a gradual advance towards the democratic ideal? If it does, with equal force might the same have been said of the ancient Romans, or Greeks, or of the middle and subsequent Ages in Europe. It is a common place that modern democracy had its beginnings and root in ancient Greece; but what were their religion and philosophy and their concrete organisation of life? While in theory they held all men as equal with natural rights, they, in practical life, enforced slavery and regarded the Greek man alone as entitled to freedom and rights. So also the ancient Romans. Christ stands before the world as the one consistent champion, both in point of theory and practice, of the democratic idea. But what was Christianity in the middle Ages after the fall of the Roman Empire? Was not feudalism a net work of castes and anti-democratic in its idea and practice? In fact, till the French revolution awakened political thought in Europe, the philosophy of life that dominated Europe was, generally speaking, anti-democratic. And even when the French Revolutionaries by their National Assembly declared the democratic idea in the words, liberty, equality, and fraternity, they would not admit its application to their colonies. So also the Americans, when they separated from England and formulated their doctrine of democracy that all men are equal by birth, would not extend it to Negroes and Negro-slaves. And yet the Greek, Roman, French and American political organisations of life have tended to foster the growth of democracy and modified the old fatalistic views of life.

In India, the letter of the shastras has never been strictly adhered to. It is custom which has reigned over the Shastras, and though it is so hard to break the cake of custom, its underlying principle has been change adapted to the altering moods and stress of time and circumstance. For instance, take the law of *Karma* on which Sir Alexander Cardew lays stress as involving an anti-democratic idea of human life and society. According to that law, no doubt, a man's worth is determined for him by his birth in his present life, and that birth is again determined by his actions in his previous life. But that is not the whole of the law. The law goes on also to say that while the actions of his life previous to his present determine a man's birth and consequently his status, he can and should by his effort and acquired merit raise himself above the limitations of that birth and status. And this idea is emphasised especially in our ancient books on politics and political organisations. Sir

Alexander Cardew appears not to have looked into these but refers for his authority to such books as *Shukra Niti* and *Kantalya*. As well might one rely upon Hobbes's *Leviathan* and Machiavelli's *Prince* to prove Europe unfit for a gradual advance towards the democratic idea. The doctrine of *Karma* is but the doctrine of Necessity in another form on which several systems of theology and philosophy have been written from of old in England and other European countries. If one looked to that doctrine alone and the political history of Europe as it ran before the rise of the present democratical ideas there, one might write in the same strain as Sir Alexander Cardew and prove that Europe too was unfit for a gradual advance towards the democratic system of Government. This political mentality comes easy to us when in the abstract we stand up for reform and democracy—but in practice whenever reform is proposed in a particular case, we use all ingenuity to prove that that case does not accord with the requirement of the law of gradual reform. As some one has said: "The general law flutters our intelligence and the particular exception protects our sensibilities," which means preconceived views and prejudice.

If the history of India from ancient times to now be dispassionately examined, it will appear that in the midst of conflicting philosophies and creeds and caste-distinctions, favouring anti-democratic ideas and practice, there has been running throughout that dark mass the bright line, however blurred, of a steady and orderly, though cruelly slow, movement of advance towards the democratic ideal and realisation of life, in religion, philosophy and politics. I have endeavoured to point that out twice in the columns of the *Times of India* when in 1915 Lord Willingdon in his address at the annual convocation of the University of Bombay explained the character and aims of the British Empire, and the second time in my article on "India—A Vision" published in the last Christmas Number of the Illustrated *Times of India's* weekly edition. In both, I sketched out the lines of that orderly movement, culminating at the time of the British conquest in the democratic propaganda, from the religions and philosophical point of view, of the *Bhakti* school of thought in India. On the political side, Sir Sankaran Nair's minute of dissent from the Government of India's Despatch on the Southborough Reports, refers to some of the facts of Indian history. Other facts which may be multiplied show that the tendency, however struggling and weak, has been on the whole striving to move towards democracy. It is a distorted view of India's long history, therefore, to say that stable conditions are absent for that advance. The genius and germs of democracy have been in India struggling for a free life of growth and India's contact with England is providential only if England advances them wisely by her vital spirit of democracy. The bogey of Brahmin rule in the event of a beginning being made for that advance is a mere repetition of similar objections made to that advance in England and America. As the American federalists long ago pointed out, in spite of some very unequal laws in England



the reign of aristocracy and venality, the aristocratic representatives of the nation sitting in Parliament did not elevate the few on the ruins of the many, and that was because, though the House of Commons was venal and corrupt at that time, there was always a portion of the body which consisted of public-spirited men. As for the taunt, which Sir Alexander Cardew levels against Non-Brahmins that, placed in power, they will favour and promote men of their own castes, the experience of years has proved that whether Indians or Europeans, we are all more or less in the same boat—sinners when it is a question of our castes or race as against other castes and races, and saints when the question of promotion and favour concerns the claims of other castes and races not coming in competition and conflict with our own.

Apart, however, from that, which being a *tu quoque* argument, does not advance the cause of progress, there is this important consideration that a gradual advance towards the democratic system of Government is among the best correctives of the failing, due to the caste or race spirit, which leads men in office and power to favour and promote their own caste or race. This was what the American Federalists wisely discerned when they wrote that under a democratic system, with representative assemblies composed of different classes and interests, the danger of any one class governing to the detriment of another is less than under any other system, and the chances of the private interest of every individual becoming a sentinel over the public rights is better assured, because it is rendered more probable.

### THE RATE OF EXCHANGE.

#### III.

(Contributed.)

In our second article on this subject in our issue of the 1st June we explained the causes of the rise in silver and showed how silver was sure to decline as soon as commodity prices and credits readjusted themselves to normal levels. We there pointed out that if India could only postpone its purchases for a time it could get its silver much cheaper. We showed there that it was our own enormous purchases that raised the market against us and we asked why we should buy silver at these extravagant rates. Can we not defer the purchases as any sane merchant would do when laying in his stock if he found that the seller was trying to squeeze? We shall take up the consideration of this side of the question to-day.

A merchant when he wanted to buy a thing would try to buy it as cheap as he could. If the seller tried to squeeze he would decline to buy. He would wait. If our purchases of silver were handled on business lines, we would do the same. Nay, the position is far stronger even than the case of an ordinary intelligent merchant. We have already remarked that last year India bought up more silver than the whole of last year's production from the mines. India has thus been for many years the largest single buyer of silver.

If India ceases to buy, silver would be a drug on the market and many mines would be forced to close down as the world's demand, apart from that of India, would not be large enough to keep them going. India has thus the whip-hand of the silver market and really holds the sellers—the mines—at its mercy. But what do we see? We see this most powerful buyer throwing away the advantages of his position and placing himself on the contrary at the mercy of the sellers.

To take concrete figures, the world's production today is something like 180 millions of which about half is taken up by other countries and the other half, say 90 million other ounces, is taken up by India. The whole of this enormous order is in the hands of one man—the Secretary of State for India. If he declares that he is not going to buy silver for the next twelve months except at say 40d. the sellers would have no option but to give him at that price or close down half their but mines.

Of course, India could get as its own figure only what was left by other countries and if it requires say 120 million ounces, it will have to be satisfied with only 80 or 70 but it would get what it did get at 40d. instead of 55d. that it is now made to pay. The question that arises here is :

Can we do with less silver?

We most certainly think we can do with less silver. What is the use of silver to us? We can't eat it. If it was food that was in question and India was starving we might have to buy the necessary food at any price that the holder asked for it. But silver is not so vital to our lives as food is. Even in the case of food, we know how the Allies managed to keep prices in control. They fixed maximum prices above which purchases were not permitted. They compelled millers to mix a certain percentage of the lower kinds of grain with their wheat. They compelled bakers to use a large percentage of bran and produce standard bread. If all this could be done in a vital article of life like wheat, it can certainly be done by India in the case of silver which is not such a vital article at all, because it is merely a medium of exchange and we can, at a pinch, effect our exchanges in some other way and do without any silver, but no man can do without any food. To take the analogy of the food-control we could

1. Fix a maximum price for silver to be bought for India, say 40d.

2. Arrange for a large admixture of alloy in order to make such silver as we get to go the longest way.

The question will naturally arise "what if the silver mine-owners refused to sell any silver to us at our maximum figure?" Then we say "Let us wait." It is the first axiom in trade that when the supply of any article is even 10 p. c. in excess of the demand, prices decline and that not only by 10 p. c. but by 20-30 or more, until some point is reached where its very cheapness induces a demand for the extra 10 p. c. of supply. Thus, ask any cotton merchant what would happen if the crop was 40 lacs and the prospective demand only 35 lacs; and he will tell you that the prices will decline (as they have in fact done



this year) not 10 but 30 to 40 p. c. This exaggerated effect of a small excess supply is due to this.

Every merchant in the cotton trade would know there would be 5 lacs of bales left for which there would appear no outlet. Every one of them will take care that it is not himself that is left last. This anxiety to get rid of his holding in good time makes him eager to take any reasonable figure and buyers take advantage of the position to buy as cheaply as they can.

If we suppose that India steadfastly refuses to buy except at its own figure, the silver left unsold will not be 10 but 50d. and it will be easily seen that the effect on prices will proportionately be far greater. Let any one imagine what prices there would be for cotton in Bombay today if against our crop of 40 lacs the demand was only 20 lacs (i. e. no exports). They will then understand to what price silver would go down if we (India) absolutely refused to buy. We venture the prediction that it would go down to 25d. within six months. This is no rash prediction. The thing has happened before. India has refused to buy silver in former years and even sold silver on balance and there has been heavy decline in silver in consequence. We refer here to famine years. Then the abstention from purchase was compulsory. This time it would be voluntary. But, the result would be the same viz. a collapse of the silver market.

Of course we might have to, for a time, do without silver coin but is the sacrifice not worth making? In the last 12 months alone, we coined about 60 crores of rupees and paid for all this silver at 48d. and more. At normal prices for silver, say 24d, we could have secured enough silver to give us 120 crores. So, if by abstaining from purchases for a while we could get silver down to 24d. or near it, we save sixty crores a year. Is the sacrifice not worth it? Is India so rich that she can afford to throw away 60 crores of rupees for the useless luxury of having a few metal coins in her pocket? If the stake in view is so great why not abstain? We shall take up this point in our next.

#### GANJAM SOCIAL CONFERENCE.

(From Our Correspondent).

The Conference held its sittings at Baruva on the 19th ultimo. Mr. J. V. Narayana Reception Committee Chairman dwelt on the part which social reform plays in the programme of national progress. In politics, he declared, "might" is sought to be founded on "right"; while in social reform "right" is sought to be endowed with "might". In the government of a country the rulers derive their power from the people. The "might" of the State is for protecting the good of the subjects. The strength of the society is in the encouragement that it gives to its several members each in following his or her Dharma. The society as well as the state find their justification in furthering the people's good. Where right is divorced from "might", there both the society and the state fail to be what they are, abuse their functions and instead of accelerating progress retard it. In political agitation people seek to combine against the government to present a united front to wrest power misplaced, to defy authority abused. The strength of despotism is in keeping people disunited. For a people to combine in a good cause

it is not enough that the cause is holy. It is in the willingness and promptitude to respond to the stimulus of the call for unity. It is in the people's love of and devotion to Dharma. The work of social reform rests primarily in stimulating the love of and devotion to Dharma. The several items of the social reform programme such as marriage reform call on people to stand by justice to do the right, follow conscience and to act up to their convictions. The cause of social reform is the cause of Dharma, a holy cause. For a people to be united they have to acquire spiritual power. Mr. Narayana exhorted the audience to remember that they stand on holy ground, that the speakers were to speak with conviction with a burning desire to do, that the listeners, to set aside light-heartedness and be actuated by a craving to learn and to catch the holy fire. Their failures in the past had added a zest to the cause, filled their minds with penitence and should strengthen their resolves.

Mr. V. V. Jogiah, one of the ex-Presidents proposed Mr. A. V. Subbaran to be the President for the session. Messrs J. V. Jagannadham and S. Subbarau supported. Mr. Subbarau's presidential address appears elsewhere. First subject taken up was "Vara-Sulka." Messrs V. V. Jogiah, G. S. Ramasastry and Proprietor Runganadaswamy strongly condemned it. Mr. P. Venkatasvarlu Pantulu next addressed on "Social Purity". Barrister Giri spoke on "abolition of caste." Mr. A. Seetaramiah a great sanskrit scholar gave a learned exposition on the mutability of the caste system and while advocating its abolition upheld the method of "levelling up" and not of "levelling down." He declared he stood for the Brahminisation of the non-Brahmins including the Panchamas. Mr. J. V. Jagannadharau spoke on "Widow marriage, woman emancipation." He said that the double-lives they were leading was due to the tyranny of woman over man as a reaction from man's tyranny over woman. If man enjoyed no liberty in the home it was because the woman was allowed no freedom out of doors. His remarks were spiced with telling wit. Mr. R. V. Ramanamurthi next eloquently pleaded for "the forlorn widow." Mr. P. S. Ramamurthi advocated fusion of sub-castes. Mr. N. Narayanamurthi made a strong case in favour of Patel's Bill on the ground that the people that could not concede self-determination in social matters could not deserve it in matters political. The last subject was post-puberty marriage. Mr. Narayana advocated it in the interests of education, physical development, for prevention of early widowhood, stoppage of vara-sulka and for the realisation of the fulness of life. One interesting feature of the conference was that an advocate of orthodoxy, M. G. Jagannadhaswamy supported the reform cause but counselled caution in the case of young men below 30. Mr. N. Jagannadharau, however asserted that even those below 30 should be allowed liberty to think and act. Mr. T. Balaramayya Naidu proposed the usual vote of thanks to the President. One good effect of this conference was that all the delegates both Brahmos and orthodox Brahmins that took part in the District Conference dined together. This is the first instance of the kind in the annals of Ganjam. The entire proceedings of the conference were in Telugu.

#### THE LATE RAO BAHADUR K. VEERASALINGAM PANTULU GARU.

(FROM OUR CORRESPONDENTS.)

I

The news of the demise of Rao Bahadur K. Veerasalingam Pantulu Garu was received at Rajahmundry, the place of his residence and the seat of his activities with great sorrow. As a mark of such sadness various public institutions



and associations like the Peoples Library, Vasuraya library, the local town hall and the Jubilee library and Reading Room were closed for two days consecutively. On the 28th prayers were offered and the service was conducted in the local Prayer Samaj Hall; while on the next day the women's section of the Prarthana Samaj offered prayers in the Raja Lakshmi Vilas.

A representative and largely attended public meeting convened by some of the leading gentlemen of the town belonging to different castes communities and professions was held in the local town hall yesterday with Dewan Bahadur Chitrapu Venkatachalam Pantulu Garu in the chair. Eloquent and feeling speeches were delivered on the occasion expressing sorrow and eulogising the great work of the deceased. References were made to service, sacrifices and suffering of Mr. Veerasalingam, to various institutions reared up by him like the construction of the Town Hall, the Widow Home, the Veerasalingam High School, the Prarthana Samaj the Theistic library etc. The speakers also referred to the library, social reform, theistic and educational activities of Mr. Pantulu. The following resolutions were passed.

1. The citizens of Rajahmundry in Public Meeting assembled expressed their heartfelt and unbounded sorrow at the demise of Rao Bahadur K. Veerasalingam Pantulu Garu the great soul of Andhra Desa, an unflinching practical worker, a devoted theist, a famous social reformer, a great Telgue poet and man of letters and a resident of Rajahmundry and pray God that his soul may rest in peace.

Proposed by Ukky Vaddadi Subbarayudu Garu.

Seconded by „ Gopesetti Narayana Swami Naidu Garu.

Supported by „ Solasa Bapanaih Garu.

2. This meeting resolves that a permanent and Standing memorial should be raised at Rajahmundry to the deceased Andhra Hero and Patriot as a token of the citizen's respect and regard towards the late Rao Bahadur K. Veerasalingam Pantulu and appoints a central committee (names given) with Dr. P Gurnmurthi and R. Papaih garu as Secretaries.

Proposed by Pandit Chilakamarthi Lakshmi Narasimham Garu.

Seconded by T. V. L. Narasimha Rao Garu.

Supported by K. Sreeramlu Garu.

The Meeting dissolved with a vote of thanks to the chair.

Rajahmundry, } (Sd.) P. GURUMURTHI.  
1-6-19. } (Sd.) R. PAPAIIH.

## II

A public meeting was held at Guntur yesterday, to express sorrow at the demise of Rao Bhadur K. Veeraslingam Puntulu Garu, the renowned reformer, poet, and patriot of the Telugu country. Mr. V. Lakahminarayan who presided on the occasion observed in his opening remarks that the life of Mr. Veeraslingam marked a great epoch in the history of the Telugu country and his contributions to the Telugu Literature and his sacrifices for the development of the Telugu people were inestimable.

The following resolution proposed by Konda Venkatapayya and seconded and supported by Messrs. R. Venkat-Sivudu M. A., D. Seshachalapati Rao, P. Narasimham and A. Kantayya was unanimously adopted.

"The people of Guntur express their heartfelt sorrow at the incalculable loss which the Telugu country has sustained by the demise of Rao Bhadur K. Veeraslingam Pantulu who for a long time worked for the development of the Telugu Literature and for the advancement of the Telugu people and sacrificed his all for the sake of his country."

Pandit K. Kristnamachari read a few verses specially composed for the occasion.

## EGYPTIAN CHRISTIANS AND MOSLEMS.

*The Manchester Guardian* of 10th April says :—

The Egyptian papers just arrived in London show one very remarkable feature of the present unrest that has not appeared in any former trouble there. This is the joining of the Christian native element with the Mohomedans in the demonstrations. While the Copt priests fraternise with the Mohomedan ulemas, the Grand Mufti of Egypt, who is the chief of the ulemas hierarchy, has paid a visit to the Copt Grand Patriarch at his residence in Cairo. The interview lasted one hour and a half.

During the demonstrations the newspapers say, national flags were moved by the mob, these flags were the same as before the British Protectorate—red, with a white crescent and a white star, instead of three crescents and three stars, as the Egyptian flag is now. But below the crescent a white cross was to be seen, so as to show the alliance between the Mohammedans and the Christians.

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

## CONTENTS.

Mr. Kalinath Roy's Case.	The Training of Teachers.
Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali.	The Reform Reports III.
The Law of Intermarriages.	Prospects of Reform Scheme.
An Indian Lady's Bequests.	Town Planning Towards City Development.
The Old Enemy in a New Garb.	The Rate of Exchange.
Race Equality and the Peace Conference.	Casteless Hinduism.
Change of Ministers at Indore.	Civil Law and Order.
	The Future of Fiji.
	Marriage Reform among Khojas.

## NOTES.

**Mr. Kalinath Roy's Case:** We would respectfully appeal to His Honour Sir Edward Maclagan and His Excellency the Viceroy to consider favourably the case of Mr. Kalinath Roy, late Editor of the *Tribune* of Lahore, who has been sentenced to two years imprisonment by the Martial Law Tribunal for publishing seditious articles in his journal. The definition of sedition in the Penal Code is so wide that it is almost useless to discuss whether a certain article or other writing which a tribunal of some sort has pronounced to be seditious, does or does not fall within the scope of the definition. Having perused with some care the articles for which Mr. Roy has been indicted, we are not able to say that there is anything in them which is capable only of a seditious interpretation. As readers of the *Tribune* for many years, we certainly do not expect to see anything seditious in writings that have appeared in it. Possibly, if we were looking for sedition in the *Tribune*, we could have found it quite as well as the Martial Law Tribunal. Our point is that the law of sedition being necessarily wide, it is impossible to decide whether or not a particular article in a newspaper is or is not seditious without reference to the habitual tone and policy of that newspaper. We are on sure ground when we say that the *Tribune* of Lahore is not and has not been a newspaper given to a seditious vein of thinking. The Martial Law Tribunal could not, perhaps, give weight to this important consideration, and it is really a question whether such tribunals, intended for emergencies, should be called upon to decide cases which involve a course of what may be called reflective reasoning. It is not by their choice that the Tribunal at Lahore had to try this case, and we do not doubt that within the ambit of their procedure they have done their best to arrive at a just decision. The *Tribune* under Mr. Kalinath Roy, whom we do not know personally, has been one of our best-conducted newspapers, and we remember especially the strong and earnest protest which it made more than once against the vituperative writings against Moderate leaders in some of our contemporaries last year. We understand that Mr. Roy has recently suffered a

heavy domestic bereavement, and that he is, moreover, in poor health. For all these reasons we think that it will be a well-merited act of grace which will be widely appreciated, for Sir Edward Maclagan to recommend and the Viceroy to order the release of a respected journalist who has deserved well of the country and of Government.

**Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali:** The Government of India have varied the order of internment, which has been in force against Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali for the past four years, into an order for their detention in jail. In a press communique dated the 8th June, Government explain their reasons for taking this step. In April last Government had definite information that the brothers were taking active measures to stir up sedition. Whilst the question of taking steps to prevent these activities was under consideration, the internees sent a memorial to the Viceroy declaring that, in the event of non-compliance with the demands set forth therein, there remained no choice for a good Muslim in India except Hijrat (Migration) or Jihad (Holy War). This document was proscribed but, we are told, surreptitious attempts were nevertheless made to print and circulate it among leading Muslims and to publish it in the press. Then came the announcement of the brothers that they would not regard themselves as bound by the orders of internment. All this is capable of a more or less harmless interpretation as the acts of men who had been wrought into a high pitch partly of religious exaltation and partly of political embitterment at their continued internment without trial. But we are utterly at a loss to imagine how two gentlemen of education and independence like Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali, could make every effort to induce Muslims in India actively to assist the Amir of Afghanistan in his hostilities against the King-Emperor. No man in his senses, whatever his religious sympathies, would think of the medieval despotism of the Afghan Amir as a desirable substitute for British rule in India and, but for the fact that the Government of India assure us that they have indubitable proofs that the brothers did make such efforts, we could hardly think such a thing possible. Government declare that they have in their possession the originals of some of the letters addressed by the brothers to various important personages in India as well as newspapers and private individuals. We are bound to say that the press communique has impressed the public far more than such communiques usually do as to the necessity of the action of Government. At the same time, in view of the fact that the two brothers are known to be men of high intelligence, there is some tendency to hope that these letters ascribed to them may prove to be forged documents palmed off upon Government by the enemies of the interned brothers, and it is desirable that they should be submitted to an independent tribunal for adjudication. So far as we are aware—and we have taken some trouble to



ascertain the fact—there is very little sympathy among Mahomedans for the Amir of Afghanistan whatever their feelings may be towards the Caliphate and the Sultan of Turkey. We are convinced that no class of our population would deride as absurd the idea of helping the Amir to overturn British rule in this country than our Moslem countrymen.

**The Law of Intermarriages:** We welcome the following clear pronouncement by the *Harvest Field*, the well-known Christian Missionary organ, on the subject of intermarriages between persons belonging to different religions: "If they (such marriages) take place, they should be made valid and monogamous. The Christian Church does not want the monopoly of such marriages. It would much prefer to have nothing to do with them. But as the law stands at present there is no other way out of the difficulty. Our personal opinion is that all such marriages should be civil marriages, and without any religious ceremony, for if the parties hold different beliefs, they cannot possibly enter seriously into any religious ceremony. But in the case of these civil marriages the law must demand monogamy, under penalty of civil disability, making the marriage invalid. Till a law is passed, making such marriages valid, alliances will be formed, which neither religion nor law can sanction. These alliances may be perfectly honourable but those who form them will ever live under a stigma, because the law does not permit them to marry without the parties changing their religion. Till something is done legally to make inter-caste marriages valid, we do not see how there can grow up that spirit of true brotherhood that India needs." We agree with every word of the above. Mr. Basu's Bill was intended to be just such a law as our contemporary suggests. Mr. Patel's Bill, now before the Indian Legislative Council, relates only to intermarriages among Hindu castes, and makes no provision for their being monogamous. We have called attention to this defect, and Mr. Patel is quite willing to rectify it in Select Committee. But this will not meet such cases as the *Harvest Field* has in view. We shall be glad of the co-operation of Christian missionaries in getting a simple Civil Marriage Act passed, in which case there will be no need for the part of the Indian Christian Marriage Act relating to intermarriages between Christians and non-Christians.

**An Indian Lady's Bequests.** In view of some inaccurate statements that have appeared in the press, the *Searchlight* of Patna gives particulars of the bequests provided for in the will recently made by Mrs. Sachchidananda Sinha, wife of the able and well-known editor of the *Hindustan Review*, who has been seriously ill. Mrs. Sinha's properties are valued at from five to six lakhs of rupees. One-half of this goes to a child whom Mr. and Mrs. Sinha adopted a few days ago, and the other half in equal shares to the University of the Punjab, the Kayastha Pathshala (College) at Allahabad, and to the people of Patna—in other words to the capitals of the three Provinces of Upper India, with which Mr. and Mrs. Sinha have been long and intimately connected. The endowment to the Punjab University is for the foundation of a chair of Mathematics and Physical Science to be named after Mrs. Sinha's grandfather, Rai Bahadur Kanhya Lall, famous as an Engineer; that to the Allahabad institution for a chair of Economics to be named after her father, Mr. Seva Ram, Bar-at-law; while the executors are authorized to build at Patna out of the funds bequeathed for the purpose, a public building, to be named after her as Radhika Sinha Institute, in which is to be accommodated as a public library Mr. Sinha's splendid collection of books, and the whole of which is to serve as a library, reading room and meeting-place for social and political objects. Mrs. Sinha's uncle,

Mr. Roshan Lal, Bar-at-Law, and her husband are appointed executors of the will. This is a very remarkable instance of enlightened public spirit on the part of an Indian lady. We hope Mrs. Sinha will be early restored to health and live many years longer to see her benefactions bear fruit.

**The Old Enemy in a New Garb.** We were surprised to see the report of an interview accorded to a deputation from the Indian Officers' Association by the Governor of Madras. The deputation prayed for a liberal grant in aid of a hostel for the children of members of the Association. It was stated that, as officers are liable to be transferred, special hostel provision was necessary for the accommodation of their children studying in Madras. We cannot understand why these sons of officers cannot find accommodation in the ordinary College Schools. We consider the movement to be a retrograde one and agree generally with the criticism passed on it by *Justice* of Madras. "We are not aware," writes our contemporary, "that the children of the Indian officers have earned the right to form an exclusive caste by themselves. If they are so inclined, the Indian officers can doubtless do so in this land of castes. But we object to the tax-payers' money being used for the purpose. It is an unfortunate fact that those who are related to high officials are in an infinitely better position to get into Government service than others who, though blessed with brains and character have not that advantage, and if the Government officials and their children are helped with a Government subsidy to become a caste by themselves, this tendency will be still more accentuated."

**Race Equality and the Peace Conference:** The *Manchester Guardian* of the 14th April published an account from its special correspondent in Paris, of the work done by the Commission on the League of Nations on the last day of its sitting. There were only two amendments. The first relating to the safeguarding of the Monroe doctrine was adopted. "The other discussion," the correspondent observed, "had a less happy conclusion. The Japanese, with the support of the Chinese, wished to incorporate a declaration of the equality of nations. The proposal was carried by 13 votes to 6, but in this case the minority refused to withdraw its objection. The opposition was led by Great Britain, acting on behalf of one of the Dominions represented here by a very energetic and determined politician. The incident presents England in unhappy light. I understand that it was contended by the opposition that the form of words, harmless in itself, either meant nothing or else it covered the right to interfere in the domestic affairs of the different States." By bringing forward this question, Japan has secured a position which cannot but stand her in good stead in the international politics of the near future. We cannot regret the great opportunity which Great Britain has thrown away by opposing Japan's proposal. We should have expected England not to have left it to Japan to move in the matter.

**Change of Ministers at Indore.** An Indore correspondent informs us that there has been a change of Ministers in that State. His Highness the Maharaja has appointed in the place of Rai Ramprasad Dube Bahadur B.A., LL.B. as his Minister, Mr. P. Baburao who, we understand, was lately Dewan of Rutlam.

**The Training of Teachers.** The Bureau of Education, India, has issued its eighth occasional report dealing with the training of teachers. Messrs H. S. Duncan and A. H. Mackenzie, Principals of the Training Colleges respectively at Madras and Allahabad, give a detailed account of the system followed in the two provinces. The price of the booklet is annas eight.



# INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, JUNE, 15, 1919.

## THE REFORM REPORTS III.

The Reform Bill, the second reading of which was carried unanimously in the House of Commons on the 5th instant, after an eloquent and powerful speech by Mr. Montagu backed up by sympathetic remarks from Dr. Fisher, Sir Donald Maclean, Mr. Bennett and others, is expected to be published almost immediately. It is time, therefore, that we brought our review of the reports and despatches which have culminated in the Bill to a close. We have in previous articles dealt with the recommendations of the Southborough Committee regarding the electorates and the Government of India's suggestions thereon. We have also dealt with the Government of India's despatch embodying their proposals about the system of provincial government, which is the pivot of the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme. There remain the report of the Functions Committee and the Government of India's despatch dealing with its recommendations. This part of the scheme does not lend itself to comment with any approach to completeness in a single or even a short series of articles. All that we can do today is to pick out the most important functions of Provincial Governments proposed for transfer, and indicate briefly the attitudes thereto of the Functions Committee and the Government of India. If Provincial Government reform is the pivot of the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme, the transfer of functions to Ministers chosen from among the elected members of the Legislative Council, is the pivot of the scheme of Provincial Government reform. We have seen that the Government of India in their despatch of March 5, have brought all their ingenuity to the task of fixing responsibility on Ministers, while carefully and rigidly curtailing their control of their instruments. These are, in the words of the Government of India despatch, (1) the services which carry out the orders of the executive, (2) the provision of financial supply and (3) the machinery for equipping the executive with whatever new legal powers it needs. The Government of India's elaborate euphemisms do not disguise the fact that their proposals in regard to the public services are more likely to make Ministers the "instruments" of the Services than the Services, of the Ministers. As Sir Sankaran Nair points out one consequence of the Government of India's proposals will be that, though the Minister may be saddled with an officer who is so opposed to the opinions of the Minister and of the Legislative Council that he will not loyally carry out the policy determined upon by them, the Minister is to be compelled to retain him, although both the Governor and the Minister may want to get rid of him and appoint another person who, they think, would properly carry it out. Then, as regards the third of the instruments, namely, the Legislative Council, the Government of India in their anxiety to make the Minister's position as little a bed of roses as possible, have actually adopted the extreme re-

commendation of the Delhi Congress to make it *from the outset* dependent on the vote of the Legislative Council. Their treatment of Ministers in regard to the second of the instruments, Finance, is on a line with their treatment of them in regard to the other two.

### FINANCE.

The recommendation of the Montagu-Chelmsford report under this head was that the provincial budget should be framed by the executive Government as a whole. The first charge on provincial revenues will be the contribution to the Government of India; and after that the supply of the reserved subjects will have priority. The allocation of supply for the transferred subjects will be decided by the Ministers. If the revenue is insufficient for their needs, the question of new taxation will be decided by the Governor and the Ministers. This scheme though it devolved the responsibility of introducing new taxation on Ministers exclusively, also invested them with the consequent implied influence on the whole Budget. Indeed, it was so explained in the Joint Report. The Feetham Committee accepted this plan, only dotting the i's and crossing the t's. They pointed out that it followed that taxation for provincial purposes should be regarded as a transferred subject. At a late stage of their enquiries, the Feetham Committee received from the Government of India proposals for an altogether different plan which involved a substantial departure from the scheme outlined in the Joint Report. They declined to express any opinion upon these. The Government of India in their despatch have advocated these proposals in supersession of those outlined in the Joint Report and accepted by the Feetham Committee. The new proposals are based on what is called "the separate purse system," that is to say, on an actual division between the resources available for the purposes of the Governor-in-Council and those available for the purposes of Ministers, two separate pools instead of one pool. A beginning is to be made by placing formally at the disposal of each half of the Government the balances available in the departments which it is to administer. Sir Sankaram Nair's criticism of these proposals is unanswerable. The Governor-in-Council administering such departments as Law, Justice and Police, will always be able to lay hold on all the money he wants, while the Ministers with the great spending departments, like Education and Sanitation, in their charge, will be in a state of chronic want. They will have no voice in the expenditure on reserved subjects, and will be, therefore, obliged to have recourse to new taxation. As illustrating the tendency of the Executive Government, when unchecked by popular opinion or the Secretary of State, to indulge in increasing expenditure, Sir Sankaran Nair mentions that the right to purchase motor cars was so much abused that now they cannot be purchased for public business without the sanction of the Secretary of State. The Montagu-Chelmsford scheme deliberately intended to let Ministers have an eye on the expenditure of the official half of the Executive Government. The Government of India propose equally deliberately



to exclude Ministers from view of the official Executive's finances. The most important reason given for this is the avoidance of friction. Excessive friction, no doubt, leads to waste of energy, but a certain amount of friction is necessary to make the wheels go. Any one who has travelled on the Mathuran railway or the Simla Kalka line or the Darjeeling line, will notice an assistant standing beside the driver deliberately strewing sand on the line ahead of the engine. We saw the other day a gorgeously illustrated advertisement in which a big motor car was standing helplessly on a steep road, its wheels rotating ineffectively, while another car gaily passed it by without effort. The moral was pointed out, because the tyres of the one were not provided with the cross-bars which enabled those of the other to create the friction that enabled it to overcome the gravity against which the smooth-revolving tyres could make no head-way. The Government of India scheme would eliminate all friction from the Governor-in-Council's path and accumulate it all in that of the Governor and Ministers. It is good for neither. We cannot do without friction which is obstructive only if it is heaped all in one place. Evenly distributed friction is the first condition of successful effort whether in administration or in climbing hill-sides. These novel proposals have, moreover, been sprung upon the public in India as they were on the Feetham Committee at the last moment, and they cannot, therefore, be considered in the present instalment of constitutional reform.

#### EDUCATION.

In the illustrative list appended to the Montagu-Chelmsford Report showing transferred subjects, Education, primary, secondary and technical, found a place. The Feetham Committee has included Education, other than European and Anglo-Indian education, among transferred subjects with a few reservations which do not affect the issue. In support of their recommendation, the Committee observe: "We have come to the conclusion that the problem should be treated as a whole, and that any division of education, such as would result from the transfer of primary apart from secondary and university education, is unsound in theory and would be unworkable in practice. The actual drawing of the line between either primary and secondary or secondary and university education involves many difficult questions, and any such line, if made the basis of a division, would be bound to produce serious administrative complications." We must say that in our opinion the Committee have rather pressed too far the organic unity of all stages of education as an argument against administrative division. From one point of view, they are perfectly right. The quality of higher education must depend a good deal on the quality of primary and secondary education. It does not follow, however, that all stages of education should be administered by the same agency. It is not the case now in India or in any other country. We go with the Government of India so far. We may go farther and say that the insight evidenced so far by some leading Indian politicians—our

probable future Ministers—in educational matters is not such as to induce us to expect great things from them. But that they can not do worse than the present departments under Members of Council, we have not the shadow of a doubt. For one thing, they can not but feel that the interests involved are nothing less than the future of their own sons and daughters and that any serious deterioration of standards are sure to react disastrously on themselves, their community and country. As Dr. Sadler observed in his address to the Senate of the Bombay University the other day, the vital influences of education are too intimately connected with personal conviction and with family life for it to be wise or safe to leave their control and direction to the discretion of Government alone, and we may add, a Government, too, dominated by gentlemen whose personal convictions and family life have no point of contact with Indian conditions. Our convictions on this subject have been very slowly formed, but they are on that account so deep and strong that, in our deliberate view, the control of education can not be longer left in the hands of a department of the official Executive Government without grave detriment to the intellectual and moral interests of the youth of India. The Government of India remark that they can give many instances of the unhappy consequences of entrusting higher education too confidently to private enterprise. Apart from the obvious fact that responsible Government is not the same as "private enterprise" in education, we are quite prepared to maintain that private enterprise in education has not had and can not have a fair field under the present system.

#### INDUSTRIES.

The other subject we take up today is that of Industries. In the illustrative list of subjects to be transferred, attached to the Montagu-Chelmsford report, "Development of Arts and Crafts and Local Industries" was included. The Feetham Committee would transfer to Ministers "Development of Industries, including industrial research and technical education." The Government of India hold that the development of industries should be concurrently undertaken by the Local Governments and the Government of India; and that this subject should, so far as Local Governments are concerned, be reserved. The Government of India as usual write grandiloquently of their responsibility for the industrial progress of the country, which is necessary to secure its military safety, its freedom from outside economic aggression, and its social and political stability. We suppose "military safety" is introduced with the intention of scaring away Indian and civilian opposition. As for securing freedom from outside economic aggression, the Government of India should hear what is being said by merchants and manufacturers of the ukase putting up the price of the rupee by two pence. We regret we cannot admit that the Government of India have done much to promote the social and political stability of the country by means of its industrial policy. We do not wish to dwell on these things. Much of them is matter of history. But we are entitled to



ge when the Government of India claim that they one can properly look after industrial developments this country, that their past record on the subject es not greatly support that claim. The Ministers ay or may not do well. We do not wish to prophesy. But it is certainly the opinion of most dians that the Government of India have not been efficiently mindful of the interests of Indian industries in the past, and that Indian industrial interests e likely to fare better in the hands of Indian Ministers. The Government of India refer to the racial ctor in industrial matters. Nobody can say honestly that Indians in the past have received any undue ousagement from Government in industrial matters owing to their being Indians. We say quite ankly that we can see nothing wicked or immoral Indian enterprises received special encouragement the hands of Indian Ministers just as English enterprise does at the hands of English Ministers. n the contrary, we think that it is the duty of dian Governments, whether by Ministers or Members, to offer every encouragement to Indians to undertake the industrial development of the country. s for the Government of India's assumption that ne Minister will be inevitably devoid of industrial xperience, Sir Sankaran Nair's parenthetical remark, "as if the Civilian Member has great experience," is sufficient answer. The Minister, of course, cannot o without all the support which the Provincial Governments and the Government of India can give him in discharging this as other parts of his duties, and we are sure that this will be accorded to him ungrudgingly.

#### PROSPECTS OF THE REFORM SCHEME.

(BY SIR NARAYAN CHANDAVARKAR).

Mr. Montagu's speech on the Indian Budget in the House of Commons, delivered on the 22nd of May, is significant as affording a clue not so much to what he is going or may be expected to attempt for the initiation of responsible Government in India, as to the temper and spirit, with reference to that question, of the British public in general and the House in particular, as now constituted. His announcement in the speech that the whole question of the reform scheme as formulated in the Bill, which has since passed the stage of second reading in the House, is to be referred to a Parliamentary Committee for report and recommendations by way of changes in the Bill, with authority to the Committee to examine witnesses, has filled many in India with misgivings. They fear that the Committee are more likely than not to emasculate the scheme and that the House, which is more Conservative than Liberal in the character of its present composition, will most probably sanction ultimately a measure of shadowy reform of the kind advocated in the Government of India's Despatch on the Southborough Reports.

Though it is difficult to prophesy with assurance, yet it is within the mark to opine that these misgivings are not supported by a careful reading of Mr. Montagu's speech by the light of certain broad facts. That speech appears to betoken not the trend

of his mind only but also the mind of the House of Commons and the mood of England as a whole. That trend and that mood are indicated by the shortest sentence in the speech. Describing educated Indians as Protectionists, not Free Traders, to whom he, a Free Trader himself, was not afraid of giving fiscal liberty, because, if it were given, they soon would be Free Traders, he said:—"Let them find out what suits their destinies best." This little sentence imports more than it specially relates to. It discovers the trend of liberal opinion in England with reference to the problem of self-Government for India. Considering that fiscal interests apparently dominate the English mind more than any other, Mr. Montagu, (one may fairly presume) would not have ventured to express himself so boldly, if he had not felt that he was reflecting the mind of the House and the British people. Mr. Montagu is a sagacious Liberal, and no sagacious Cabinet Minister is likely to speak to the House with this definiteness of liberal policy as to India unless he felt sure in his mind that he had the heart of the House and the country with him in declaring, what in substance is the meaning of the sentence quoted from Mr. Montagu's speech, that England's duty is to give responsible Government to India on the best and most human of all grounds, that the people of India, like every other people, must and are entitled to carve out their own destiny and find their own salvation, and learn for themselves, in and by the discipline of self-government, even through failures, to correct their errors and mend their false views of policy.

If that view of Mr. Montagu's sentence is mere speculation, let us test it by the facts. The fact that the Tory element preponderates in the present House of Commons is met by two counter-considerations. One of them is the tradition which dates from the time of the East India Company that India owes her liberties to the Tories. That seems a paradoxical statement and yet it is true in that, for instance, the Statutes of 1833, the Proclamation of 1858, and the enlarged Councils of 1873, have been Tory productions and policy. Since then British Toryism has advanced a good deal towards liberalism. The last war with its gospel of the Allies as to weak nationalities, subject races, and the moral right of a people to carve out their own destiny for the permanent peace of the world, emphasised by President Wilson's pronounced and statesmanlike view that a people learns to use liberty wisely only after the discipline of mistakes and failures, has created a world-atmosphere in which the present House of Commons is and must be consciously moving. Another consideration is that afforded by the Government of India's Despatch on the one hand and the agitation of the Indo-British Association on the other. The Despatch has been condemned by Indian opinion as reactionary—making the proposed reform in the direction of full responsible Government a mere shadow and name while in reality by its recommendations either strengthening the executive or at least preserving intact their present power without popular control. That it will attract some weight to it goes without saying, because the Civil Service in India has with all its faults great merit.



But it is bureaucracy. All this is done by the Despatch on the ground that Indians have yet to learn the art of self-Government and that their best teachers and masters for that purpose must be the experienced experts of the Executive for a long time to come—until Indians prove by actual results that they have become fit to exercise the art properly. How is the British Tory of the present day likely to treat that ground? In the first place, it is not improbable that the British member of Parliament will examine it by the fact that revolutions arise in a country, where an educated class has come into being, because the Executive has exercised power uncontrolled by the people through their representatives. "One of the most curious peculiarities of the English people" (says *Bagshot*), "is its dislike of the Executive Government." That was said half a century ago; but the statement of the *Times* made in a leader lately that "to the bureaucrat his office is the world and there is no reality outside it," shows the present British temper with all its conservative instinct. Further, the Government of India's Despatch, in supporting its recommendations and in its anxiety to make the strongest case possible for them and leave nothing that could be possibly be pressed into their service, has become so metaphysically subtle and sinuous in its argument that, if one has not misread the British mind, the very effort of the despatch to be elaborate and meticulous in its reasoning, is likely to defeat its object. In short, as Lord Morley would say it, the Despatch drives political logic to its very dregs and turns it into a poison. And the British mind, whether Liberal or Conservative, is, by instinct and tradition, averse to that. Its history shows that it refuses to push even the logic of facts, let alone sentiment, to its extreme conclusions, however flavoured by philosophic sobriety. It tries to draw its conclusions straight from a commonsense point and the commonsense of responsible Government for India, is contained in the sentence quoted above from Mr. Montagu's speech.

Then, lastly, there is the fact of the recent deplorable occurrences—the agitation against the Rowlatt Act, which led to rebellion and murders in some places, and necessitated the enforcement of martial law, deportations &c. So far as the Government of India are concerned, they have declared as their deliberate opinion that the unfortunate situation does not and should not affect the reform scheme. But the Indo-British Association is pressing the argument against the scheme on the basis of that situation. Will that weigh with Parliament and the British public? There too there is good reason for the prospects of the reform scheme, if we bear in mind the fact that the British mind, both by tradition and instinct, cautious and conservative as it is, has generally been prone to judge repressive laws and measures by this test, viz. whether they are a success. And the test of success they have been inclined to apply is, not whether repressive measures have for the time being served to restore order and cow down plotters but whether they

have produced and quickened contentment and satisfaction "in all those various organised bodies of men with lively minds and energetic interests whom in the long run effective public opinion in every community is generated." (see Lord Morley's *Crown Speech*).

All depends, therefore, on how the Indians will have gone to England in deputations, acquit themselves before the Parliamentary Committee in particular at whose bar they shall have to appear to make out this case. If they put India's case carefully before the light of the considerations above set forth, they may count upon securing a substantial start for responsible Government in India. In the meantime Mr. Montagu has spoken out what is moving both the deep recesses of India's Soul and her present life when he said we must find out what suits our destiny best. It almost looks as if Mr. Montagu was quoting from India's *Gita*: "By ourselves we must raise ourselves."

### TOWN PLANNING TOWARDS CITY DEVELOPMENT.\*

(By PROFESSOR B. K. THAKORE.)

These volumes deserve to be read and pondered over in all Indian cities, especially by Collectors, Engineers and Medical men, as also by Municipal Councillors and public-spirited citizens. Town planning, City Improvement, and regional amelioration are subjects bristling with an infinity of local detail, and can only be dealt with by means of plans and large-scale contour maps which few laymen can interpret properly so that one often misses the wood on account of the trees. All the more welcome therefore is a presentation of the subject like Professor Geddes', where the general principles are insisted on with a clearness born of years of concentrated and concrete meditation and the results aimed at are advocated with an optimistic zeal likely to prove very attractive to young and public-spirited citizens.

All town planning must be invariably preceded by a regional survey and a thorough insight into the economic history of the streets and populations with which we propose to deal. Congestion cannot be checked or cured until we have investigated its origins and thoroughly mastered its present causes and tendencies. Schemes of water-supply, drainage, communications, parks, and extensions, have each and all to be most carefully correlated with one another and still more with the general resources, habits and requirements of the people and the entire scheme of town-development we propose to adopt as our ideal to be worked up to. The order in which we take portions of any or several of these in hand for immediate execution is even more important; for every such undertaking involves dislocations and generates unsuspected difficulties and reactions which might have far reaching consequences. To destroy houses and tamper with the established functions of localities is very easy. This, however, is not only not town-improvement, it is the very negation of it. Not a house

\* A report to the Indore Darbar.



ould be condemned, not a street should be touched till more than adequate provision for the people to be removed and the function to be disturbed has been actually made in advance. Nor is it sufficient that the properties taken up be fairly compensated for, for the vast majority of the people concerned, money compensations are worse than useless and the grant of suitable sites in return is not enough. Building material of various kinds should also be provided at wholesale rates, and expert and sympathetic advice and guidance at every step. "All to the sewer" is a policy not at all required in dry and tropical India; it is moreover altogether opposed to the habits and sentiments of the population, requires an amount of engineering skill and vigilance not to be found in India today, involves tremendous risks, and would require an expenditure altogether beyond the resources of Indian towns. Prof. Geddes pleads eloquently in favour of the alternative policy of "all to the soil." India appears to be exceptionally lucky in soil, water supply, lie of land, rivers, and room to expand. Every one of these factors is of capital importance and Prof. Geddes appears to turn each and all to full advantage. Not a region, not a suburb, not a street, in many locations not a single house, however humble, is planned by him without its allotment of open patch or lane or space, for tree or garden, cows and goats. And he also realizes that the results he aims at can only be achieved in proportion as large numbers of city population of all classes from the oppressed and the submerged at the bottom upwards right up to the middle class Brahman and Bania, men and women and children, develop a turn for tree-planting, hedge-building, gardening, and the tending of cattle. He wants state and municipal authorities and public bodies of all description to help on this elevation of the individual to a life higher, simpler, healthier, fuller, more economical and more complex, and in one, by all the means, in their power, from schools to shows, and by example as well as by precept. I am afraid we shall each of us judge of his scheme as a whole strictly according as we hold how far the enthusiastic professor is on solid earth and how far in unsubstantial cloud-land, in entertaining such roseate expectations of a wholesale revolution in the habits and tastes of large populations suffering, moreover, he realizes more clearly than any of his predecessors, from neurasthenic depression for generations. He is of course perfectly justified in insisting that town-improvement is above and beyond all else for improvements, that the people are the town; that the town will be what they make it, and that therefore people-improvement, individual and collective, by groups and classes and occupations, is the life and soul of all town-improvement; that schemes of town-improvement in the abstract, dissociated from or inadequately correlated to the habits, associations, sentiments and ideals of the people concerned, are not worth the paper they are printed on. And hence it is that at every turn, in planning for schools or industries, railway-sidings or lanes, temples or ghats, river-cleansing or the disposal of dirt and sewage, he comes round over and over again to a whole-hearted

full and open-air co-operation between state, municipality, and people, which in so far as it can be achieved, would of itself reduce the cost and expediate the construction of all projects to an incalculable extent. But our "authorities" and our bureaucracies in India to-day have developed a character which cannot win or maintain such trust and co-operation, still less deserve it. Nor does it seem to me that Native States in India are in this respect any better than British India. Whether we are in earnest about town-planning or about a serious improvement, in any other department, we come round thus to one capital improvement or revolution as altogether overdue, and requiring to be carried through first and foremost, viz. a change of heart and tone and temper in the individuals and cliques and groups and classes set over us to-day as our rulers.

There are at least two other topics of profound interest dealt with in these volumes. The comparative merits and defects of silk, jute, and cotton industries, their various implications, and the innumerable ways in which they tell upon the life and thought and health and happiness of the population which depend upon them, are here explored with an insight and a knowledge rarely surpassed. Again, the needs and the defects of Indian education today throughout the whole gamut from the infant classes to post-graduate research are here commented on, and a better order from the foundation-stone right up to the topmost conning-tower is here suggested with an originality and an eloquence worthy even of the author's high reputation. It is true that here also as in other fields of Professor Geddes' thought, we have Prof. Geddes, the optimistic visionary, mixed up with Prof. Geddes, the acute man of science. This, however, is no real loss to the reader who can appreciate the science and the other readers might perhaps be led on to what little scientific thinking they are capable of, just because of the dreamland and the cloudscapes which draw them on.

#### THE RATE OF EXCHANGE.

(Contributed.)

##### IV.

In our article on the subject last week we showed how if India abstained from purchases for a while, we could get silver down to 24d. or near it, and save sixty crores a year, and we asked if the stake in view was so great, why not abstain? We shall now show how this could and ought to be done.

Let us first see the reason why we purchase any silver at all. Formerly *i. e.* before 1894, India was a silver standard country. In other words, its currency was based on silver. The meaning of this was that when a man bought or sold anything for say Rs. 100, he really bartered the article he bought or sold for 100 tolas of standard silver. In gold standard countries it is the same *i. e.* when a man buys or sells anything for £ 100 he really barter it for 12327 grains of standard gold. The object of having standard coins is to simplify these barterings. The Governments provided these pieces of metal each guaranteed 1 tola of silver of



standard fineness as in India, or each 123.27 grains guaranteed of gold of standard purity as in England. This obviated the necessity for and the time and trouble involved in cutting out the necessary weights of silver or gold at each barter *i. e.* at each operation of buying or selling. When England wanted in those days to buy, say, cotton from India, it had to buy so much silver in America or elsewhere to pay for the cotton as our then currency was based on silver. This was the main reason for India's purchases of silver. However, if India wanted to buy anything from England and send 100 tolas of silver there, it could not always turn it into the same number of pounds. We had to sell the silver and get what we can for it in gold before we could buy anything in England. When silver began to decline after the Franco-German war our 100 tolas of silver fetched less and less in gold, and we had to pay more and more tolas (rupees) for the same article. Similarly, the Government of India had to remit every year large sums to England for purchase of Railway material and stores, and payment of pensions etc. etc. The Government also had, therefore, to find lacs and lacs of rupees more every year although the sterling amount remained the same. They appointed a committee to advise them on the best solution of the difficulty and finally decided to give up the silver standard and fix the rupee at 16d.. It is this point that most superficial students of the subject forget viz., that it was not a *tola* of silver that was fixed at 16d. but the *unit coin* under the new system that was fixed at 16d.

As a matter of fact, silver kept wildly fluctuating and actually declined much further after this fixing of the coin at 16d. A time came when a tola of silver was worth only 9d. or so and yet the rupee coin was worth at the same time 16d. as fixed by Government. In short, the amount of silver in the coin had nothing to do with its fixed gold value.

To create the least disturbance in the minds of the masses and partly to utilise its large stocks of the silver rupee (we would ask our readers to carefully distinguish this from the gold rupee of 16d.) the rupee was allowed to circulate as before and allowed to exchange for our currency notes. This served all right for our internal circulation where the masses were none the wiser. Foreign bankers however would not take the rupee in payment, because, they knew that as bullion it would not fetch 16d. in their own countries. The notes were even then convertible but this convertibility was a sham as a hundred rupee note—when changed for rupees—did not give 1600 d. worth of gold.

The sham went on unperceived so long as India's balance of trade was favourable. A day came—in 1907—when it became unfavourable. We had to make large payments to foreign countries. They naturally would not take our coin at the artificial value of 16d., and the Government had itself to take the coin and pay 16d. against it in Europe. This is what is known as Reverse Councils.

In a way, this sham character of the coin was understood in India. Every one who had to buy silver—and our masses are perhaps the largest consumers of silver for ornaments—knew that they could get 100 tolas of silver metal at 70 to 75 rupees. No

body ever yet distrusted the rupee. They took freely in all the bazars. Why? Because the coin was really a medium of exchange and the quantity or value of metal in the coin had nothing to do with its utility as such medium of exchange. We know of another medium of exchange—the currency note—that we all freely accept although the paper of which it is made is worth very little. We take the currency note not for the paper it is made of but for the value it represents everywhere and such value is given to it by the prestige and authority of the Government. Similarly, in foreign trade, merchants took the rupee at 16d. not because of the metal it was made of but because it had the authority of the Government behind it and the holder could count on getting 16d. on it. If our readers will carefully reflect they will now see that what before 1894 (*i. e.* under the silver standard) the coin was the standard coin of the country, it has become silver 1884 merely a currency note for 16d. printed on a strip of silver.

Why this extravagance? If anybody proposed that Government should print our Rs. 100 or Rs. 500 notes on strips of gold or silver he would be laughed at. And yet nobody thinks it strange that the very lowest denomination—the 1 rupee—continued to be printed on strips of silver for two decades. Why was this extravagance permitted?

There was a reason. One reason we have explained above viz., the expediency of going from the silver to the gold standard without the masses being the wiser for it here. They would continue to see their same old rupee in circulation and would not know that its whole character had been changed. They would not consequently think of attributing the economic miseries that followed the change to the change of standard. And the rupee succeeded.

There was another powerful inducement to the Government to continue the rise viz.,

#### THE PROFIT ON COINAGE.

When the standard was changed, it was deemed necessary to build up a stock of gold in support of the new standard. As Government could buy enough silver to make a rupee at 10d. and give it out as coin in India at 16d. there was a big profit. It seemed to fall from the skies. Nobody, it was claimed, lost anything. We have no time to discuss the point here today. Suffice it to say it was from the pocket of the Indian producer that the profit really came. But nobody was the wiser, and the game went merrily on. And now that silver has gone and a tola of silver cannot be had at 10d. the authorities are afraid to own up that the rupee was a sham all these years. They have so long allowed the belief to continue that there has been no change in the character of our standard coin, that they are afraid to shake it now. They therefore go on minting coins containing a full tola of silver and have raised the exchange because the tola now costs more. As shown above they never lowered the exchange when it cost only 10d. or 11d. We do not say they should have done so because the quantity of metal in the coin has since 1894 nothing to do with its gold value. It is merely a currency note printed on strips of silver. Why print it on silver at all? Why not have instead only one-rupee notes? If we only did this, we *could* do without silver except very small quantities for fractional coinage. Ought we not to do it? We shall take this up in our next



## CASTELESS HINDUISM.

In the *Indian Social Reformer* of the 16th March we noticed in a paragraph under this heading a reference in the *Indian Messenger* to a new movement of Vaishnavism in Bengal, and expressed a desire to have detailed information about it. We have been favoured with the following communication from the Honorary Secretary of the Sabha which our readers will, no doubt, find to be of great interest.

Sree Bhaktivinode Asana  
1 Ultadinglee Junction Road,  
Calcutta, April 28, 1919.

The Editor, The *Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

In respect of a note of yours in reference to ourselves as quoted in the *Indian Messenger* of the date of March 23, 1919, we have been requested by the editor of that paper to set forth our doctrines in contradistinction to those, if any, of various forms of so-called Vaishnavism. We are firm adherents of Sree Sree Mahaprabhu Chaitanyadeva and are solely guided by His tenets as propounded by Himself and His पार्श्व Bhaktas (Eternal Devotees). For the present we shall confine ourselves to a translation, which you will kindly publish through the columns of your much-esteemed paper, of an article of our venerable preceptor, His Holiness Paramhansa Paribraj Kachareya Sree Sriemad Bhaktisiddhanta Saraswati Swami, published in the columns (d-14 3-19) of the *Hitaradi*.

“Vaishnava Brethren and Hindus in general,

Being requested by the Viswa Vaishnava Raja Sabha, I humbly beg to call your attention to the following:—

1. The Hindu Aryans of India are divided into two sections, one is termed the Vaishnava or Devotee Community and is devoted to the personal Godhead with His Eternal Leelâ; and the other is constituted of general Hindus who preach the worship of five concocted forms of the impersonal Godhead, who preach that त्रिगुणातीत ब्रह्म (Brahma beyond the Scope of the three attributes of Sattva, Rajas and Tamas) is without any Standing Manifestation निर्दिशेय and that in the land beyond this world there are no Jivas (finite souls) etc. believing that in the world beyond this it is only Prakriti (Nature) or Brahman without any standing manifestation that is true.

2. All the Indian Hindu Aryas feel this world and the next with a faith in the authority of the Vedas and the allied Shastras such as the Smritis, Tantras, Puranas etc. But a distinction is noticed between the worldly customs and manners of the general Hindus and the true Vaishnavas.

3. The three divisions of the Vedas are devoted to Karma, Jnan and Bhakti respectively. The Vaishnavas perform all worldly and spiritual functions by the exclusive worship of Vishnu in accordance with the Bhaktikanda of the Vedas. The Hindus who take shelter under the Karma Kanda of the Vedas, worship various deities as accepted therein and also the five gods of the Puranas. Besides many of them worship numerous deities, spirits and various worldly things as enjoined in the Tantras. The followers of Jnanakanda do such worldly worship with the end in view of merging in the Brahman void of distinction (निर्मेद ब्रह्म). Some others, namely, the Bhaktikandis believe in the eternity of worship and attain to Vishnuloka etc.

4. The ordinary Hindus regard the Vaishnavas as distinct from themselves; the Vaishnava Hindus call the former by the name of general Hindus.

5. In the South, the Vaishnava teachers of the middle ages divided the Hindus into two forms of society and their followers have been uninterruptedly performing the services of Hari (the personal Godhead). In the northern India however, interruptions are being created in the way of this Divine service by a conception of identity between true Vaishnavas and ordinary Vaishnavas of five different worshipping societies. The social rites and manners of these two forms of Hindu Society have been generating difficulties in Bengal for these four centuries. It is, however, not true that these difficulties were not solved many times beforehand.

6. The distinctions that are specially noticeable between the adherent of true Vaishnavite faith and the ordinary Hindus are in brief the following:

(a) The true Vaishnavas believe in the spiritual essence, aloofness from the three attributes (Sattva etc.), eternity, excellence, identify with spirit (चित्) perpetual diversity (विचित्रता), immeasurability by the finite senses (विकुञ्चता), fullness, and divine ecstasy of the worshipped Godhead. In the opinion of the general Hindus, this Godhead is material with Spirit imputed to it, within the confine of the three attributes, inconstant, non-excellent, non-spirit, a medium set up for the attainment of heavenly enjoyment or otherwise, or eternal freedom from any diversity or manifestation in the world beyond this.

(b) The true Vaishnavas believe in the perpetuity of worship performed exclusively of Eternal Vishnu. In spite of a difference in the nature of the means (साधन) and the end (साध्य), it is the service of God alone that should be performed both in this world and hereafter.

According to the ordinary Hindus, the forms of worship are various, such as, penances, rites, obsequies, worship of plural deities, sacrifices and various other performances—all calculated to aid in the attainment of the fourfold desires of piety, acquirement, enjoyment, and salvation (धर्मार्थकाममोक्ष).

6. The true Vaishnavas aim, as the fruit of their worship or performances, at the eternal service and love of God. Among the ordinary Hindus the elevationists aspire, as the fruit of their actions, after the four Lokas (सत्यजनसहस्रपः) heaven, and धर्मार्थकाम in the various worlds of the deities and the Salvationists regard Spiritual annihilation as the highest achievement.

7. The true Vaishnavas and the general Hindus are pained at the sight of a dissimilarity in their respective rights and customs entailing on them during their existence in this world of action. Seeing that, notwithstanding this painful realisation, any finite decision with regard to these is impracticable, they become reconciled to each other after some differences. But in course of time the differences make head again. As for illustration, the few following notices are going to be made.—

(a) The true Vaishnavas are of opinion that the four castes (Varnas) should be based on avocation and decided per capital. The ordinary Hindus aver that investiture and initiation (सावित्र देज्ञ संस्कारौ) should be dependent on the legitimate seminal birth (शौक जन्म) secured by dint of virtue and vice in consequence of the deeds done by a man in his previous birth.

(b) According to the true Vaishnavas, they leave the coils of gross and astral bodies and attain to perpetual service of God. Even during the existence of activities unfavourable to Divine service, they do deeds and cherish thoughts with a view to it. Those who take to Divine worship have not got to accept any ghostly existence after this worldly one. Consequently, instead of the obsequies for departed spirits as enjoined in the Karmakanda, Sraddh or worship with regard should be performed of deities or fathers with Hariprasada.



Ordinary Hindus acknowledge the bounden necessity of obsequies for the well-being of departed souls and are ignorant of any Sradh with Bhagavatprasad excepting only when they do such Sradhs at Vishnu Tirthas.

The true Vaishnavas believe that His Holiness the Preceptor (गुरुदेव) who is conversant with the truth about Sree Krishna is the objective incarnation of God. This preceptor extends the competence of all eternal spiritual service to him whom His Holiness accepts as a disciple.

The general Hindus affirm that it is only a Brahmin by legitimate seminal birth who is entitled to be a preceptor. He cannot initiate anyone other than such a Brahmin failing which he will degrade himself.

To make up these mutually antagonistic social dissensions the teachers of these two sections must understand their respective doctrines. Whenever these leaders comprehend these things, their followers are not expected to be driven astray.

If a Vaishnava teacher realises that the import of the Shastras is that, as the effect of initiation, a person attains to a Brahmanic competence to worship God, and if every kind of competence such as investiture, worship of God, culture of the Vedas, initiation, attainment of Shastric wisdom, reverence of Mahaprasada etc. has been secured by a disciple, he should not wince at the grave damages that are being made to the true Vaishnava Society by an apathy to and non-acceptance of such competence. On account of his indifference the general Hindu Society is forcibly bullying him into submission without consulting the Shastras or the dealing of the true Vaishnavas. He is too powerless to reverse Mahaprasada in the presence of all, to acknowledge his disciple as a Brahmin and to openly declare that his disciple is competent to worship God, study the Vedas, initiate followers and has a sound knowledge of the Shastras. So he is being led by the nose by the ordinary Hindus suppressing the beliefs of the saints of yore. Does there exist no remedy to such a state of affairs? I affirm there is. I shall deal with it in a subsequent letter.

TRIDANDI BHIKSHU

(Sd.) "Sree-Siddhanta Saraswati."

From the above you will glean that we are not anxious about any marriage question, as it is outside the ken of our spiritual ambition, and are not for any interdining excepting that we do not, under the injunctions of the Shastras, apply the touch-restriction to Sree Mahaprasada and that we do take only Mahaprasada along with our सवित्र (duly invested) Brahmin brethren of our community irrespective of whatever families they were first born in. We are not 'driving a coach-and-four over Varnasrama,' rather our aim is to found real Varnasrama on the basis of personal inclinations and occupations.

It is hoped when you have taken a note of ourselves in your paper, you will not fail to allow us an opportunity of explaining what we are and of removing the misconception if any, created by your note about us in the minds of your learned readers.

Yours Faithfully,

Haripada Vidyaratna Kavibhusana, B. A.

Hony. Secretary, Sree Viswa Vaishnava Raja Sabha.

### CIVIL LAW AND ORDER.

The following manifesto has been issued by a number of well-known citizens of Bombay:—

"We the undersigned citizens of Bombay, viewing with horror and detestation the atrocious deeds of lawlessness recently committed in certain parts of this Presidency and

elsewhere in India, desire to make public expression of our resolve to perform our duty as loyal citizens of the Empire and to stand by and support the Government of Bombay in the primal duty of all Governments the maintenance of Civil law and order.

"We dissociate ourselves at the outset from the pernicious doctrine of active disobedience or even passive resistance to Civil Law, which has been sedulously promulgated throughout the Presidency of late among ignorant people, and we bind ourselves to combat those doctrines as far as possible by every means in our power.

"Finally, we pledge ourselves to assist the Government by word and deed in the preservation of order and we make this declaration in response to the address made to us by His Excellency Sir George Lloyd in his speech of April 16th last, wherein he appealed to all leading citizens to make clear their determination to uphold the cause of law and order and to trample under foot the Twin Demons of Lawlessness and Disorder."

"God Save the King"

### THE FUTURE OF FIJI.

The Indian Imperial Association of Fiji has addressed the following memorial to the Hon. Viscount Milner, His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies.

We the undersigned Indian Colonists of Fiji, representing Indian public opinion under the auspices of The Indian Imperial Association of Fiji hereby beg to lay the following few lines for favour of consideration:—

We have heard that there are movements on foot amongst the European residents of this Colony to propose the annexation of Fiji with New Zealand or Australia. And we also read a third proposal, namely, the idea of a federation of Fiji with the surrounding groups of Islands in Australasia.

We do not see our way to agree to the former two proposals as put forward by the white residents. We as Indians distinctly realize that Fiji is one of those Colonies where the future mainly if not entirely depends upon the Indian element. And therefore we sincerely believe that such Colonies should, in a scheme for re-arrangement of the British Empire, be connected rather with India which is our Mother Country than with any other portion of the British Empire. The white population can never expect to be in the majority as regards numbers in tropical climates, and they cannot retain their commercial and social superiority for ever. Time will come when the Indian section will be fully educated and brought up to realize its self-respect, dignity and responsibilities so as to take a place on terms of equality with the European section and then numerically being in the majority they will be the main factor to consider in matters of government. We therefore definitely pray that Fiji be connected naturally with India rather than with any other Country under the British Flag. We do not for a moment forget our Fijian fellow subjects and we hope and trust that they will not suffer by the Indian connection herein proposed.

If as Prof. Seely has observed "Colonies depend upon the Mother Country as fruit upon the tree" we certainly feel that our destinies can more naturally be nursed by India, our home than from the home of a minority of this Colony's population.

In the alternative we submit that Fiji should be allowed to remain under the British Crown and governed from Downing Street as it is to-day.

After the foregoing proposals on our part we are quite ready to consider the third idea mentioned in paragraph I hereof. And in case any of the local agitators for annexation



of Fiji with Australia or New Zealand succeed in persuading the home government to favourably consider their schemes, we hope that the annexation should by preference be with a Country like New Zealand than with Australia, whose policy towards non-whites is different and stricter than that of the Dominion of New Zealand. In any case it will, we submit, be absolutely necessary to safeguard the integrity and the national development of the Indian Colonists and of the Fijians by provision for proportionate adequate and efficient representation of these communities in the councils of the Government responsible for the administration of Fiji.

The signatories include D. M. Manilal B. Ram Singh, S. Abdul Raheem, and George Sachit.

### MARRIAGE REFORM AMONG KHOJAS.

Mr. CASSAMALLY JAIRAZBHoy's GOOD EXAMPLE.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

Mr. Cassamally Jairazbhoy on his recent marriage is not only to be congratulated but also to be thanked by his friends and admirers. Why to be thanked? a critic may enquire. It is to explain this that I am encroaching upon a space in your crowded columns.

In the *Sanj Vartman* of the 17th May, one reads that Mr. Cassamally Jairazbhoy did not go in procession to the bride's place with a flower "Sehra" (a sort of flower hood meant to camouflage the face and the front of the bridegroom); did not stand before his mother-in-law or any of the bride's lady in order that she should receive him under the shower of rice (a ceremony called 'Pookhawa'—hardly to be encouraged in these days of famine) and caused the nikha to be performed in the midst of his guests and not in a closed room at the bride's place. Your vernacular contemporary therefore, remarks that Mr. Cassamally has indeed very boldly behaved to remove these customs and adds that this success should be admired and appreciated by his fellow co-religionists.

To estimate correctly what Mr. Cassamally has achieved for himself and those who are still to marry one need only see the history of the evolution of the present form of a Khoja marriage. It suffices to submit to your readers that the average marriage in the 90's lasted a week, when bands used to be played and refreshments served incessantly in the 'Mandavas' (Shamianas) both of the bridegroom and the bride.

The Noor Bang (a building situated at Mazagon for marriages of the Khojas built by late Mr. Noormohamed, Mr. Cassamally's brother) did not necessarily reduce the number of days the marriage should last but it certainly did cut down the expenses of duplicate shamianas bands and refreshments etc. Gradually the number of days were reduced and at present a marriage is completed in a day. But Mr. Cassamally's marriage lasted only a few hours of the evening—the significance of this fact is not at all observed by the "Sanj Vartman."

Mr. Cassamally's marriage is pregnant with two consequences for his community and those who likely to follow suit; one economic and another social.

1. Economically a marriage lasting for a few hours, without a procession, fireworks and powerful lights of several candle power is indeed a gain to the matrimonial parties and consequently to the community. In short, a marriage ceremony is made cheaper and convenient in form and formula.

2. Socially—as it follows from the first—the marriage ceremony will tend to be uniform both in manner and outward expenses thus there will be no distinctions and no social grades; rich and poor—so far as the external show is concerned—will stand alike at the altar of the marriage Mullah (the Nikhakhani).

It is for these two reasons that one must thank Mr. Cassamally. He has taken the lead—and one may call him

a pioneer of marriage reforms—and it is for the young Khojas to follow his example. We must also congratulate his mother for her acceptance of her son's daring and good (for future marriages) attempt to reform the old customs.

Where will all these reforms lead to? I feel no difficulty in answering this confidently and briefly too. The "Noor Bang" has now become a place to celebrate marriages within few hours, and I believe, it will not be long before the same "Noor Bang" will turn into a registry office for recording and certifying a marriage within an hour at the payment of ten or twenty rupees. Mr. Basu and Mr. Patel may still hope for the success of their well-meaning bills.

Mr. Cassamally's marriage has indeed struck me as revolutionising the marriage forms and ceremonies. It is not because I have just returned from England after five years that I should view it as such, but because the changes he has introduced have been sudden and complete.

Bombay,  
June 10th 1919.

} Yours truly,  
IBRAHIM S. HAJI.

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

## CONTENTS.

—:—

The Reform Bill.	Local Self-Government in Bombay.
Closer Friendship between Indians and Englishmen.	Sir Alexander Cardew on Responsible Government in India.
The Bombay Chronicle Censorship Withdrawn.	William Archer on India.
A Cause of the Punjab Unrest.	The Rate of Exchange. V.
The Indian Women's University.	The Hindu Inter-Caste Marriage Validity Bill.
Aerial Flight across the Atlantic.	Mr. Kalinath Roy's Case.
The Agarkar Day.	Satyagraha as a Rule of Public and Private Life.
	Hindi in Southern India.
	A Hindu Widow-Marriage.

## NOTES.

—:—

**The Reform Bill:** The Government of India have issued in the form of a press communique what they take to be the text of the Reform Bill introduced by the Secretary of State in the House of Commons. A caution is added that its absolute accuracy cannot be guaranteed owing to the difficulty of conveying by telegraph all the textual changes made in earlier versions. The Bill is a skeleton measure which gives power to the Secretary of State, the Government of India and to Local Governments, to make rules, each in its sphere, for giving effect to the main recommendations of the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme. The Bill deviates from the proposals of the scheme in two noteworthy instances. Communal electorates are expressly mentioned in it. The Bill also refers to Governors, Lieutenant Governors and Chief Commissioners, which shows that, though all the provinces are to be known under the Bill as "Governors' provinces," the heads of provincial Governments will continue to bear their present designations. An altogether new provision is the power taken to create new Governors' provinces or "place part of a Governor's province under the administration of a deputy Governor," and all or any of the other provisions of the Bill may be applied to these new provinces and sub-provinces. The Bill omits to define the relation between a sub-province to the parent province, of the Deputy Governor to the Governor. We are inclined to view with some suspicion this clause in the Bill as opening a side door to divisional Councils and provincial states which were condemned in the Joint report. The power to create new provinces is necessary. But we doubt the necessity or the desirability of giving the Government of India the power to create Deputy-Governships with Executive Councils, Ministers and Legislative Councils. It is just conceivable that this power may be exercised to split up a province where the progress to responsible Government proceeded at a pace which did not suit the Government of India for the time being. Of course, there is the safeguard that the King's consent should be previously obtained by the Secretary of State. But where is the need for this

provision even with the safeguard? It is better to create a part of a province which has outgrown its sub-provincial character, into a new and independent province than keep it hanging on as a broken branch to the parent stem. Apart from this the Bill leaves too much to the Executive Government. "Provision may be made by rules under the Government of India Act" for the transfer of subjects to provinces and Ministers. "The Governor may appoint Ministers." "A Governor may appoint such times for holding the sessions of his legislative council" and so on. In fact, so far as the language of the Bill goes, it is entirely left to the discretion of the Government of India when they shall take action on it or whether they shall take action on it or not. We should like these numerous "mays" to be substituted by a fairly large number of "shalls". We recognise that much should (and had best) be left to rules but we cannot help thinking that the Bill leaves much too much.

**Closer Friendship Between Indians and Englishmen:** A Reuter's telegram states that, at the annual meeting of the National Indian Association, on the 10th instant Lord Carmichael presiding, Mr. T. J. Bennett and Lord Sinha emphasised the need for closer friendship and co-operation between the Indian and the British. Lord Sinha declared that there were faults on both sides. "Indians suffered from mistrust and suspicion and the English from racial antipathy. Englishmen should realise that it was not impossible for Indians to be their equal socially and in every other respect. Restrictions of caste and seclusion of women in India need not be real barriers to free social intercourse. The Indian people had begun to think in terms of the Empire and if that feeling were to be encouraged the British must believe that India was a genuine equal part of the Empire. The Indians present at the meeting passed a resolution commending friendly intercourse between the people of England and India and their work in connection with the education of women and girls." The wording of the resolutions, we may hope, was more sensible than it reads in Reuter's message. To pass a resolution commending friendly intercourse, does not seem to be the most effective or practical way of promoting it. The next resolution is even more enigmatic. What work in connection with the education of women, and whose connection with it, were commended, is a mystery. Apart from these resolutions, there is a good deal of sound sense, as there usually is, in Lord Sinha's remarks. There have been several cases of intimate friendship between Englishmen and Indians of the orthodox school who never dreamt of giving up their caste or of taking their wives and daughters to evening parties. Paradoxical as it may seem, it is between Indians who have wholly or partly given up caste and whose women are not secluded in any sense, and Englishmen in India, that the need for emphasising the importance of friendly relations, is greatest at present.



An ounce of fact is worth a ton of theory. The Hon. Mr. Paranjpye told the Bombay Legislative Council the other day his experience when he called upon a Collector. Mr. Paranjpye is certainly not a stickler for caste nor does he "seclude" Mrs. Paranjpye, an educated lady, who can hold her own with any English lady. The real reasons are, the English-educated Indian's claims to get an increasing share of the appointments in the higher public services, to have an effective voice in shaping policy and to stand in all other respects on an equal footing with white men and women. As for caste and seclusion of women (where it exists) they have got to go, but it is prejudicing these great reforms in the eyes of the Indian people to urge their abolition on any lesser ground than the interests of their own social well-being and progress.

**The Bombay Chronicle Censorship Withdrawn.** Thursday's issue of the "Bombay Chronicle" appeared without being censored. In communicating the order of withdrawal to Mr. M. R. Jayakar, on behalf of the Board of Directors, the Secretary to Government said: "The maximum security provided for by Section 5 of the Indian Press Act, 1910 (1 of 1910), having been deposited with the Chief presidency Magistrate, Bombay, by the declared keeper of the "Bombay Chronicle" Press, the Governor in Council has been pleased to withdraw the order of pre-censorship made under Rule 3 of the Defence of India Rules on April 26th, 1919." The pre-censorship was certainly not necessary to secure the deposit of the maximum security by the keeper of the "Chronicle" press, as Mr. Crerar's communications implies. We are glad that the censorship has been withdrawn. The fact is that the censorship had proved a farce. The *Chronicle* reproduced articles from other papers and indicated by means of asterisks any portions that were cut out, so that the reader had simply to get a copy of the other paper to find out what was said. Pre-censorship is likely to be of effect, if at all, only in regard to a particular item of news which it is desirable not to publish or refer to. The Punjab Government was able to prevent Indian papers from giving accounts of the recent disturbances there by this device, only because Martial Law was simultaneously introduced in the localities affected.

**A Cause of the Punjab Unrest:** There is one sentence in the full text of Mr. Montagu's speech on the Indian Budget in the House of Commons, which the mail brings, but Reuter had omitted, that puts forcibly one of the causes of unrest in the Punjab, which is well-known in India, though not mentioned, except casually, in the Indian press, for obvious reasons: "Recruitment for the Army has gone on in parts particularly affected by these disturbances with such zeal and enthusiasm that I think there is reason to believe many a family was left without its breadwinner or breadwinners, and consequently the area under cultivation has been diminished." The diminution of the area under cultivation is a serious enough result, but the feelings of the families who were left without their bread-winners were an even more serious factor, though they counted for little in Sir Michael O'Dwyer's estimation.

**The Indian Women's University:** We congratulate Professor Karve on the happy occasion of the first Convocation of the Indian Women's University. One lady took her degree. The venerable Chancellor of the University, Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar, in conferring the degree, delivered an address in which he set forth with admirable lucidity his life-long conviction regarding women's education

in India. He exhorted the Indian people to wake up betimes to the pressing needs of the country and, following the fine example of Japan, to transform themselves into a great nation by dint of self-sacrifice, freedom from prejudice and conservative spirit; a free examination of the nature of the objects brought to their notice, an unhesitating acceptance of what appeared as good and efficacious.

**Aerial Flight across the Atlantic:** The great event of the week is the successful flight across the Atlantic in a Vickers machine of Captain Alcock. Starting from St. Johns, in Newfoundland, Captain Alcock, after a flight of 15 hours and 57 minutes, landed at Galway on the west of Ireland on the morning of the 15th instant. During the flight, the intrepid airman told interviewers, he and his companion, Lieutenant Brown, occasionally discovered that they were flying upside down. Sometimes they were flying at a height of 11,000 feet, and sometimes only ten feet above water. The English papers emphasise that such flights at present are primarily feats of human endurance and must not be taken as foreshadowing an early establishment of a Trans-Atlantic passenger service.

**The Agarkar Day.** The Agarkar day will be celebrated this year on Sunday the 22nd instant, at the Hall of the Servants of India Society's Home, when Mr. G. K. Devadhar M. A. will be the principal speaker. It has been decided to omit this time the cosmopolitan dinner.

**Local Self-Government in Bombay.** The list of business for the next meeting of the Bombay Legislative Council, to be held on the 7th July, includes two resolutions to be proposed by non-official members for which we would bespeak the sympathetic consideration of Government, as they both relate to matters of importance concerning the constitution and working of local self-government institutions. One is in the name of the Hon. Mr. Paranjpye and runs as follows: "This Council recommends to His Excellency the Governor in Council that instructions be issued to Commissioners and Collectors asking them to include among the nominated members of the various local boards and municipalities suitable men from the depressed classes whenever such men are available." The other is to be proposed by the Hon. Rao Bahadur Naik. It reads: "That this Council respectfully recommends to His Excellency the Governor in Council that Government may be pleased to recognise that the entertainment of a qualified midwife or a nurse should form part of the necessary establishment in the equipment of a hospital or dispensary, and should make arrangements for appointing qualified midwives or nurses where they do not exist; and, with a view to encourage local boards and municipalities to appoint midwives or nurses in the dispensaries under them, should give a full special grant equal to the additional expenditure they will have to incur for this purpose at least for a period of five years, and afterwards a grant-in-aid amounting to not less than half the pay of midwives or nurses entertained by them." It is extremely difficult for Municipalities and Local Boards to get and to retain the services of competent midwives and nurses at the salaries which they are able to offer. We may add that unless the pay, amenities and prospects of their appointments are made sufficiently liberal to allow of the holders, many of them young women, maintaining a fairly good standard of social life, it is impossible to expect girls of a good class to take to such callings.



# INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, JUNE, 22, 1919.

## SIR ALEXANDER CARDEW ON RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT IN INDIA.

Sir Narayan Chandavarkar in the two articles which he contributed to the last two issues of this journal has in a very effective way refuted Sir Alexander Cardew's contention that the current philosophy in India is opposed to democracy and that, therefore, responsible government is unsuitable to India. Our Christian contemporary, the *Dnyanodaya*, has the candour to admit that on the political question the Bombay Indian thinker has the better of the argument with the European statesman in Madras. As Sir Alexander Cardew's minute was intended and included as a contribution to the discussion relating to the early introduction of responsible government in India, that is to say, as a political argument, this verdict of our contemporary is conclusive as regards its irrelevancy, not to say, ineptitude. As for the many inequalities, injustices and inequities of the Indian social system, we have never been, and do not now intend to be, apologists. We have fought hard against them for the last thirty years and we shall continue to do so. Mr. Montagu stated a profound truth when he said in the House of Commons the other day that there was no better way of promoting democratic customs than by working them through democratic institutions. The late Mr. Hume told us that his own personal predilections were in favour of social reforms, but that in order to make the people of India wake up to their responsibilities in regard to their country and their nation, it was necessary by means of liberal political institutions to create in them a sense of national solidarity and self-respect. Even in England the great social reforms followed the extension of the franchise from time to time. We hope, therefore, that we have heard the last of the specious argument that the doctrine of *karma* and the caste system are insuperable barriers to the establishment of responsible government in India. So far as the doctrine of *karma* is concerned, we think that it is the best safeguard of personal and national conduct. George Eliot longed for a religion which would lay down the inexorable connection between action and reward. Gladstone beheld the flaming sword uplifted on High to avenge wrong and oppression. Bismarck and the Kaisers would have builded the German Empire on stable foundations, if they had had the same vivid realisation as Mr. Gladstone, of the imperishable truth,

"The sword of Heaven is not in haste to smite,  
Nor yet doth linger."

India prospered and grew great under Asoka when Buddhism, which was the most emphatic embodiment of the doctrine of *Karma*, flourished in its pristine beauty and purity. And it is our fervent belief that it is only when Indians as individuals and as a nation realise the full significance of this great

doctrine that India will finally be purged of all her social and other evils, the principal of which is caste. And responsible Government is a very important step towards helping the Indian people to interpret this ancient doctrine of theirs in the light of modern conditions.

Leaving on one side this *a priori* argument of Sir Alexander Cardew's, let us examine how far his statement regarding the undue ascendancy of Brahmins, represents the actual facts of the present day. For our part, we have never denied the existence of a certain solid substratum of grievance behind the non-Brahmin movement in the Madras Presidency and in Maharashtra. We are glad to see that the Maharaja Bahadur of Darbhanga, whose Varnashramadharma movement was the immediate inciting cause of the Madras non-Brahmin movement, admitted in an address delivered at Mymensing on the 9th instant, under the auspices of the Mymensing Hindu Hitasadhin Samiti, that the non-Brahmins have some justification for having a fling at the Brahmins. The reason given by the Maharaja was that the Brahmins have deserted their ancient functions of *yajana*, *adhyayana*, *adhyapana*, *pratigraha* and *dana*. The Maharaja added,

There is an idea abroad that the Brahmins of old were all very poor. But let me tell you, it is most a mistaken idea as can be definitely proved from many an ancient text. They were seldom poor; nor did they desire to be such in the ordinary sense of the word. But while described in the ancient books as Mahashalas, Bahudayans and Bahupakyas they lived a very simple life and with that wealth of theirs only helped others to heal and to learn to walk in the path of righteousness and piety, to appease their hunger and thirst, to have shelter and raiment and to do all things as contributed to the making of them true men and citizens and to reach that goal of life after which all mankind is, for ever consciously or unconsciously striving.

The Maharaja's point was that the Brahmin having become poor and, therefore, unable to help others, as they used to, with their wealth, they had lost popular respect. To regain his lost position the Brahmin must acquire wealth. As he cannot do this by the exercise of his ancient functions in these days, he must take to other activities which are more paying.

Nor would he be doing anything wrong or strange in this. For if he has to take to some other functions in the place of the ancient Pratigraha, he would be doing so only under what is a condition of Apat and would be but following what is fully sanctioned in the Shastras as Apad-Dharma. So he must see how Pratigraha being an inadequate means in this age, he can best acquire wealth both for himself and the vast body of the people who are too much afflicted with poverty in body and mind to be able to think of anything high or spiritual. In other words, the Brahmins must first devote themselves to the organising of industry and commerce and agriculture on modern lines which alone can achieve success now, and are in these days the only legitimate means by which a nation can get wealth.

The Maharaja's argument is as ingenious as it is ingenuous, but the point we wish to emphasise here is that the opinion sedulously propagated by the promoters of the anti-Brahmin movement that the



priestly influence of the Brahmin counts for anything in modern India, is an absurd mis-statement. On the contrary, it can be easily shown that wherever and, so far as, the Brahmins have clung to their priestly functions they have, as indicated by the Maharaja who had no doubt the Brahmins of Behar chiefly in mind, been reduced to the position of a backward community. The President of the Punjab Brahmin Conference held in March last, bitterly complained of the backwardness of the Punjab Brahmins in Education. Brahmins, he said, had begun to take to agriculture but the Land Alienation Act stood against them. It can be easily shown that the prominent position of the Brahmins in Madras and Maharashtra is due not to priestly influence or, as Sir Alexander Cardew puts it, to injunctions of religion, but purely to their having taken to English Education more freely than the non-Brahmins of those parts of the country and Brahmins in other parts of India. Sir Sankaran Nair, in one of his minutes of dissent, imputes this forwardness of the Brahmins in some parts of the country to their possession of "the qualities which were required by a foreign ruling race who wanted good subordinates." A more generous estimate would attribute it to a keener political insight which recognised that there was no other alternative that promised better for the country under the circumstances, and which, consequently, devoted its energies to the task of preparing itself to support British rule in the only way in which it could do so in those days.

#### WILLIAM ARCHER ON INDIA.

(By MR. H. V. NANJUNDAYYA C.I.E M.A.B.L.)

Circumstances alter cases. If our recollection is right, a statement by Mr. Tilak that the Almighty had not given a copper plate grant to the European to rule India for ever, was punished as sedition. Yet here is an Englishman writing a whole book of which the main theme is that a nation of 300,000,000 cannot be held in permanent subjection, against its will, by a nation of 40,000,000; and "India, thanks to our rule, is rapidly becoming a nation, and developing a will of its own". That this is by no means a novel or a revolutionary idea, he proves by citing the opinions of various distinguished Indian Administrators and English writers, like Macaulay, Elphinstone, Metcalfe, Lawrence and Lyall. He quotes with approval a passage from Sir Herbert Edward's book that God would never have put upon two hundred millions of men the heavy trial of being subject to thirty millions of foreigners, merely to have their roads improved, and other material conditions ameliorated, and that England, taught by both past and present, should set before her the noble policy of first fitting India for freedom, and then setting her free.

Still the book is not likely to be welcomed by the Indian Nationalist, for Mr. Archer professes to be 'the impartial commentator who exasperates both parties'. So apparently he does, for according to him, India is either the most forward of barbarous or the most backward of civilised nations. This position has been

strongly attacked by that devoted student of Indian religious and philosophical literature, Sir John Woodroffe, as regards the cultural and religious side of Indian position.

On the political side, it is likely that Indian Nationalists will suspect that his professed impartiality is only a cloak to conceal his antagonism to Indian aspirations, as he expresses a very poor opinion of their fitness at present to have any appreciable share given to them in the Government of the country. Still it is something that he so strongly and with evident sincerity insists on Swaraj being the only, though perhaps a distant, ideal for the Government of India to strive to attain. Though one meets with puerilities here and there such, for example as his exaggerated criticism that caste marks give to the people a strange air of savagery combined with fanaticism, there are many observations throughout the book, which are well worth attention, even of those who cannot agree to all his conclusions.

There are some points of appreciation, which coming from such a writer, cannot but be welcome to the Indian people. In the first place he concedes that there is a real unity in India, and does not make use of the hackneyed argument against Indian political aspirations that India is a Continent and not a country. He justly asserts that the British rule has made unity a political as well as a geographical and spiritual fact, and has thereby begotten a sentiment of unity, which it is folly to ridicule as factitious or denounce as seditious.

In the second place, he makes short work of the habit (sometimes though rather rarely exercised of late) 'of associating a dark skin with congenital inferiority'. The Indian races, taken all round, are not low, but very high races. Nor is it possible to declare the presmable Aryan a better man than the presmable Dravidian. 'In moving among Indians, what is constantly borne in upon one is a sense of their fundamental equality, and a vague wonder as to how they happen to have sunk to a position of apparent and to some extent, real inferiority.'

Lastly, he has even a word to say in extenuation if not in justification of the conduct of what he styles "the Indian opposition." "But when all is said and done, we must not wonder over much at the capriciousness of the Indian Opposition. It is not for a moment to be expected that they should accept the British Rule with effusive gratitude, as a good in itself. In itself, it is at best a reminder of India's failure to shape her own destinies; a testimony of her lack of internal unity, of self-assertive vigour, and of political capacity. The utmost that the opposition can sincerely admit is that the present state of things, is the least of several evils, a less evil than anarchy; a less evil than subjection to any other people, whether European or Asiatic."

On the other hand, his deductions and observations on the defects of Indian character and Indian institutions and conditions, are such as to meet with an eager welcome from the party opposed to Indian aspirations, and to raise a strong protest from the Nationalists. Many of them are shallow and superficial



and are the product of the writer's natural and acquired limitations and prejudices. Still many of them are such as to merit the attention of both schools of Indian politicians. He has not a good word to say of caste, which he likens to a virulent epidemic caused by the bacillus of arrogance; but he thinks that "the idea of caste and the idea of a great united India, though essentially incompatible, may quite well be housed in the same head, but under the right system of education, the larger, saner, wholesomer idea ought gradually to eliminate its rival."

Of the past of India, he speaks in terms of exaggerated depreciation. There is some truth indeed in his observation that its "glories of the past" are likely to prove a terrible hindrance to the greatness of the future. But he does not see that the exaggeration on the other side is a natural protest against the long crusade or belittling that has been carried on by those who were entrusted with the task of schooling the people of this country to a grateful appreciation of the magnitude of the service that has been rendered to it by the establishment of European ascendancy. With the writer quoted by Mr. Archer, we are hoping that the 'paralysing recollection of India's greatness in the past' is being replaced by hopeful optimism in the present.

On certain social and political questions of importance, Mr. Archer has some sensible, though to many people, unpalatable remarks. The attempt to carry relations of sincere mutual respect and friendship between British officials and Indian colleagues and subordinates from official into social life is according to him, generally a laborious failure. He cannot blame either of the races for this result, taking human nature for what it is; but it is doubtful if many Indians will agree with him in regarding the exclusiveness of the European Club as an irritating mark of subjection. The more sober and experienced of the Indians do not crave for such clubbing at all, and they know that they themselves are not less exclusive in many social matters, and have self-respect enough not to seek to intrude where they are not welcomed, or are merely tolerated with patronising condescension or impertinent curiosity.

On the question of military training for Indians, the position taken by Mr. Archer is from one point of view almost unanswerable. Referring to the favourite device of appealing to the example of Japan, he pertinently remarks that Japan is, of all countries, the most unlike to India, in its natural situation, in the homogeneity of its people, and in historical antecedents, and concludes that if the racial, geographical and historical condition of the two countries were in the least alike, the English would not be in India at all.

It cannot be said that Mr. Archer is wrong in his assertion that, taking figures alone into consideration, India is as 'martial' to-day as ever she was; nor can serious objection be taken to the inference from his premises that no blame can attach to the British Government situated as it is for not deliberately calling into being 'a nation in arms,' which would be only a suicidal folly. But at the same time, it cannot

be denied that, sooner or later, some means must be found of making India strong enough to defend herself from outside aggression, if the ideal of responsible Government within the British Empire is ever to be realised.

Mr. Archer in his 'postscript proem' supplies certain corrections suggested by the conduct of India during the War. He confesses that one prophecy of his made in the body of the book (written before the declaration of the War) has been falsified—namely the remark that the moment England gets into serious trouble elsewhere, India in her present temper, 'would burst into a blaze of rebellion.' He is not however willing altogether to recant, for he maintains that England on this occasion has not been in any trouble which *in relation to India* could be called serious. Still he avows that India's loyalty has not been merely one of the baser calculating sort. He rightly observes that "Loyalty is a word which is liable to grave abuse. It often implies, on the one side, an unfounded claim; on the other side, a superstitious self-suppression. There are times when loyalty to the actual means disloyalty to the ideal, and when a renunciation of allegiance is the only true virtue." It is to the infinite credit of both the parties, that on this occasion, 'the loyalty of the Princes, the army and a great part of the people of India was a sentiment as reasonable as it was generous.' There is no fear of this sentiment ever losing its force if the British Government adopts as its rule of conduct in this juncture, the "Orthodox and accepted principle" that "the complete enfranchisement of a united India is the only worthy, and indeed the only rational aim of British Policy."

#### THE RATE OF EXCHANGE.

(Contributed.)

V.

We showed last week how—under the changes made in our currency system—our rupee was a sham and also why this sham was continued. We showed how the coin had ceased to be our standard of value as it was before 1894 and had become merely a currency note printed on a strip of silver.

We then asked why print it on silver at all? Why not have instead only one-rupee notes? Because if we did this we could do without silver except very small quantities for fractional coinage and at the same time save the country from the enormous loss that it is now incurring owing to the raising of exchange. Why don't we do it and save the country from the loss of crores of rupees from the raising of exchange? The leaders of the people or those who pose as leaders are to blame for it. The Government saw two years ago that the issue of notes to take the place of the coin was the one way out of our difficulties. They tentatively put forward the proposal and met with a great deal of ignorant opposition. We advisedly say ignorant. For, although the men who made it were learned in book-lore they were ignorant of conditions in other countries similarly situated, they were ignorant of the measures



there adopted to combat similar difficulties, they had been taught that in England there was no note under £ 5 and so could not understand how there could ever be a note for a single unit of currency. When these people were answered that single unit paper currency that is one-pound, one-dollar or one-yen notes had been known and used in other countries for years, they fell back on the plea that it may be all right in countries where the masses were less ignorant than in India. (The wonder is that these same leaders when asking for political rights talk of the great advance the country has made in the last 20 years but this is by the way.) When they were told that the masses in the Straits Settlement, and China were equally steeped in ignorance, they fell back on the plea that this may be so but conditions in India were different and the one-rupee note would be a failure here. The misfortune of the country is that its political leaders are mostly trained lawyers, not merchants, and hence while they were eagerly asking for the development of industries in India and India's economic independence, they did not see that the fifty or sixty crores of rupees we have wasted on purchasing silver during the last 4 years at extravagant prices would have gone a very great way to give us that economic independence that they are preaching. The sad fact remains that no effort has been made by our leaders to make the notes acceptable to the masses, and thus help to save this immense loss to the country.

The authorities could not rest satisfied with this non-possumus attitude. They had to run the country. They had to act. And, after long deliberation they decided on this step—the issue of one-rupee notes—but tentatively and half-heartedly. Although so-called experts had tried their best to create an atmosphere of suspicion and distrust against these new notes there have been none of the dire consequences so freely predicted, although the notes have been in circulation for nearly eighteen months. These predictions have had their effect however in preventing the authorities from issuing these notes on a large scale. They have only been issued in the Presidency towns and even there very half-heartedly indeed, so much so that we see a great deal of coin still in circulation here in Bombay whereas it ought to be in the Treasury. The total of these small notes now in issue is about 18 crores but they have failed to relieve the situation because the demands for currency of some kind have so heavily increased that since December 1917 when these new notes first came out we have issued a further fifty crores of paper currency and a further sixty crores of coin (rupees). People tell us that in the upcountry districts nobody will take notes; and if we had seen this addition of sixty crores to the coin in circulation accompanied by *diminution* in the circulation of currency notes, these people would have proved right; but the hard fact is that there has been an *addition* to the coined money and at the same time a very heavy *addition* to the currency notes in issue.

When the opponents of the small note are faced with this fact of a greatly increased note circulation

they claim that the notes are taken because sufficient coin cannot be had and they point to the great discount on the notes. It is true there is a discount, but there always was a discount on the changing of a currency note. In fact in former years there was a discount even on a rupee coin when small change was required. This discount is due to the individual disbursements of the masses being very small and their consequent uses for small currency units. It would be extremely rare for an individual ryot to make any single purchase of over Rs. 5 so that even the very smallest pre-war note was altogether too big for him. When we remember this fact and when we further remember the addition of 80 crores to our note issue since 1914, is it any wonder that a great many more notes are presented to be cashed? What can the ryot do with even a five rupee note? and the bulk of our note issue is five rupees and higher. Is it any wonder that the ryot insists on smaller units and refuses to take notes? Is it any wonder that when compelled to take notes in payment of produce he does his best to promptly convert them into cash?

This has resulted in the depletion of coin from the currency treasuries almost as fast as it is received from the mint. The authorities seem quite non-plussed but they don't see that it is by their own action that they increase their difficulties. A little reflection of the needs of the ryot ought to tell them that it is not the note that is at fault but the present cashing arrangements. For instance, a Konkani ryot when in Bombay working as a common labourer accepts a five-rupee or even a one-rupee note without objection. The moment he is back in his village he objects. Cannot the authorities see why? In Bombay he knows he can make his small purchases with the note without having to pay a discount for cashing. In his village, he knows no one disposes of much cash and he will have to pay a discount to cash the note. Naturally enough he tries to avoid such loss by avoiding payment to himself in notes.

Now here is another fact which is forgotten or overlooked by the authorities. It is conceded that it is the illiterate ryot whose prejudice against the currency-note we have got to overcome. It will no doubt be conceded too that the individual holding of currency notes of any ryot cannot exceed a few notes at a time. It will further be conceded that he cannot really need to change more than *one* five rupee note at a time. Sir William Meyer seems to have perceived this truth and very rightly arranged, when issuing the one-rupee note, that rupees five worth of notes can at a time be cashed at any post office. But he overlooked the real objection of the ryot, namely, cash to readily meet his small daily disbursements. These require annas not rupees, and thus require plenty of small change *viz.* plenty of one and two and four anna pieces. If cashing centres were established at all important produce markets upcountry and small change was freely provided there for the one rupee-note, the ryot would at once see that he was getting full sixteen annas for it whenever wanted. This done, the coin



should be all conserved for the ryots cashing needs and not given out in lacs at a time to big sowcars and speculators as is now done. This would mean refusing to cash currency notes at the Head Issue Offices and we know strong protests will be made against such a suggestion by so-called experts. They will call it inconvertibility. We will take up this question in our next and will only point out here that the notes even in England are practically inconvertible to-day. Of course the opponents of the suggestion will fall back once more, as they did in the case of the one-rupee note, on the dangers of such a measure on the ignorant and illiterate ryot, but for him we should have the cashing offices to pay not rupees but small change.

### THE HINDU INTER-CASTE MARRIAGE VALIDITY BILL.

( P. R. LELE, B. A., LL. B. )

Let me begin with a clear statement of my view about marriage. I should like marriage between any man and any woman subject only to one well-recognised rule viz. that neither should be a party to a subsisting marriage. All that law should be concerned with is legalisation of marriages; it should not be necessary in law for any one to make any declaration as to religious belief or to conform to any religious ceremonials or injunctions. That is the social condition I should like. However, the desired social condition is one thing and the particular legislative measure intended for bringing about that condition is another.

The misfortune that has attended the discussion on the Hon'ble Mr. Patel's Bill is that both sides have gone on mere sentiments, and both sides seek to stand on old scriptures. Some persons have abused the occasion by giving vent to their inveterate hatred of Brahmins as a class. A false analogy has been drawn by the pro Bill class between the antagonism to this Bill and that to the Hindu Widows' Remarriage Bill. Now even practising lawyers have brought to bear on the Bill their knowledge of the peculiar possibilities affecting the actual life of Hindu families on account of the peculiar constitution of Hindu Law as interpreted by Courts.

The widow marriage Bill dealt only with a glaring and absolutely unjustifiable inequality between two sexes. Under the Hindu Law existing before that Bill, a Hindu male could remain unmarried, could enter into any number of marital ties successively, could have any number of wives simultaneously, and could further have any number of illicit relations of long or short duration. Whereas a Hindu female had to marry whether she wished or not, whether she got a suitable or a decrepit leprous husband and could marry only once even should she lose her husband the very next hour after marriage. It was this inequality that that Bill was intended to remove and made the opposition absolutely unreasonable. Mr. Patel's Bill does not deal with any such injustice. It wants a state of affairs to which there

is room for reasonable opposition in as much as it is equally new to all castes in Hinduism.

The best way to deal with this measure is to hold it over until the new constitution to be ordained by Parliament be set up in India. Under the new Constitution, the Legislative Assembly shall have to pass such a measure before it can become law. That body will be representing on account both of its number and character, various shades of opinion in India. The present Legislative Council with its Official vote is really incompetent to legislate in a matter of this kind. At the basis of the present constitution of the Indian Legislature there is the word of the Sovereign not to interfere in any religious matter, except to right some glaring wrong or to remove some inhuman monstrosity, unless a majority affected by that religious matter desire the interference. Especially the present Legislative Council which shall be having an artificial existence from June onwards should let the Bill stand over till the new constitution is set up.

The Bill appears permissive and has, as such, deluded even legal practitioners. It would have in fact been what in appearance is, had Hindu Law not been what it unfortunately is. Hindu Law deals with anything concerning Hindus unless the legislature has by its enactments excluded something from its operation, and none can exactly know what particular matter may not be decided by Courts according to some unknown dictum of Hindu scriptures. Hindu Law is a very complex thing, and Legislature has affected it only in a slipshod fashion. No less a lawyer than Mr. Cunningham, sometime Judge of Calcutta High Court, looked "upon the entire law with a mixture of wonder and pity". The ardent student of Hindu Law, Mr. Mayne called a Code of Hindu Law a miracle. Really it is the scrupulousness, with which the Courts have observed the scriptures and have allowed the intermixture of Hindu religious usage and ordinary private life, that makes any single legislative stroke—charming and satisfactory by its simplicity (to use the words of a Solicitor in Bombay) but for that very reason the more dangerous—as undesirable as the injections of antidisease vaccines. For the Hindus Hindu Law is much more than any similar thing to any other race.

The illegality of marriages that the Bill intends to obviate has been the creature of the Courts. Those same Courts have—admittedly on the basis of Hindu Shastras—set up a complex system of the Hindu Law of coparcenary. These two things when coupled together worked consistently. Now should Mr. Patel's Bill pass into law, the latter will remain and the former will go; and a state of things, which the Courts never contemplated—nay positively denied when they set up that system of coparcenary, is going to arise. The Courts are not going behind their decisions about coparcenary on account of the Patel Bill at all. The Courts have been consistent and will be averse to any new provision by way of judicial decisions for the new marriages which shall be



in case of the Bill being enacted, Hindu marriages. The legislature is making disconnected amendments, which the Courts cannot help. The Courts never allow their course to change except for express legislative provisions. It has always been the rule of the Courts to say that, if the legislature made one particular modification and not more modifications the legislature did not desire to disturb the course of judicial decisions, did not desire those other modifications.

I will give only one case to show that the Bill which is permissive in appearance is in fact compulsive. Take a joint family of four brothers A, B, C, D, say of the Brahmin caste. D takes it into his head to marry a Kunbi woman. Should the Bill be law, it will be a marriage and a Hindu marriage. The question of members of a joint family belonging to different castes has never been before the Courts (the courts having negatived all possibility of such a question), and has, therefore, not been provided for by them. Under the Hindu Law as it is to-day enforced D's wife a Kunbi woman will be able to force herself in a Brahmin home on Brahmin women who have every right to keep their home from women of other castes. I am not saying anything about property. This is only one case and a very moderate case. My attempt is simply to show that, Hindu law being what it is, whether Mr. Patel and his supporters like or not—a measure like the Hon'ble Mr. Patel's Bill is permissive only in appearance but compulsive in fact. The least that the Government could do is to let the Bill stand over for two years after which period there will be a new Legislative machinery for India.

Should that course not be acceptable, provisions should be enacted to exclude the Hindu Law of coparcenary in the case of such marriages. A different set of rules of succession and inheritance may be made for such married couples and their children. But some set of legislative provisions must be made that will entitle other members of a joint family (i) to ask him to leave the home and (ii) to look upon him as immediately separated without the institution of a suit. Then again there will have to be made some kind of provision about the caste, not because those that have come to be called the grabbing Bhikshuks want but for the sake of obviating worse difficulties. There are certain properties and vatsans and rights held by certain families on account of certain religious duties. Those are held by certain persons because they belong to a certain caste. These rights have been held to be property and have been the subject matter of litigation. How can a person going beyond his caste for marriage be tolerated to keep those rights? In such cases, it is not a matter even among the several members of a family; it is a matter directly concerning a vast mass of people outside the family, who are entitled to their own religious beliefs. These cases can be dealt with, only if the legislature makes provision as to caste, or, by a general rule excludes, as I have stated in the first sentence of this para, the Hindu Law of Coparcenary in the case of such marriages.

## MR. KALINATH ROY'S CASE.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

The authentic news has reached me from Lahore that Mr. Kalinath Roy has already broken down in health under his imprisonment with hard labour. He was put by the jail authorities in his weak, nervous state to grind corn, and very soon his health gave way. He is now in the jail hospital. Knowing him as I do, it was to me quite a foregone conclusion that this would happen, as soon as ever I saw the sentence of 'rigorous imprisonment,' and it is difficult, indeed, to contemplate that this kind of thing must go on for at least another two years unless the sentence is redressed.

There are three questions to be decided. Two affect other prisoners, besides, the third affects Mr. Kalinath Roy himself. The first question is whether the Punjab was in actual open rebellion. If it was not in actual open rebellion, then there was no valid legal ground for Martial Law being declared. Now we have a whole series of Sir Michael O'Dwyer's farewell speeches, which seem, to all intents and purposes to state in so many words that the Punjab was not in open rebellion. We can appeal from Philip drunk to Philip Sober. I need not go into the argument, (which was pointed out recently to me by a Bengalee friend,) but let anyone read over very carefully in succession Sir Michael O'Dwyer's last speeches, in which he praises to the skies the magnificent loyalty of the whole Punjab, and the smallness of the disaffected element. Such a state of things, as Sir Michael himself describes, cannot—so it appears to me—be called by the name of "open rebellion." It is far nearer what Rabindranath Tagore's own letter called it, namely, "local disturbances." Sir Michael O'Dwyer cannot have his cake and eat it. He cannot be allowed to blow hot and cold at once. Further, for the Imperial Power, which declares itself in its proclamations to have just conquered the greatest army in the world—for this Imperial Power to call the Danda Fauj etc., an act of war and open rebellion—there is no need to finish the sentence.

The second question, which Sir Sivaswamy Aiyar very ably discusses in the *Servant of India* of the 5th June and Mr. Alfred Nundy in the *Leader* of the 3th June, is whether any cases, except those of actual riot and murder and inciting to riot and murder on the spot, can be tried under Martial Law. All the past history of Martial Law goes to show that it is only intended for immediate and summary justice in the case of rioters caught red handed, and at these times, when ordinary law courts cannot be opened, because of the rebellion going on; that it is not meant to deal with complex and intricate cases demanding a close attention to the meaning and use of particular words and depending on the exact definition of the law. Such cases should be brought under common law, and there is nothing, even in the official accounts of the Punjab situation, to show that the state of affairs at Lahore was so violently disturbed that the common law Courts could not have been opened without danger to the public.

The third question relates to Mr. Kalinath Roy's own special sentence. I have read over again and again the judgment and also the original articles upon which it is based. I can only say that it has filled me more and more with amazement each time I have read them that any judge could convict on such articles taken as a whole.

There are thus three open questions and it appears to me vital, that with Mr. Kalinath Roy's as a test case, an appeal to a higher Court of Justice, should be made on all three counts. The best counsel's opinion in Calcutta has been



taken, and it is in favour of such an appeal. Even if the Commission of Enquiry, which Mr. Montagu has now promised, should have powers of revising the Court Martial proceedings—as I trust it may—still even then, the action taken by such an appeal to the Privy Council will have been all to the good, for it will have shown how very deeply stirred in the matter the public feeling is.

C. F. ANDREWS.

[Since this letter was in type, it has been announced that the Lt. Governor has ordered that Mr. Roy should be given the forms of labour appropriate to his position in life and be supplied with food suitable for a Bengali. This should have been done as a matter of course. The Jail authorities have no right to add some special hardships of their own choice to the punishment prescribed by law for an offence. We stated our opinion of Mr. Roy's case in the last issue. We cordially endorse Mr. Andrews' letter. Ed. I. S. R.]

### SATYAGRAHA AS A RULE OF PUBLIC AND PRIVATE LIFE.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

In the issue of the *Reformer* of the 25th instant, while accepting *Satyagraha* as a rule of public and private life, you state that your reason for not subscribing to the application of *Satyagraha* against the Rowlatt Act is that it does not and cannot distinguish between the aims of the Act which everybody should support and the methods which every justly minded man should reprobate. Your enunciation of the above principle to guide one in his attitude towards the Government in the present critical time testifies your charity of judgement. But I fear it does not help one in choosing his path of duty. While charity of judgement is very desirable in judging other's actions, when especially one's self-interests are concerned, it becomes out of place and misplaced when it is applied to a case where the stake involved is the liberty of many and innumerable number of innocent people who are liable to be subjected to all sorts of humiliation and suffering owing to the methods which you justly reprobate. The aims of the Act for which you claim the support of "everybody" amounts to nothing more than the presentment of the official version of the factors of the problem facing them. According to that official version, revolutionary and anarchical conspiracies are widely rampant in India and if during the four years and more of war, any manifestation of such undesirable activities has been conspicuous by its absence, it has been due to the rigour with which the Defence of India Act has been exercised and that in view of the expiry of the Defence of India Act, it is necessary and even imperative to the safety of British Rule in India that the executive should be armed in times of peace with arbitrary powers similar to those vested in them during times of war. I hope I have stated the official version fairly and if the aims of the Act which are only based upon the hypothesis propounded by the Government are to be given support without the premises on which they are based being subjected to scrutiny, then any support accorded to the aims of the Act will only be and cannot but be the manifestations of an intellectual servility which seems to be the legacy which the acceptance of the fact of being a member of a subject race seems to indelibly impress itself on one's mind. It is a weakness which the present system of education as imparted in the schools and colleges under the auspices of Government universities goes on perpetuating and Mr. Gandhi's entry into the arena of politics and in sounding his trumpet call to apply the principle of *Satyagraha* against the Rowlatt Act has come not a whit too soon. It is a huge and superhuman task Mr. Gandhi has undertaken, for the augen-

stables of the Indian body-politic are the most difficult to clean. I heartily agree with you that the pioneers of the Social Reform Movement were *Satyagrahis* even before the word was invented and I must also admit that your record of public life where accepting the principle of *Satyagraha* you have fought the social evils of the country with a fervour and perseverance according to your lights is certainly more than ample to have been achieved in one life-time. In your attitude towards the social problems that confronted you when you with your entire heart and soul dedicated your life to it, I am sure, you will find by reflection that you never allowed the ostensibly good aims of the caste system to deter you in the least from attacking it when you found the methods by which it was tried to be preserved were wrong. I believe it is a contradiction in terms (and I would leave it to you to say from your own experiences,) to say that aims which deserve support can ever need to resort to methods which one should reprobate. No goal which is right by itself can depend upon objectionable methods for its being reached and the character of the goal aimed at can never be allowed to deter one from throwing himself heart and soul in resisting the objectionable methods.

The whole issue turns round on this as to whether a thing admittedly evil and subversive of all wholesome principles because it is in the garb or under the cover of an ostensibly good thing can be tolerated on that account to go unchecked or be only met with feeble protests, and as to whether any accepting *Satyagraha* as a rule of public and private life can refrain from applying *Satyagraha* or object to *Satyagraha* being applied in connection therewith. Where *Satyagraha* is a continuous principle and rule of conduct, there can be no justification to refrain from applying *Satyagraha* as long as Right and Justice are violated in a flagrant manner though in the name of a very legitimate goal. Besides this large question, the query as to whether any individual actually signs the *Satyagraha* pledge against the Rowlatt Act or not pales into insignificance. I am one who has faith in the efficacy of sympathy and goodwill emanating wholeheartedly to strengthen those who are engaged in the actual application of *Satyagraha* and I would consider it an accession of strength to the *Satyagraha* movement if you will find it possible to give your moral support to the application of *Satyagraha* against the Rowlatt Act. If one can cull leaves from your own life, there can be only one response and that emphatically favourable to my request.

Yours sincerely  
S. SADANANDA.

Bombay, 28-5-1919.

[We are much obliged to our correspondent for his very kind references to our small contribution to the transcendent cause of Social Reform. But he will admit that to compare caste with the Rowlatt Act is to compare a mountain with a molehill. Ed. I. S. R.]

### HINDI IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

The Kumbhakonam correspondent of the *Hindu* writes:—Hindi classes are becoming more and more popular. Several classes are opened. Mr. Kshemanand, the indefatigable enthusiastic and sage Pandit, is ever at the service of students who are willing to study the language. With Pandits of the type of Mr. Kshemanand this problem of Hindi-Prachar can be easily solved.

### A HINDU WIDOW MARRIAGE.

The marriage of Shrimati Jumnabai, daughter of Vaman-shet Kale with Mr. Gajanan Raghunath Soundalkar was celebrated on Friday the 13th June 1919 in the Hall of the Hindu Widows' Home, Bombay. The parties belonged to the Daiwadnya Brahmin community. The ceremony was officiated by Mr. A. S. Wagh. Among those present were Mr. and Mrs. S. G. Devrukhkar, Mr. A. V. Chitre, Mr. V. L. Kolhatkar and Mrs. Ramabai Gothuskar.



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THE

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

## CONTENTS.

Sectarian Universities.	Studies in Early Indian Thought.
The Ramkrishna Home of Service, Benares.	The Rate of Exchange VI.
Decreasing Vitality of the Indian People.	The Late Mr. C. B. Lalaye.
A Much-Needed Protest.	The Willingdon College, Sangli.
The Golden Temple at Amritsar.	The Hindi Script.
The Willingdon College, Sangli.	A Problem for Psychic Research.
A New Danger to India.	Appointment of Assistant Traffic Superintendents, State Railways.
The Hon. Mr. Crump.	Proposed Seamen's Training Institute in Bombay.
A Sugar Commission for India.	The Dnyan-Prasarak-Mandal, Poona.
Sir Ali Imam.	New India Assurance Company, Limited.
Lord Willingdon's Tours.	Towards Christianity.
The Call to the British Empire.	

## NOTES.

**Sectarian Universities.** The controversy relating to the resignation of the Vice-Chancellor, Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer and some other officers of the Benares Hindu University, has degenerated into a dirty squabble. Some one started it by imputing the whole blame to the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya whose autocratic and uncompromising ways were said to be the main cause of the discontents in the University. Another has followed it up by a virulent attack on Sir Sivaswami Iyer. Those who know Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Sir Sivaswami Iyer—and we have known them both for many years—will be the last to believe the imputations made against them. The real reasons for the difficulties of the Benares University have no relation to persons. They are inherent in the sectarian character of the University. The Pandit and Sir Sivaswami Iyer are both men of the highest character and lofty ideals. An institution where they cannot work together in complete harmony contains within itself seeds of disruption. The fact is that denominational institutions; a nuisance everywhere, is a positive danger to national progress in India. The Aligarh College is another instance. The revelations of the *Independent* of Allahabad regarding the operations of the Mahomedan theologian who has been commissioned to censor the Urdu text-books being prepared for the Oosmania University, make sad reading. We trust that the experience already suffered will suffice to convince experimenters in Universities of the risks of any wide departure from the experience of the older Indian Universities.

**The Ramkrishna Home of Service, Benares.** The eighteenth annual report of the Ramakrishna Home of Service, Benares, records a continued career of progress in its humane mission. During last year

15,636 persons obtained relief of whom 6,393 were men 4,249 women and 5,994 children. People from every province of India sought admission into the Home, and these, representing as they did the varied shades of religions and races, and castes and tribes of the vast country, gave a pleasant opportunity to the workers to do their humble service to India in miniature. Musalmans and Hindus of all castes, high or low, were ministered to in a spirit of catholicity and service for humanity with special attention to their respective religious feeling and even to their prejudices. Another feature of the work carried on by the Home developed during the last Influenza epidemic. Besides providing for the local patients the Home had to depute twelve workers with medicines, food, and clothing to the different villages far and near, where the epidemic was playing havoc with the poor villagers. The workers saved many a life from death, starvation and cold. We cordially commend Swami Brahmananda's appeal for support to the Home to the public.

**Decreasing Vitality of the Indian People.** The annual report of King George V Anti-Tuberculosis League, Bombay, for 1918, is a record of continued good work. In the course of the report, it is observed: "The vital resistance has been reduced during the last 50 years by various social, economic and industrial upheavals which have tended to change the life and habits of the Indian people. The great expansion of towns, the growth of modern industries and the continual migration from village to towns have revolutionised our methods of living to a very great extent. We have frequently given instances of cases coming under our observation of patients from Bombay going to upcountry and spreading infection there and *vice versa* people coming to Bombay from villages for work and contracting this disease in a few months. The outcome of this main cause has been to give rise to (a) overcrowding and insanitation, (b) poverty and want, (c) high rents and dear food (d) intemperance, all of which tend to cause a vicious circle leading ultimately to lowering of vital resistance." These are not the words of visionaries who imagine a golden age to have existed in the past, but of cool-headed, matter-of-fact medical men. Whatever else the present system of administration has done, it has failed to arrest this steady deterioration in the vitality of the people during the last half a century.

**A Much-Needed Protest.** The *Bengalee* reports a monster meeting of Hindus, held at Kashipur, Pabna, adopting a resolution deprecating "reference to the caste of parties or of witnesses in courts" and "the use in Government publications of terms such as 'low caste', 'depressed class,' and 'aborigines' as applied to Hindus". The resolution further adds: "This meeting also records its opinion that on the occasion of the next census there should be no question of caste raised and that the Hindus should be entered on the same principle as Mahomedans—"



simply as Hindus without any reference to caste." The *Indian Messenger* commenting on this observes: "Coming events cast their shadows before. A casteless Hinduism seems a question of time. The Hindu will end by dropping that altogether which he has now reasons to be ashamed of." We heartily support the suggestion that the next Census should strictly confine itself to the work recognised in all civilised countries as appropriate to a Census. In England, no question may be asked about religion. In India, the Census Report writer is free to roam over any field that may take his fancy and this, often to the neglect of demographic data which are the proper scope of a Census.

**The Golden Temple at Amritsar:** The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 17th instant appeals to Sir Edward MacLagan to remove the grievances of the Sikhs in respect of the management of the famous Golden Temple at Amritsar. It further observes that "throughout the *parkarma* (outer) and somewhere in the inner too, you will find dozens of Brahmans preaching the anti-Sikh doctrines, but not a single Sikh preacher will be found there. The idols that were removed several years back, are regaining their influence, and though they are not seen openly, yet they are feared to regain their lost prestige soon." We do not know the extent of the Lieutenant-Governor's authority in matters relating to the inner economy of the temple, but no Governor in any other province will be called upon to undertake the purging of temples of preachers and idols. We should think these things are entirely in the hands of the general body of worshippers at the Shrine of the Golden Temple.

**The Willingdon College, Sangli.** We congratulate the Deccan Education Society on the opening of the Willingdon College in Sangli on the 20th instant. Sir Ohimanlal Setalvad, the Vice-Chancellor of the University, performed the ceremony. In Mr. G. C. Bhate the College has a Principal whose ability is as great as his zeal and enthusiasm are infectious. The association of Lord Willingdon's name with the College is a happy idea, as His Excellency has throughout his regime been a most sympathetic and interested friend of University education in this Presidency.

**A New Danger to India.** Mr. J. W. Stanley Secretary of the Allahabad Young Men's Christian Association, in the course of an informing article in the *Leader*, calls attention to the fact that Western journals are expressing the opinion that, now that the United States have adopted the policy of total prohibition, those who wish to continue the liquor business must look to China and India as their future field of operation. "The men behind the liquor traffic," he writes, "are master organizers and one is led to believe that already they are preparing India for the great invasion. To them it is important that the movement in America, the foremost prohibition country in the world, be discredited and they are exerting themselves to show that prohibition in America is a temporary mania brought about by the war and that it is a political measure without popular support forced upon the nation by a few backwoods States." Mr. Stanley clearly shows how the prohibition movement in America had to fight every inch of ground and that it represents the deep-settled conviction of the American people. He recognises that the liquor interests will put every obstacle in the way of the new policy, but he is hopeful that the cause of temperance will prevail over vested interests. He concludes: "But what about the East? Is the prohibition victory of the United States and Canada to be won at the expense of India and China?"

China after the most heroic struggle the world has seen is just shaking herself free of the opium curse. Are India and China and other countries similarly situated helpless in the matter? India already knows far too much of alcohol but fortunately the upper classes are largely free from drink. For several years we have been meeting the liquor salesmen of the West in every nook and corner of this land, and the cigarette is rapidly invading every home." Mr. Stanley has rendered a great public service by warning India of the grave peril at her doors. The information available in this country on the prohibition movement in America is scanty, and we are therefore glad to inform our readers that Professor J. C. Manry of the Ewing Christian College at Allahabad, who has made a special study of it, will be glad to help any enquirer. Indian newspapers can best guard against this danger by following the rule of not admitting liquor advertisements, which this journal has followed ever since it was started.

**The Hon. Mr. Crump:** The Government of Bombay are to be congratulated on the excellent selection they have made of a successor to Sir George Carmichael who has gone to England on leave on medical certificate for four months and a half. Mr. Crump's service in connection with the Franchise Committee has been specially recognised in Lord Southborough's report. He is a singularly open and just-minded officer, and while, no doubt, he shares, to some extent, the prejudices of his class, he may be thoroughly relied upon not to let them colour his judgment on public questions. With men like Mr. Crump as members of the Executive Council, the position of Indian Ministers will be the least detrimentally affected by the many checks and safeguards and vetoes of the Reform Scheme.

**A Sugar Commission for India:** A Sugar Commission to explore the possibilities of the sugar industry will shortly tour in India. Mr. McKenna will be the Chairman. Three members will be appointed from England. The Hon. Mr. Lalubhai Samaldas C. I. E. has accepted a seat on the Commission. The Commission's enquiry is expected to last some eight or nine months.

**Sir Ali Imam:** It has been officially announced that Sir Ali Imam, late Legal Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, then a puisne Judge of the Patna High Court, and now a member of the Executive Council of the Behar Government, has been appointed President of a Council of Ministers to be established in Hyderabad, Deccan, in October next. Meanwhile our Patna contemporary, the *Searchlight*, in its issue of June 19, states that it learns from its Simla correspondent of a strong rumour that Sir Ali Imam may again find himself installed at "Inverarm" as the successor to Sir Sankaran Nair. Sir Sankaram Nair is leaving for England shortly. Can it be that Sir Ali Imam is to fill his place till October?

**Lord Willingdon's Tour:** A Bellary correspondent of *New India* refers in appreciative terms to certain wholesome innovations introduced by His Excellency the Governor of Madras in his tour in the districts. The correspondent mentions that Lord Willingdon lives in his railway carriage. Decorative expenses have been omitted at His Excellency's suggestion. "As for interviews," writes the correspondent, "whoever asks gets it. No picking and choosing by the Collector or the Deputy Collector as in the past." The correspondent concludes with a tribute to Lady Willingdon who is accompanying His Excellency and but for whose support these changes could not have been adopted.



# INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, JUNE, 29, 1919.

## THE CALL TO THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

It must be said that the circumstances in which the Peace Treaty is being signed do not promise a bright and cloudless future. The Scheidmann Cabinet in Germany decided by the casting vote of the Prime Minister not to sign the Treaty. The National Assembly at Weimar, however, decided to agree to sign it, whereupon the Scheidmann Ministry resigned. But the new Prime Minister, Herr Bauer, has made it clear that his acceptance is not inspired by a recognition of Germany's responsibility for the war, of the wrongs done to the Allied Countries, and of the justice of the terms intended to exact in some measure reparation for them. Bauer is just as vehement in denouncing the Treaty as Scheidmann. It was their accursed duty, he told the National Assembly, to save what could be saved. He begged the Assembly not to think that the advocates of rejection were chauvinistic or that those reluctantly accepting the Treaty were cowards and weaklings. He pointed out that rejection would merely postpone the Treaty for a while, for Germany's power of resistance was broken. He said that his Government had decided to sign while declining responsibility for the consequences to Germany if unable to fulfil the conditions, and declared that the signature did not mean the acceptance of the articles relative to the war responsibility and the surrender of Germans for trial. Renter quotes the German Prime Minister's impassioned declaration: "At this hour of life and death, under the menace of invasion, I for the last time raise in free Germany a protest against this Treaty of violence and destruction, this mockery of the right of self-determination, this enslavement of the German people, this new menace of the peace of the world." The leader of the Centre party, Herr Groebar, supporting the signature, said acceptance only meant as far as humanly possible. It is evident that the Germans do not intend to fulfil the terms of the Treaty more than they are compelled to by the menace of invasion and that they will leave nothing undone to evade compliance. The deliberate sinking of the interned German war-ships, numbering about 50, at Scapa Flow, is an earnest of what may be expected of them.

The Allies, it follows, will have to maintain an army ready to strike if they are to get Germany to abide by the terms of the Treaty. It looks as if the burden of this will fall mainly on the British Empire. France will, of course, do her best, but the burden of the war has fallen heavily on her, and she has a hard task before her to recuperate. Italy seems to have lapsed into ineffective faction, we hope only temporarily. The Orlando ministry has resigned and Renter says that the crisis threatens to cause chaos as Italy's Peace Delegations have been dethroned and an opening is given to the extreme Socialists

aiming at a revolution or to the Jingo Nationalists desirous of the forcible assertion of Italy's claims. There is a constitutional puzzle in connection with the fall of the Orlando ministry for which we have not been able to obtain a clue from the books of reference available in some of our largest public libraries. It was stated that Signor Orlando resigned because of "the adviser's vote" in the Italian Parliament. We have not been able to discover who the advisers are and what their constitutional position is. Perhaps, the cable garbled "adverse" into "advisers" but all newspapers printed the message with the latter word. We expected that some of our daily contemporaries will solve the puzzle, but none, so far as we have seen, has attempted to do so. So much for Italy. The position in the United States also is not reassuring. The Washington correspondent of the *Times* reviewing the political situation on the 29th May observed: "There will be general surprise here if the President is able to persuade the Senate to accept a mandate for Constantinople or anywhere else. There will be equal surprise if the agreement is ratified whereby the United States and Great Britain pledge themselves to protect France from aggression of the 1914 kind." The Republican attempt to get the League of Nations eliminated from the Peace Treaty, seems to have failed, as a Renter's telegram told us yesterday that the Senate has shelved Mr. Knox's resolution to separate the League of Nations from Peace Treaty. This is a good sign, and so is the steady pushing back of the Bolshevik forces in Russia.

When all is said, however, the impression still forces itself that the British Empire will have to bear the brunt of the task of reconstructing civilisation. If this is so, it behoves all parts of it and all classes and communities in it to sink such of their differences as cannot be readily made up and settle down to work with the consciousness of the great task to which they are called. The labour troubles in England should be settled by liberal concessions to the working classes. We learnt last Friday that all the Lancashire cotton mills closed down on the 21st June. Sixty million spindles and thousands of looms had stopped. Business in Manchester was at a standstill. And what is the difference that has brought this about? The Lancashire employers offered a 48 hour week and a 25 per cent increase in wages. The operatives are prepared to accept a 46½ hour week and a 25 per cent increase in wages. It is a great mistake to assume that the English workman's demand for fewer hours is due to reluctance to work. The English working classes are making stupendous efforts to educate themselves and to raise their cultural standard of life. They have already achieved remarkable results. The demand for fewer working hours is, therefore, a demand for more leisure primarily for education, and it is supported by high educational authority. We trust that the English employer will be able to see this question from the right point of view. The Irish question is still unsolved, and Indian constitutional reform is threatened by bureaucratic obstruction. These questions should be solved imme-



diately and in a generous spirit. The question of preferential tariffs has been brought to the front by the last British budget. India will freely and willingly sacrifice more out of gratitude and goodwill than she can be made to do by coercion. The proceedings at the last Imperial Conference showed that the self-governing Colonies appreciate India's contribution to the common stock of the Empire and are entirely favourable to reforms which will place her on an equality with themselves. Only perverse statesmanship will throw away this great opportunity for consolidating the Empire. On the side of the Indian people there is the greatest desire to cooperate heartily with other parts of the Empire in promoting peace and goodwill, if the opportunity to do so is accorded to India on a footing of equality. We earnestly urge on the Government here and in England to trust India. The Reform Bill offers them a unique opportunity. English opinion on the Rowlatt Act is beginning to assert itself. Let the Rowlatt Act be repealed, let the internees be released, and let the Reform Act be brought into operation. India will respond to such a demonstration of English goodwill and confidence in a way which will surpass the most sanguine expectations of those who believe in the vital necessity of India to England and of England to India. Among such we count ourselves.

#### STUDIES IN EARLY INDIAN THOUGHT.\*

(BY MR. NARMADASHANKAR D. MEHTA B. A.)

Literature and philosophy are the best solvents of racial prejudices. The eastern and western currents of thought are not necessarily working on parallel lines as is usually supposed, but intermingle and produce a beautiful network of intellectual ripples in the human mind provided the subject of investigation is approached with genuine sympathy. "Studies in early Indian Thought" by Miss Stephen is the product of such sympathetic studies by a western mind. The essay does not pretend to be scholarly, but it fulfils the object of interesting "those whose profession or calling has brought them into personal contact with the natives of India by an account of the influence exercised by early Indian literature on the Indian thought of the present day". The studies extend over the Rigveda, Upanishads and Bhagwatgita and the last chapter furnishes excellent materials of the anterior and contemporary speculative activities of other countries e. g., Egypt, Chaldea, Assyria, China, Rome, Greece, Persia and Babylon. The evolution of the mind of a particular racial or national type can be studied through its poetry, liturgy, and speculation. The poet's vision, the priest's prayer for material prosperity, and the philosopher's abstraction to catch the ultimate, are analysed through groups of typical hymns of the Rigveda. There is no nobler conception of moral law than what underlies the word "Rita" and its upholders, Varuna and Mitra. The poet feels intuitively, "the foundations of order are strong, many graces are in its beauty (iv. 23. 9)". Heaven and earth exhibit the working of that majestic law of *Rita* on the material plane.

There is also an equally majestic law of *Satya* working on the moral plane. The author should have perceived that ancient Indian sages recognized the force of the moral law (*Satya*) working through the physical law (*Rita*). *Rita* and *Satya* are complimentary conceptions, and a nation cannot achieve its goal with mere physical force or with mere spiritual force. *Rita* is the body and *Satya* is the eternal principle manifesting itself through that body by the force of meditation (*Tapas*) of the Divine Nature. The idea involved in *Tapas* is both physical and moral. *Tapas* on the physical plane is heat, light, electricity etc., and on the psychic plane it is "devotional zeal and austerity". The Nāsadiya Sukta of the Rigveda is, according to the author 'the greatest hymn of the whole Veda and the completion of all its teaching. This hymn sums up the whole thought of India so far as philosophers can carry it'.

The intuitive perception of the Divine Nature requires faith, which is one form of love. The phases of love in waiting, seeking, and acting are respectively called hope, faith and morality, the driving principles of mundane existence. Take away these three phases of love, and you will find an abyss of pessimism. The search after Divine Nature and Human Nature culminated in their entire identity posited in the Upanishads. The author examines the leading thoughts of the principal Upanishads. The task is, no doubt, performed admirably, but the conclusions arrived at are in some places erroneous partly on account of neglect of the studies of Brahmanas and Aranyakas of which the Upanishads form a part and partly on account of the undue weight attached to the doctrine of Absolutism propounded by a certain section of speculative thinkers of the Upanishads. The following are typical instances of erroneous conclusions. (a) While examining the teaching of the Kathopanishad, the author refers to I. 15:—"Yama thus told him that fire sacrifice, the beginning of all the worlds, and what bricks are required for the altar and how many, and how they are to be placed. And Nachiketas repeated all as it had been told to him". The passage is, no doubt, enigmatic, and its interpretation is not lucid even by Indian commentators. But there is no justification for the remark that "the importance of the rites is simply taken for granted". It is again said: "These explanations are attempts, not at explaining the sacrifice as a whole, but of putting sense into the details of it. They deal with the matter piece-meal and throw no light on the divine nature that lies behind, except in so far as it is thought to be the kind of nature that responds to this sort of appeal". Now a study of the Taittiriya Brahmana would at once reveal that this "fire-sacrifice" taught to Nachiketas by Yama was a symbolic interpretation of the law of sacrifice working through the year (*Samvatsar* and seasons) with its 720 bricks consisting of days and nights of a lunar year. The doctrine taught to Nachiketas in "fire-sacrifice" is not a meaningless ritual the importance of which is taken for granted; nor is it a piecemeal explanation. It is a doctrine of the "daily round of life" which people follow like automata, and which Yama desired Nachiketas to follow but with an yearning for higher spiritual

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qualification. Whether such moral efficiency is achieved by "fire sacrifice" is a different question, but to say that the passage is a meaningless jargon is to do injustice to the seer of the Upanishad. (b) Again it is remarked that "in all the Upanishads there is no touch of moral indignation. The more enlightened offer a way of illumination for the less enlightened: but no one is urged into it, and if people like to follow the lower way, and go on with the long round of birth and death, it is entirely their own affair. *A blessing and curse are set before them, but no injunction to choose the blessing, unless they happen to prefer it*". The italics are ours. This is a sweeping condemnation of the Upanishads on the subject of moral teaching. The eleventh section of the first *valli* or chapter of Taittiriya Upanishad affords a direct refutation of of this charge. In this section the teacher lays down specific duties for his disciple who is going to undertake the responsibility of a householder, and it is enjoined that he shall not swerve from the path of truth, righteousness, dexterity and prosperity and that he shall follow the example of the *righteous* Brahmans and not of *mere intelligent* Brahmans.

But these drawbacks shrink into insignificance beside the author's profuse literary appreciation of the genuine Indian mind as depicted in the lives of typical sages. There is no story in the Upanishads more pathetic and human in its touches than that of Yajnavalkya and his devoted wife Maitreyi. We cannot but quote from the author:—"The phrase *Neti Neti* (not this, not this) is found only in Yajnavalkya's teaching, in the Upanishads; but it is one of the most characteristic phrases. It appears as the summing up of the teaching that he gives to his wife, Maitreyi, when he was leaving her for the forest. Before he goes away, Yajnavalkya proposes to divide his money between his two wives; but Maitreyi who "was conversant with Brahman" asks him instead to tell her how she may become immortal. He answers that nothing is dear except for the sake of the Self:—"Verily, a husband, wife, sons, wealth, everything is not dear that you may love everything; but that you may love the Self; therefore everything is dear". That self (or individual self) is a mass of knowledge. When he has departed there is no more knowledge, I say, O, Maitreyi." Thus spoke Yajnavalkya. Maitriya takes this to mean that the individual self does not survive death, which is not the answer she expected. Then Maitreyi said. 'Here, Sir, thou hast landed me in utter bewilderment, indeed I do not understand you.' But he replied; 'O Maitreyi I say nothing that is bewildering. Verily, beloved, that self is imperishable, and of an indestructible nature. That self is to be described by No, No, is incomprehensible because he cannot be comprehended, he is imperishable, for he cannot perish; he is unattached, for he does not attach himself; unfettered he does not suffer, he does not fail. How, O, beloved, should he know the knower? Thus O Maitreyi, thou hast been instructed. Thus far goes immortality.' Having said so, Yajnavalkya went away into the forest (Brih. 4, 5, 14, 15.). What did Maitreyi think as she watched him go? He had brought her to the same conclusion that

Narada and Janaka had reached: where all is one there can be no relation between that one and anything else, for there is nothing else. Maitreyi was afraid that she herself would be lost in that ocean without any duality: and Yajnavalkya answered that this could not be so when she came to see that she herself was that ocean; she was imperishable and unfettered; she could never see or know another for there was no other. We think of Maitreyi left sitting among her household possessions rather sadly, looking towards the forest, from which the old man, who is really only herself, will never come back. His arguments seem to be unassailable, but do they really give the answer to the whole of what was in her mind?

"The chances are that Maitreyi obeyed the call of habit, and went to see about her supper, and tried not to listen for such manifestation of the One Real Being as thunderstorms or tigers, and so went on, with a divided mind unsatisfied.

"Meanwhile Yajnavalkya had attained. He does not mind if he does not meet a tiger. He is contented with what he can find to eat or what some passer-by gives him. He is not troubled even about Maitriya. Why should he be sorry because for a little she thinks she is sorry? Sorrow and joy are nothing real; once we are free from desire nothing can touch us. Yajnavalkya may speak so for himself, and probably will speak so. He has trained himself for many years to know that the King's Court, the argumentative Brahmans, the cows with gold upon their horns, and the wife who was dear to him, could all alike disappear as an illusion and leave him alone with his self. He can be one in his mind and at peace; and it must remain to be seen if what satisfies one man can satisfy a whole race of men, if Yajnavalkya can speak not only for himself but for India or for the world".

So far the Divine Nature in Upanishads. As to the Human Nature in Upanishads, the author examines the subject from five standpoints:—(1) As regards production of the Divine; (2) as seat of desire; (3) as controlled by caste, (4) as controlled by transmigration and (5) as capable of salvation or sin. The discourse on this subject as it affects the every day life of a human ego is very interesting. The story and teaching of the Bhagwatgita are then discussed. But while comparing the Gita and the Fourth Gospel, the author propounds a peculiar theory that Krishna was not a real personage. There is confusion of all Indian chronology when the author says that "the war of which the Mahabharat keeps the memory alive, must have been somewhere about 800 B. C., the Gita is not older than 800 B. C. In the interval of some five hundred years between the battle and the book there is no sign that anyone had ever heard of Krishna, either as a teacher or as a complete divine incarnation; there was no body of believers in him; there is no trace of him in literature of this character; the Krishna of the Gita is not a historical figure and his connection with legend is slight; he is imaginary, and the product of one of the most remarkable and powerful imaginations that the world has ever seen".



All these remarks are gratuitous and are probably the result of Farquhar's personal views on the Gita and Gospel which are taken for granted by the author. The value of Indian Thought is summarised in the following passage:—"The great value of Indian Thought is that it brings the controversy of ages to an issue which grows clearer as we dwell on it. India has stated the argument for necessity and has put it in practice so far as it can possibly be done, for three thousand years. Western thought has accepted Hebrew guidance, it acts on the assumption of free-will, and has announced its belief in God as a person. To such conception India has opposed a continual challenge. It declares that the Ultimate is incomprehensible and that all experience is illusion. It seems that our choice lies between believing that personal character is nothing or is all. In early Indian thought we have the boldest and the most consistent effort that the human mind has ever made to show that it is nothing; and the effort has failed. Thought may yet learn a lesson from life that shall end not in failure but in hope". We say certainly in "hope" if personal God and personal character have a basis in the immanent and impersonal principle. The get-up is excellent, and the book deserves wide circulation and careful perusal by those Westerners who care to know the "real heart" of India through its literature.

### THE RATE OF EXCHANGE.

#### VI.

(Contributed)

In our last article we have tried to show that one way out of our difficulties was to have one-rupee notes instead of the metal coins, and that although people told us the ryot would not take notes and pointed to the extraordinary demand for coin, this phenomenon was not due to any aversion to the notes as such but to the loss they entailed on the ryot when he wanted to change them when making his purchases. We further pointed out that the change the ryot wanted was small coin and not whole rupee and that if sufficient small change was provided so that the ryot could always be sure of getting full sixteen annas for his one-rupee note, there would be no difficulty on his part in accepting the note. We further pointed out that what Government should do was to provide ample small change for the masses and to decline to give out lacs of rupees in exchange for currency notes as they are doing now. People whose knowledge of currency matters is confined to text-book platitudes at once jump to the conclusion that this is *inconvertibility* and their text-books have told them that inconvertibility is only resorted to by insolvent countries and they hold up their hands in horror at any such suggestion. The fact is that to-day notes are not convertible into gold (which is their currency) either in England, France or Italy not to speak of Germany and Austria. But what will appear even more strange to many people in this country is the fact that even in Japan—that country overflowing with gold—notes are not convertible. Is England or France on that account insolvent? Is Japan insolvent because it will not

to-day cash its notes? Why should India be considered any worse than these great countries if it too refuses to cash its notes for the internal circulation?

Inconvertibility is something quite different. We will try and explain what it is by taking the case of an ordinary merchant. When is such a merchant considered insolvent? Is he insolvent if he cannot provide a necklace for his wife or a motor-car for his son on the day that he has promised to do so? or, is he insolvent if he fails to meet his debts to his banker or the money due to his suppliers on the day they fall due?

Put in this form everybody will agree that real insolvency can only occur in the second case, i. e. when the merchant fails to meet his obligations to third parties. The very idea of insolvency in the case of the wife's necklace or the son's motor-car will appear ridiculous on the very face of it.

Now let us apply this to India. The only case in which the question of insolvency can come up is when India fails to meet its obligations to third parties i. e. foreign countries. Now, as is well-known, we have enormous assets accumulated in England and there is therefore no question of insolvency here at all. The country is admittedly solvent and just as the merchant can, without the risk of being called insolvent, ask his wife or son to wait till he can dispose of more ready cash, so India too can ask its children to wait till it can dispose of more ready cash.

Let us take the simile a little further. Let us suppose the merchant holds goods in his hands and is waiting for a good market to get a profitable price. Suppose his wife insists on his sacrificing the goods even at low prices, because she must anyhow have her promised necklace on the promised day. If the merchant sacrifices his goods for cash, he is offered, say, Rs. 12,000, but there is another buyer in the market who offers Rs. 15,000 but for payment 6 months hence. This buyer is perfectly solvent and the merchant would like to sell to him at Rs. 15,000 on 6 months credit, but his wife insists on cash. What will people say to her? And yet, the case of India to-day is equally bad. Her children are making her to sacrifice her goods in the same way. They want her to sell for cash goods that, if sold on credit terms, would fetch 25 per cent more.

The funny part of it all is that people who insist on India's doing all this, insist that they do it in the interests of the financial *solvency* of India! Let us take our simile further. Let us consider the case of the merchant again. Which merchant can afford to sell on credit?—is it the one who is constantly hard up and casting about how to meet his liabilities? or is it the one who has ample assets and is not in any urgent need of cash? The former who is himself on the verge of insolvency must get cash in promptly. It is only the latter that can afford to wait. It is the latter only that can give credit to his customers. Look at India. People tell us from the housetops that it is in a most solvent position and yet they ask India to act as only an insolvent merchant would do. They insist that India—this extremely solvent country—should not give credit! They ask India



sacrifice its goods for cash as only an insolvent could do and that at 25 per cent less than what it could otherwise get ! And all this in the name of sound currency and of convertibility !

What is convertibility ? Why is it held so dear by solvent countries ? The currency note of a country is the money in which the foreign supplier gets payments. He cannot take these notes to his own country as they are not current there, and so he takes his notes to the office of issue and gets in exchange the standard coins of the country. This coin means a fixed number of grains of gold. Therefore the foreign merchants when selling his goods here knows that he is getting so many grains of gold which he can ship to his own country and at once convert it into the current money of his own country. The moment this foreign buyer is denied the right to convert the notes into gold, he will not touch them, confidence would at once be shaken and trade disorganised. That is not all. Every one who has sent money to the country becomes anxious to get it back and no one can be found to lend it more money and a serious economic crisis is the result. This is why all solvent countries are most keen to safeguard convertibility.

But, convertibility in this true sense of the word we have never had for the last 25 years. The currency office has of course given us rupees but that has only been good enough for the ignorant. No foreign merchant has ever cared to take and ship these rupees to Europe as he would in the case of the sovereign, the gold dollar, or the Japanese gold yen. He knows that although the government has called the rupee the equivalent of 16 d. of gold, if he took and shipped the rupee itself to Europe nobody will give him 16d worth of gold and he won't therefore take this rupee. Therefore our convertibility is a sham and when we talk of preserving it, we are asking for this sham to be kept up and that at the cost of many crores to the country.

#### THE LATE MR. C. B. LALAYE.

(From a Correspondent.)

A DEVOTED SOCIAL WORKER.

We regret to announce the death of Mr. C. B. Lalaye, one of the Secretaries of the Social Service League. The late Mr. Lalaye belonged to an educationally backward community in Maharashtra and was a self-made man. He had not received higher education, but by his untiring industry and devotion to social and philanthropic work he rose to the position of a leader among the backward classes and a social worker which was well known in this city. He was a clerk in Messrs. Greaves Cotton & Co's office and in addition to his work there he carried on a number of useful social activities. He was one of the founders of the Maharashtra Aikyaardhak Samaj, an institution started primarily with the object of diffusing education among the backward classes. A free night school was being conducted by this institution for a number of years till it was handed over to the Social Service League. At the time of the Tilak riots, Mr. Lalaye had taken active part in distributing relief by making house to house inquiries. Also he was for a number of years connected with the Maratha Aikachchhu Sabha, an institution of the backward classes of long standing. He had also contributed not a little to the success of the Holika Sannelan Movement and soon after

the Social Service League was started he joined it as an active member. His zeal for social work found a good field among the League's activities and the League was greatly benefited by the addition of an experienced worker closely in touch with the backward and labouring classes. He was for some time Superintendent of the League's night schools and till his death one of the honorary secretaries of that body. When the Parel Settlement was started by the League with the object of carrying on social work among millhands and other labouring classes, Mr. Lalaye was placed in charge of it as resident secretary. Mr. Lalaye introduced such novel features as street preaching &c. in addition to a reading room and library. Night schools, travelling libraries, chawl lectures, magic lantern lectures, a drill class, a sewing class for women, a weavers night school and other activities. His services in connection with the campaign against rent profiteering deserve a special mention, about 500 complaints against illegally enhanced rent having been investigated and successfully handled by him. When the Tata Sons Workmen's Institute was started by the League about 8 months back, Mr. Lalaye was transferred from the Settlement and was appointed as Superintendent of the Institute. During this short period Mr. Lalaye was able to show a wonderful amount of solid social work for the welfare of operatives working in the three mills under the agency of Messrs Tata Sons & Co. Twentyone cooperative credit societies have been organized by him in the three mills and twenty out of twentyone registered societies have begun their regular transactions. Besides these societies the Institution is conducting three free night schools and three free reading rooms and libraries for millhands. Also preparations have been made to open three cooperative stores. Mr Lalaye had recently taken up the question of medical relief among the operatives of the three mills and his suggestions thereon have been accepted by the Agents. In Mr. Lalaye the backward classes have lost a leader of sterling merit, the working classes a sincere and self sacrificing friend and the Social Service League and the Tata Sons Workmen's Institute a devoted worker. The late Mr. Lalaye was a born social worker, always tactful and sympathetic, never disheartened by failures nor elated by success. His enthusiasm for work knew no bounds and his ceaseless energy was the despair of many enthusiastic and youthful social workers. In fact, his untimely death was largely due to overstrain of work.

Only after a week's illness Mr. Lalaye passed away on Saturday morning at the age of only 48. The funeral procession was attended by over 200 persons belonging to various communities. On the burning ground Messrs. N. M. Joshi, S. K. Bole, K. R. Koregaonkar and others made short speeches paying tributes of praise to the memory of the deceased.

#### THE WILLINGDON COLLEGE, SANGLI.

(From a Correspondent.)

Some time in the Summer Vacation of 1918 the idea arose that we might open an Arts College at some suitable centre to serve the Southern Maratha Country. The tract between Sangli and Miraj being the heart of the Southern Maratha Country seemed the fittest place to start the proposed College. Fortunately, fine plot of ground on a high level was found out. This site, being within walking distance from both Sangli and Miraj, and being adjacent to the railway line between the two towns, was selected for the permanent location of the new College. The late Governor of Bombay, Lord, Willingdon, was approached and he gave his whole-hearted



sympathy to the scheme, but for which this college would not have come into existence, and in view of which, therefore we are naming it after that sympathetic and benevolent Governor. The Chiefs were appealed to and encouraging responses were received from them. Shrimant Babasaheb Chief of Ichalkaranji, was approached and he promptly promised to make an endowment of Rs. 50,000 for scholarships on certain conditions, in the new College. Before leaving for England, he made a trust of the gift and has allowed the trustees to lend the sum for a temporary period to the D. E. Society for the purposes of the college-building. The D. E. Society is greatly indebted to Shrimant Babasaheb and also to Shrimant Vyankatrao Rasesaheb, for such a handsome help in the initial stages of the scheme. But as the building on the selected site would take two or three years, it was decided to start the College, immediately, in temporary buildings. With a view to secure such buildings, Shrimant Appasaheb Chief of Sangli, was approached and he readily and kindly consented to lend us the use of these State buildings, two for holding College classes and one for the Student's Hostel and he has incurred large expenditure to the extent of Rs. 14,000 for putting these building in repair in order to fit them for our use.

While Shrimant Appasaheb Sanglikar thus come forward to help us out of the difficulty of housing the College, Shrimant Balasaheb Mirajkar came forward with his generous gift to remove the difficulty of equipment of the College as regards Library and Laboratory. He gave us his splendid collection of books on a variety of subjects containing in all over 5,000 volumes, as also his collection of scientific apparatus. According to the wishes of Shrimant Balasaheb, the Library is named after his wife Shrimant Soubhagayavati Umabaisaheb Patwardhan and the Laboratory is named after his father Shrimant Ganpatrao Patwardhan. This gift was very opportune and the Willington College, Sangli, thus starts with an initial advantage of equipment.

The University was approached for the recognition of the College, and after receiving a favourable report from the Inspection Committee appointed for the purpose, the Senate granted recognition for the first two classes for three years, on conditions, firstly, that we admit only upto 250 students in the First Year's Class and only upto 150 students in the I. A. Class; and secondly, that in three years we have our own buildings ready on our selected site and we remove our college to those buildings and develop our work enough to be able to apply for permission to teach the B. A. classes and thus raise College to the first grade status.

A suitable and sufficient plot of ground to begin with has already been purchased, but we propose buying more adjoining plots so as to secure about 100 acres in all. Just now we have plans nearly ready for a complete college building for 1,000 students, and the design is so made as to allow of so much of it only being taken up for execution immediately as funds permit, additions being made to it from time to time as more funds become available untill the whole structure covered by the design is completed. This design is calculated to cost about 12 lacs of rupees, but even the immediate plan of building operations we propose to adopt is so large as to require about 6 lacs of rupees and all this money must come from contributions.

This College will be a long-needed intellectual centre for the Southern Maratha Country. The College in due time will be able to make provision for the teaching of all the branches of learning recognised by the University. If, and as soon as, the Vernaculars are introduced in the B. A. course it will be the duty of the D. E. Society to make provision

for the teaching of this subject in the Willington College. Thus in time this College may attain the position of a University of the S. M. Country, and one may dream that by that time it may be possible to impart University teaching through the medium of the Vernaculars, and then this College may develop onto a Marathi University giving sound education through their mother tongue to thousands of youths of the S. M. Contry, and sending them back to their respective districts imbued with spirit of true citizenship and with love and devotion to the Motherland.

### THE HINDI SCRIPT.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

Apropos the proposal to adopt Hindi as the common language for all India and with which I am in full accord may I put before you and your practical thinkers in contradistinction to sentimental ones, for if it was left to the latter, we shall be kept in the same stagnant pool that we have been in for the last three thousand years to the end of time.

Now Hindi is my mother tongue and all my correspondence with the lady members of our family is carried on in Hindi and in Hindi script. So no one can accuse me of bias. But there is one fact to be noticed here and which I have no doubt could be supported from many sources and that is, that, I never sit down to write a letter in Hindi script without consulting the time at my disposal. If I have plenty of time I sit to it, otherwise, if the letter is for lady member, I indite it in Roman Characters in a few minutes as this is easily deciphered by some one in the family if not by her personally.

Again all the male members of our Circle always correspondence with each other in English, we never dream of writing in Hindi Script particularly if we have anything of precision to express, and yet Hindi is our mother tongue and which we naturally love and speak in our own homes. But our love as in the case of our growing children is discriminate and alters to suit advancing years. For it must be remembered these are not the days when we can afford to remain isolated from the rest of the world not to waste an hour or so over a single letter in Hindi Script. Again we cannot expect our Non-Hindoo brethren to acquire a script to suit our predilections. There must be a half way road on which to meet. These are practical days and there is no use in hanging on to the sentimental past, as it is, this dreamy condition is the cause of all our misery. There are a host of true and noble minded Englishmen who are urging us to get out of our supercilious past and not be overcome by stupor and to adopt the Roman Script for the selected Vernacular which is to be the Common Language for all India. All vernaculars need not be in Roman Script but this only. And yet even in this generous advice to help us many of our old School Elders see a sinister purpose! This of course is deplorable and must be endured with patience, but it need not keep progressive people from doing their duty.

Now I ask you, Sir, are we going to remain dreamers and talkers for all time or are we going to be practical? If practical then begin by putting the lamp of clay on the potter's wheel make a selection of literature both from Hindi and Urdu, and after putting it into in best available Roman Script (Improvements can follow as experience is gained) let it be introduced in all our Primary Schools say up to the IV Standard, and you will see results, not piles of barren speeches, worthy of your efforts, in your own life time.

O. S. S. O.



### A PROBLEM FOR PSYCHIC RESEARCH.

Sir,

There has been some wireless connection with me, without my knowledge and consent, for the last 16 months and upwards, through which since the connection, my words, thoughts, imaginings etc. are incessantly drawn and I am denuded whole day long and waking hours of night too. Through the connection my thoughts, imaginings etc. are talked to as we talk with words of mouth, so powerful is the wireless.

About 3 months ago I fled from Bombay to Delhi to see whether the connection becomes severed of itself by distance but in vain.

What the matter is, please, what the matter is and who the men are, may I request to be informed through the medium of your esteemed paper?

The matter is a fact.

Delhi.

N. N. S.

17th April 1919.

### APPOINTMENT OF ASSISTANT TRAFFIC SUPERINTENDENTS, STATE RAILWAYS.

It is notified for general information that the Railway Board propose to appoint three Assistant Traffic Superintendents, State Railways, this year and they have asked that they may be furnished by the 1st August 1919 with the name and application of the candidate to be nominated by the Bombay Government. Applications for nomination will therefore be received by the Joint Secretary to Government, Public Works Department, Bombay, not later than the 20th July 1919. This should be in the prescribed form and must be accompanied by testimonials relating to the candidate's personal and educational qualifications. Candidates must be graduates of an Indian University or have passed the final or high standard (or equivalent) examination prescribed for European schools, must be over 19 and under 23 years of age on the 1st August 1919, of good education and suitable social position. They must be prepared, if called upon, to attend at the Railway Board's office at their own expense, for a personal interview. Application forms and particulars of the Superior Traffic Department can be obtained only from the Secretary, Railway Board, Simla.

### PROPOSED SEAMEN'S TRAINING INSTITUTE IN BOMBAY.

The following order of the Government of Bombay is published: A representation has been received by Government from some Indian seamen on the question of establishing a fully equipped institution or academy for the training of Indians in the art of navigation on a scientific basis. No facilities at present exist for Indian seamen qualifying themselves for certificates of competency for higher posts in the merchantile marine. Of late, difficulty has been experienced in the manning of the new vessels, ranging generally from 200 to 600 tons register, which are in course of construction in India. To meet this want it has been proposed that a state-aided institution or academy should be established on the lines of training institutions in European countries. The proposal requires to be worked out carefully, after taking into consideration the probable number of boys who would wish to go to sea, the shipping companies who would employ them and the educational and other qualifications required for such employment. Government have accordingly decided to appoint a committee consisting of the following Officers and gentlemen, to consider the proposal and submit their conclusions

in the matter at an early date:—Chairman. The Port Officer Bombay. Members. The Shipping Master, Bombay, Mr. F. C. Annesley of the Bombay Steam Navigation Company, Mr. F. L. Barnett, Marine Superintendent, Moghul Line, Captain H. J. Rouse, Assistant Marine Superintendent British India Steam Navigation Company. The Committee's conclusions should include recommendations as to the place where the nautical institute can most suitably be situated, and as to the nature of the equipment and staff required for it and should indicate the approximate cost of its establishment and maintenance.

### THE DNYAN-PRASARAK-MANDAL, POONA.

The Dnyan-Prasarak-Mandal (the society for the spread of knowledge) that was started in Poona in the year 1913 with the object of fostering the love of learning among the illiterate masses throughout the whole country by means of free Reading Rooms, free stationary and circulating Libraries and weekly lectures held its Triennial Election for the years 1919-1921 in the Society's Shree Rama Free Library on Thursday the 22nd May 1919 under the presidentship of Prof. V. K. Rajwade M. A. when the following members were elected:—President: Mr. M. K. Gandhi. Vice-Presidents: Mr. Madan Mohan Malviya, Mr. Kasturi Ranga Iyengar, Mr. M. R. Jayakar, Bar-at-Law; The Hon. Mr. R. P. Paranjpe B.Sc. The Hon. Mr. B. S. Kamat B.A. The Hon. Rao Bahadur G. K. Sathe C.I.F. Mr. Jamanadas Dwarkadas; Diwan Bahadur K. R. Godbole and Mr. N. C. Kelkar L.L.B. Chairman: Rao Bahadur G. N. Khare B.A. Vice Chairmen: Mr. L. B. Bhopatkar L.L.B. and Prof. K. R. Kanitkar B. Sc. Members:—Rao Bahadur V. T. Agashe L. C. E., Prof. V. K. Rajwade M. A. Prof. V. B. Naik M. A. Prof. D. L. Sahasrabudhe B. Ag. Mr. N. B. Dhole L. L. B. Mr. V. N. Bhat B. A. Mr. D. V. Potdar B. A. Mr. D. V. Kulkarni, Mr. L. R. Phadnis and Mrs. Saraswatibai Khare. Secretaries:—Sirdar Mahandale, General Secretary, Miss Kelkar B. A. Mr. G. V. Limaye B. A. and Mr. D. V. Kulkarni B. A. Joint Secretaries. Auditor.—Dr. V. C. Gokhale I. M. S., and Treasurer: Dr. K. K. Joshi M. A.

### NEW INDIA ASSURANCE COMPANY, LIMITED.

The Provisional Board of Directors have decided to call the proposed company "The New India Assurance Company Limited", instead of "The Tata Prudential Assurance Company, Limited".

The Directors of the Company will be:—

Sir D. J. Tata, Kt. (Chairman)  
 Sir Sassoon Davul, Bart. (Vice Chairman)  
 Sir Henry Procter, Kt.  
 The Hon'ble Sir Fazulbhoj Currimbhoy, Kt. O.B.E.  
 The Hon'ble Mr. Lallubhai Simaldas, C. I. E.  
 The Hon'ble Mr. Phiroze C. Sethna, O.B.E.  
 Sir Shapurji B. Broacha, Kt.  
 Mr. Jammalal Beebhraj.  
 Mr. Ramnarayan Harnaudrai.  
 Mr. F. E. Dinshaw.  
 Mr. A. J. Bilimoria.  
 The Hon'ble Mr. Purshotamdas Thakordas, C.I.E.  
 Mr. B. J. Padshah.

The Authorized Capital will be Rs. 20 Crores in 8,00,000. Shares of Rs. 250 each. The Issued Capital will be Rs. 12 Crores in 4,80,000 Shares of Rs. 250 each, all of which has been taken up. A sum of Rs. 25 per Share will be payable upon Application and Allotment; further calls not exceeding Rs. 12-8-0 each per Share at intervals of not less than 6 months will be made at the discretion of the Directors.



**Towards Christianity.** The *Kaukab-i-Hind* of Lucknow says that, there are 390,000 Chamars in Gorakhpur civil district and 250,000 in the adjoining district of Basti, and that there should soon be a "mass movement" towards Christianity among these multitudes.

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17-1-18

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Share Capital (fully paid) ..... Rs. 7,00,000

1 Deposits fixed for one year and shorter or longer periods are accepted. Rates and other particulars may be ascertained from the under signed.

2 The Bank finances only registered Co-operative Societies in the Bombay Presidency on the recommendation of the Registrar, Co-operative Societies, Bombay Presidency.

3. Accounts are audited half-yearly by a special Government Auditor, and quarterly statements of financial position are published in the "Bombay Government Gazettee."

20-5-17. VAIKUNTH L. MEHTA, Manager,



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NEW YORK AGENTS: THE GUARANTY  
TRUST COY. OF NEW YORK.

AUTHORISED CAPITAL... Rs. 12,00,00,000.

SUBSCRIBED CAPITAL..... „ 7,56,00,225-8.

PAID UP CAPITAL..... „ 75,51,757-8.

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Sir Sassoon David, Bart.

Sir R. N. Mookerjee, K. C. I. E.

Sir Francis Stewart, Kt.

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14-4-18. J. PAGAN DALZELL Acting Manager.

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**Current Deposit Accounts** are opened for approved customers and Interest is allowed at the rate of 2 per cent per annum on daily balances of Rs. 1,000 upto Rs. 100,000, provided that the amount of half-yearly interest is not less than Rs. 5.

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I. NISHIMAKI.

Manager, Calcutta.

12-17.

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Capital Subscribed.....Rs. 60,00,000.

Capital Paid up „ 20,00,000.

Reserve Fund „ 12,50,000.

DIRECTORS :

The Hon'ble Mr. Lallubhai Samaldas, C. I. E., Chairman.

Sir Vithaldas Damodar Thackersey, Kt.

Raj Ratna Sheth Maganbhai P. Haribhakti Nagar Sheth Baroda.

Sheth Manilal Revadas, Vadnager.

Rao Bahadur Gunajirao B. Nimbalker, Sur Sabha, Baroda State.

Bhaskerrao Vithaldas Mehta, Esq., Advocate, High Court Bombay.

M. H. Kantavalla, Esq., Agent, Maharaja Mill Co. Ltd. Baroda..

R. R. Shirgaokar, Naib Sabha, Baroda State.

A. N. Datar, Accountant General, Baroda State.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest allowed on daily balance from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 at the rate of 2 per cent. per annum and on sum over Rs. 1,00,000 by special arrangement. No interest which does not come to Rs. 3 per half year will be allowed.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Received for long or short periods on terms which may be ascertained on application.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS, AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank grants accommodation on terms to be arranged against approved securities.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its constituents the safe custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividends and interest thereon; it also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government Paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges, particulars of which may be learnt on application.

SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS.

Deposits received and interest allowed at 4 per cent. per annum. Rules on application. C. E. RANDLE, — General Manager.  
15-4-12.

## THE CENTRAL BANK OF INDIA, LTD

Subscribed Capital... .. Rs. 50,00,000

Paid Up Capital ... .. „ 25,00,000

Reserved liability of

Shareholders ... .. „ 25,00,000

Reserve Fund ... .. „ 6,00,000

Head Office:—Alice Building, Bombay.

Local Branches:—(1) Mandvi, (2) Zaveri Bazar, (3) Share Bazar.

Branches:—Amritsar, Calcutta, Delhi, Jharra, Karachi.

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**Current Accounts:—**3 % allowed on Daily Balances from January to June  
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S. N. POCHKHANAWALA.

Manager.

25-2-17



## THE BANK OF TAIWAN, LTD.

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Subscribed Capital.....Yen. 30,000,000  
Paid-up Capital .....Yen. 22,500,000  
Reserve Fund .....Yen. 5,680,000

Head Office:—Taipeh, Formosa

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NEW YORK	HONGKONG	OSAKA
AMOY	SINGAPORE	KOBE
CANTON	SOERABAJA	YOKOHAMA
FOOCHOW	SEMARANG	AKO
HANKOW	MAKUNG	GIRAN
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SWATOW	PINAN	KARENKO
TAINAN	SHINCHIKU	KEELUNG
TAKOW	TAICHU	TAMSUI

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K. TAKEMURA,

Manager

9-12-17.

56, Esplanade Road, Fort, BOMBAY

## THE BANK OF INDIA, LD.

Established on September 1906.

Incorporated under the Indian Companies' Act VI of 1882.

HEAD OFFICE:

ORIENTAL BUILDINGS, BOMBAY

Capital Subscribed ... .. Rs. 1,00,00,000

Capital Called up ..... „ 50,00,000

Reserve Fund ..... „ 15,00,000

### CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest is allowed on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 at the rate of  $2\frac{1}{2}\%$  p.a. throughout the year. On sums exceeding Rs. 1,00,000 interest is allowed by special arrangement. No interest will be allowed which does not amount to Rs. 3 per half year.

### FIXED DEPOSITS.

Deposits are received fixed for one year or for short periods @ rates of interest which can be ascertained on application.

### LOANS, OVERDRAFTS, & CASH CREDITS.

The Bank grants accommodation on terms to be arranged against approved security.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its Constituents the safe custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividend and interest thereon, it also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government paper and all descriptions of Stocks at moderate charges, particulars of which may be had on application.

H. P. STRINGFELLOW,

15-1-11,

Manager.

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AUG 23 1919

THE

# INDIAN \* SOCIAL \* REFORMER.

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Editor:—K. NATARAJAN.

Vol. XXIX. BOMBAY—SUNDAY, JULY, 6 1919. No. 43.

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

## CONTENTS.

Cannot Christianity be Nationalised in India.	Some needs of Kanara 1.
Policy of Isolation Condemned.	Miss Helen Keller's Message to Indian Women.
Indians in South Africa.	First Ganjam Theistic Conference.
The Trading Clause Deleted.	Australian Women on the Position of Indian Women in Fiji.
For Sir Alexander Cardew.	The Bank of India Limited.
Sir George Lloyd on Local Self-Government.	The Constitution of new Germany.
Mr. Daphtary on Mr. Patel's Bill.	Mr. G. A. Natesan on the Present Situation.
The Late Rao Bahadur K. Veerasalingam Pantulu.	

## NOTES.

**Cannot Christianity be Nationalised in India:** The intrepid London weekly, *Challenge*, which stands for a sturdy form of applied Christianity, prints a striking contribution in its issue of the 30th May from the pen of Mr. K. T. Paul, General Secretary, Y. M. C. A. India, under this heading. Mr. Paul opens by relating a conversation with a Hindu friend who said he was a Christian whether Christians recognised him as one or no, and who remarked to him: "There was a time when the door was wide open for Christ. It is unfortunate that his religion should have come to be so completely identified with the ruling race. Even that might not have mattered, if you, Indian Christians, were thoroughly identified with national movements. Are you really imbued with national ideals? To India, becoming a Christian clearly indicates alienation of all our heritage. Am I not right?" Following this train of thought, Mr. Paul points out the dangers inherent in the present position of the Indian Christian community. A large majority of it has come from the depressed classes who, according to Mr. Paul, having no traditions, are easily liable to "foreignisation". On this point, we must differ from Mr. Paul. It is a mistake to think that "the untouchables" of India have no national spirit. Nothing has touched us more deeply than the devotion genuinely felt and expressed to Indian, and Hindu, traditions by members of these classes, not once or twice but many times within our experience. "Though you slay me, yet will I trust in you," has been their attitude towards the faith which gave them its name and but little else. A few years ago, the bhangis of Bandra refused to countenance the endeavours of the Depressed Classes Mission to open a school for them, under the impression that the Mission had something to do with Christian Missionaries. As Mr. Paul himself says, several men of the untouchable classes are ranked among the saints and sages of India. Such denationalisation as there is, is due to other causes, and we are glad Mr. Paul attacks them with energy and something like passion.

**Policy of Isolation Condemned.** Mr. Paul writes: "Men and women from the 'submerged stratum' have from time to time risen to glorious enlightenment, and even been accepted as teachers by the highest in the land. To the Indian Christian, however, everything contributes to seal and secure his isolation. The 'Mission Compound' system is of fatal power; the separation of the Christians into a street or a hamlet of their own is only of slightly less power. The Boarding School comes next, and by isolating the subject in the impressionable period and surrounding the mind with artificial conditions, every new generation is poisoned at its touch with contempt for all things Hindu as stupid and superstitions. In fact the Boarding School system is so radically unsuited to Indian social conditions that it is worthy of full treatment in an article by itself. Here it is enough to mention that not one in a thousand of the young men who come to college from Christian Boarding Schools know anything of the heritage of India or know a Hindu friend intimately enough to realise the heart-beats which are the very life and death of the Nationalist." He goes on to give specific instances of Indian Christians who worked to nationalise Christianity, being given the cold shoulder. "It is significant," he observes, "that any effort in the right direction has hitherto been made by men who were converted in the prime of manhood, i. e. after they had imbibed Hindu culture, but the reception accorded to them is no compliment to those concerned. I shall cite examples from South India which I know best. Pulney Andy had obvious limitations, but he was forthwith boycotted by all vested interests and was laughed out of all opportunity. R. M. Bauboo had also many faults, but he little deserved the organised closing of all doors against him. N. Gnanapragasam (still spared to us), clear of any of the faults mentioned before, but with limitations of his own, namely, the limitations of genius, has been written down as a freak and worthy of no real responsibility by men who should not touch the latchet of his shoes. The group standing behind the *Christian Patriot* is either tolerated in a patronising spirit or damned with faint praise. Kristna Pillai is recognised as sane even by those who have no mental furnishing to appreciate his poetry, but the organisation which claims to be the premier Christian publishing agency in India, has no money to issue a second edition of his poems on the exhaustion of the first!"

**Indians in South Africa:** Mr. Gandhi calls attention to the scheme which is being hatched by the responsible officials of South Africa to deprive the Indians of the Transvaal of vested rights in breach of the Compact of 1914 to which the Government of India was witness if not party. "The bill which is now being discussed in the press and which, according to the latest papers received, has passed the committee stage of, the Union House of Assembly at the end of May last," he writes, "virtually deprives the Indians of the Transvaal from holding fixed pro-



perty even as shareholders of companies or as mortgagees as they have hitherto successfully and legally done. It further deprives them of the right of obtaining new trade licenses throughout the Transvaal. This means that Indian settlers, if they are not now efficiently protected, will be reduced to the status of menial servants no matter what their capacity might be. It was bad enough to restrict so as almost to prohibit fresh immigration. It is intolerable to confiscate the economic and material rights of legally admitted immigrants and their descendants." The grievances of Indians in the self-governing British colonies were embodied in a very temperately worded memorandum by Lord Sinha which was laid before the Imperial Conference held in July 1918. The prohibition against ownership of land and of trading licenses were specifically mentioned by Lord Sinha who urged that the former should be repealed by Parliament on the grounds that it tends to foster insincerity on both sides and to deprive Indians of the elementary rights of citizenship. Mr. Burton, who represented South Africa, spoke of the Indians there as "good, law-abiding, quiet citizens," and, he added, "it is our duty to see that they are treated as human beings with feelings like our own, and in a proper manner." "As far as we are concerned," he went on to say, "we are in agreement with this Resolution (of reciprocity), and also with the proposal referring the Memorandum to the consideration of our Government, and we will give it the most sympathetic consideration we can, certainly." Then this is the result! Mr. Montagu referred in a recent speech to the position of Indians in South Africa as being the worst in the Empire. We hope that the Government of India and the British Government will not sit with folded hands, while this iniquitous law is being enacted in South Africa.

**The Trading Clause Deleted:** Since the above was in type the *Times of India* of Saturday printed two important telegrams, dated Capetown, June 5 and June 12 respectively from Australian papers. We are surprised that these were not communicated to India, as they present the situation in a somewhat more hopeful light. A Capetown message of June 5, said:—"When the House of Assembly was considering the Asiatic Land and Trading Bill an amendment submitted by Transvaal members was carried, despite the Government's opposition, enabling municipalities to refuse trading licences to Asiatics without assigning any reason. This is the first time that any explicit racial disability has been imposed upon Asiatics by law, and it is expected that the clause will be rejected by the Senate." Another Capetown message, June 12, said:—"The House of Assembly concurred to-day with the action of the Senate in deleting the clause in the Asiatic Land and Trading Bill empowering local authorities to refuse trading licences to Asiatics. The Nationalists asserted that the deletion was due to pressure exercised by the Imperial Government, but the acting Premier (Mr. F. S. Malan) emphatically denied the statement." This says nothing of the land clause. *Indian opinion* of the 30th May received yesterday, gives the text of the Bill and the debates in the Legislative Assembly up to the 21st May. It is clear from them that the contention of those—Sir Pherozeshah Mehta was most emphatic on the point—who held that the compromise agreeing to restrictions on fresh emigration gave away the whole case, was not academic. The policy of the Bill is, having secured the colony from fresh accessions by agreements, to stamp out the remnant left by oppressive legislation.

**For Sir Alexander Cardew.** In his "note" submitted to the Franchise Committee, which Sir Narayan Chandavarkar subjected to a searching analysis in these columns, Sir Alexander Cardew

implies that intellectual inferiority is congenital to the non-Brahman of South India. "When in the years 1893 to 1905 Deputy Collectors were selected by open Competition," he says, "15 out of 16 appointments went to Brahmans, and the 16th successful candidate was a West Coast man in whose case there was a strong presumption owing to the peculiar social habits of that area, that he had a large proportion of Brahman blood." The idea that the Brahman blood has some special bacillus which enables it to out-distance other castes in education, is, of course, mere old woman's talk. A striking confutation of it is afforded by the list of Indian successes in the Cambridge University this year. Reuter has announced the names of three Indians who have come out as wranglers in the recent Cambridge Mathematical Tripos. Non-Brahmins in Southern India, remarks the *Travancore Times*, will be proud to note that one of the three is Mr. Singodayan who proceeded to England in 1917 as a Government of India scholar after having come out successful as first in the B.A. (Honours) examination of the Madras University. Mr. Sangodayan is a Vellala and belongs to the Goundan community of Coimbatore. There is no such peculiar social custom as that to which Sir Alexander Cardew refers in Coimbatore and among Vellalas. Sir Sankaran Nair's presentation of the non-Brahman movement in one of his Minutes of Dissent (which have been collected in a neatly-printed book by Messrs. Ganesh and Co. of Madras) contains the sane and sensible view of the causes which have created it.

**Sir George Lloyd on Local Self-Government.** Sir George Lloyd's speeches on Local Self-Government during his recent tour in the districts, should put heart into those who are doing their little to advance local self-government in this Presidency. The greatest obstacle to the development of the civic spirit is the prevailing feeling that the district officials—and Government—regard local self-government with jealousy and are pleased to hear it decried and its minor faults exaggerated by interested persons. We must in fairness say that there has been little cause for this feeling of recent years and, especially since Sir Ibrahim Rahimatoolla has been in charge of the portfolio, Municipal and Local bodies are conscious of a sense of security that they will not be condemned unheard and that their wants and wishes will obtain a fair and friendly hearing. But it is well that His Excellency, as the head of the Government, has publicly and forcibly declared that he welcomes enterprise and initiative on the part of Local Bodies, that his Government have in immediate view legislation for expanding their financial powers, and that, in brief, the steady development of local self-government on vigorous lines is an organic part of his Government's policy. We can assure His Excellency that his wise and weighty words have already had an excellent effect in allaying faction and enforcing on reactionaries the wholesome lesson that they have got to co-operate with their fellow-citizens in carrying on local and municipal government, and that Government are far from pleased to get petitions asking for the suspension of municipal bodies on the most flimsy pretexts. We entirely agree with His Excellency that the weakness of our municipal bodies is their reluctance to pay adequate salaries to capable officers, and to devolve on them the full responsibility for carrying out a policy which has been settled upon by the General Body. But there are many signs of improvement in these directions also.



## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, JULY, 6, 1919.

## MR. DAPHTARY ON MR. PATEL'S BILL.

We have more than once stated in these columns that the Hon. Mr. V. J. Patel recognises that the absence of an age-limit and of a restriction in favour of monogamy in his Inter-Caste Marriage Bill, are defects, and that he is prepared to rectify them in Select Committee when and if the Bill is referred to one. We may say that our authority was Mr. Patel himself who personally gave us the assurance. We are, therefore, astonished to see Mr. K. R. Daphtary, in his pamphlet entitled, "Some Reflections to support the Hon. Mr. V. J. Patel's Hindu Marriage (Validity) Bill," justifying the omission of these two essentials of enlightened marriage legislation, and maintaining, in effect, that their removal would detract from the purpose of the proposed legislation. Mr. Daphtary referring to Mr. Basu's Civil Marriage Bill, which did not pass into law, observes:

The Hindus are not willing to give up the sacramental character of their marriage, or the religious rites and ceremonies with which it is performed. Such being the nature of their marriage, they cannot reconcile themselves to any liberty for Divorce. They are in practice generally monogamous. But their marriage having for the principal object the getting of a son, to save them from a hell, they do not like to forfeit the liberty to marry a second wife for that object. Moreover, for the same reason, as well as because it is the duty of Hindu parents to marry their children, and because it is also the religion of some castes to marry the girl before her puberty, they do not like a statutory provision interfering with this duty and this religion, by limiting the marriage to persons of a certain age only.

After dealing with the opposition of orthodox persons, Mr. Daphtary goes on to say:—

While this class of objectors have thus misunderstood the object of the Bill in one way, the Progressives have misunderstood it in another way. They say that the Bill is imperfect and suggest additions regarding provisions for age, previous civil condition, consent, guardianship, form and ceremonies of marriage, registration and divorce. These may all be good provisions in themselves and they must have a place in civil or Statutory marriage bill. But Mr. Patel's bill does not provide for a Statutory marriage. It does not desire to interfere with the Orthodox marriage rite or desecrate the ancient sacrament. The Bill, while it will serve the Progressives to a great extent is meant, as pointed out above, to serve the Conservatives and the ignorant and the innocent, and it will not do to change the nature of the Hindu marriage. All matters of age, consent, previous civil condition, guardianship and ceremonies are fully settled by the Hindu law as it is practised, and no doubt, difficulty, or inconvenience has been caused anywhere on that account. As regards the age, it may also be feared, that if the bill prescribes an age below which it cannot be availed of, some parents or guardians who do not favour the growing tendencies of the younger generations to be consulted in matters of their marriage, will have a provocation to hurry up the marriage of their wards, before they attain such age. Is this desirable? As regards monogamy, it has already been pointed out how, in fact, Hindus are monogamous, and second marriage is thought of only when there is no child and on account of the religious idea that the begetting of a son is the object of a Hindu marriage. In many cases, where the second marriage is made, it is made at the instance, or with the consent of the first wife.

We have made these lengthy extracts from Mr. Daphtary's pamphlet as the fair-minded reader will rightly suspect us of travestying his assumptions—so grotesque are they—if we tried to state them in our own words. The

first of these assumptions is that the Indian Legislative Council can create a sacrament or extend an ancient sacrament to purposes which the bulk of Hindus fervently regard as sacrilege. If Mr. Daphtary's assumption is sound, then there is nothing to prevent the insertion of a clause in the Rowlatt Act investing it with sacramental qualities. Mr. Daphtary may be satisfied that a marriage under Mr. Patel's Bill, if passed into law, is a sacrament, but we doubt if there will be many others to adopt his view. The fact is, whatever Mr. Daphtary's personal opinion may be, the marriage which owes its validity to Mr. Patel's Bill will owe its validity to a statute, and will, therefore, be a statutory marriage for which an age-limit and the monogamous principle, Mr. Daphtary admits, are appropriate. Mr. Daphtary's second assumption, equally remarkable for its naivete, is that 'the conservatives and the ignorant and the innocent' are pining to contract intermarriages. We have never come across "conservatives and ignorants and innocents" of this type. Talk of a man who marries outside his caste, in contravention of the bed-rock principle of Hindu conservatism, as a conservative! Mr. Daphtary is too earnest to be guilty of joking in such a context. We must suppose that there are such radical-conservatives,—'hot ice and wondrous cold snow'—in the Aryan Brotherhood of which Mr. Daphtary is the life and soul. "All matters," he goes on to aver, "of age, consent, previous civil condition, guardianship and ceremonies are fully settled by the Hindu law as it is practised, and no doubt, difficulty or inconvenience has been caused anywhere on that account." In other words, the only defect in the Hindu marriage system is that it does not allow of inter-caste marriage! Otherwise, it is perfect! Mr. Daphtary will not expect us to accept this dictum. He also tells us that there are parents or guardians who do not favour the growing tendencies of the younger generations to be consulted in matters of their marriage, but who do favour the idea of inter-caste marriages under the Bill. We thought the Bill is intended to remove certain limitations on freedom of choice, that it was a measure of social freedom. From what Mr. Daphtary says, the object of the Bill is not to extend the freedom of the would-be bride and bridegroom, but of their parents to get them married to whomsoever they choose, irrespective of age, caste and previous civil condition. Mr. Daphtary's last and not the least grotesque assumption is that those who wish to marry out of their castes will do so for the purpose of begetting sons, which is the object of a Hindu marriage. The continued existence of the Hindu castes for some hundreds of years, proves that this object of the Hindu marriage has not been frustrated by the absence of inter-caste marriages. Census statistics show that under the present marriage customs more male children are born than female children. Mr. Patel himself has never urged that his Bill is conceived in the interests of those—if there are any such—who believe that their prospects of progeny is bound up with the validating of inter-caste marriages. Hindus who marry to beget sons who will perform their funeral obsequies, the new moon *tarpan* and the annual



*shraddh*, are not in the least likely to look at Mr. Patel's Bill. He may take that from us for a certainty. Hindus who marry a second time even within their castes are rarely actuated nowadays by the old motive, and the rule of obtaining the consent of the first wife is more honoured in the breach than in the observance. As a matter of fact very few first wives nowadays will give their consent to a second marriage by their husbands. We received the following post card last week : " Mr.....writes to me from.....that the .....who lately married.....has a wife living and that this lady and her father also knew this. He says that such marriages ought not to be advertised.... says that the first marriage had taken place with the full and free consent of this.....I am writing these particulars at the suggestion of Mr.....and as this marriage was noticed in the *Reformer*. Yours truly....." We omit the names. Several such cases have come to our notice. The passing of Mr. Patel's Bill without safeguards as to age and previous civil condition, will only intensify the heart-breaking social anarchy which prevails at the present day.

We have commented at some length on Mr. Daphtary's observations on the suggestions as to incorporating in Mr. Patel's Bill provisions about an age-limit and the monogamous principle, because as the founder of the Aryan Brotherhood, he is one of our distinguished social workers, and because it is well-known that the Bill has been drafted by him. We trust that he will reconsider his opposition to these suggestions put forward by almost every social reform organization which has expressed an opinion on the Bill. If these suggestions are not accepted, the Bill will have no sort of relation to the social reform movement which has been carried on for nearly a century. It is probable that, like some others before him, Mr. Daphtary hopes to secure orthodox support by distinguishing his Bill sharply from the social reform movement. If so, he should see that his hope has not been realised. The orthodox people are no less opposed to the Daphtary-Patel pseudo-orthodox measure than it was to Mr. Basu's frankly civil marriage one. Indeed, if we were orthodox Hindus we would have had less objection to the latter than to the former. Because, while Mr. Basu did not seek to interfere with the orthodox sacrament, Mr. Daphtary wants to convert what the Hindu community regards as a sacrilege into a sacrament by means of a majority vote in the Indian Legislative Council. The Indian progressives who support the Bill in the Council, including Mr. Patel, would insist on the provisions regarding monogamy and adult marriage being incorporated in it. The orthodox will oppose. If Mr. Daphtary persists in his attitude of " the Bill and nothing but the Bill as it is," the only chance of its passing is by getting round Government and the official and non-official European block. Even with these provisions, the Bill will be an inadequate measure ; but without them, it will be positively harmful to the cause of well-regulated social progress. The Basu Bill is the thing wanted. Even Christian Missionary opinion, as voiced in the *Harvest*

*Field*, has come to recognise this. The Baroda Civil Marriage Act effects the object which the Daphtary-Patel Bill has in view by the simple expedient of doing away with the inquisitorial religious declaration required by Act III of 1872 in the case of parties who belong to the same religion. The other provisions of age—limit and previous civil condition, remain untouched. In all modern marriage legislation, the religious part of the ceremony is left to the choice of the parties, the law insisting only on registration. We do not see why registration of a marriage should detract from its character as a sacrament any more than the registration of births and deaths, which is now compulsory in most places, does from the two other most important sacraments in the life of a human being. While we must insist on the passing of a pure Civil Marriage Act with reservations only as to age and previous civil condition of the parties, we can support the Daphtary-Patel Bill only if those reservations are incorporated in it. Otherwise, holding the views that we do, we cannot support it. We must in fact, strongly oppose it. We do not want child marriage and polygamy given a wider license by statute. The authority of caste for wholesome ends is not worth much at present but the Bill as it stands, will eliminate it, such as it is, without putting anything better in its place.

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THE LATE RAO BHADUR K. VEERASALINGAM  
PANTULU  
(BY MR. RAM MURTI.)

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The late lamented Rao Bahadur K. Veerasalingam Pantulu Garu was born in the year 1848 and lived to the ripe old age of 72 years. His was a most strenuous life and he was in full possession of his intellectual vitality to the last day of his career. The prosperous labours of his long life have filled all men's lips with honest praise. He went to Madras a few months back to publish the second part of 'The Telugu Poets'—his monumental work; and we learn that he was rummaging old archives and pouring over moth-eaten manuscripts to get the material. He was of a type of Browning's Grammarian who, with throttling fingers of death at strife, ground at Grammar. In the midst of his assiduous labours, the aged scholar was taken away by influenza.

He was one of the greatest protents of originality, whose appearance spelled disaster to many a long-established social and religious custom. He was a man with a vital faith in his ideals, faith in the duty of overthrowing idols, faith in the duty of ameliorating the social condition of women, and faith in the gospel of liberty, fraternity and equality of man. How much he succeeded in his ideals it is for the world to judge. But so far as we can see, he stood firmly to his convictions in the teeth of all opposition from his relatives and friends, like Isvara Chandra Vidya Sagar of Bengal, one of the greatest of philanthropists and intellectual heroes of India. He was animated throughout his life by selfless love and great courage, which led him to do grim battle with the dragon of custom, from whose merciless



laws he delivered many a helpless virgin-widow. He felt the keenest interest in the joys and sorrows of others; and his days were filled with the sweetness of unnumbered charities. He was known to be a staunch Brahmo of the Anustanic type, and he was one of the props of Brahmoism in the Presidency. He was sincere in his convictions and remained true to them to the very end. He was a redoubtable social reformer and was the high priest of the widow-remarriage movement. He was a great philanthropist, and his charities were innumerable. The Town Hall, Ananda Ashrama, the Hithakarni High School, the Brahmo Mandir and the Public Library in Rajahmundry, owe their existence to his personal exertions and the munificence of his friends. He gave away his whole property, worth about Rs. 41,000, renounced all the luxuries of the world, and lived a hermit life of self-imposed poverty.

As a writer of Telugu language he was the ornament of the age. He was a very prolific writer, and his works comprise about 10 big volumes of closely printed matter. He was a poet, dramatist, essayist, caricaturist, novelist and miscellaneous prose writer. By no other writer of the age was Telugu prose written with such sweetness, elegance, grace and facility. He had the remarkable gift of compressing large ideas into the shortest space, with lucid terseness. His poetic diction, too, is highly refined and exquisite; and some of his verses are jewels four lines long that on the stretched forefinger of time sparkle for ever. His wit is always bright, and his humour delicate. He had a fine turn for satire; but his charity forbade him to retaliate upon his detractors in their own unkind and ungenerous manner. He veiled his attacks in pleasant raillery, tempered his sharpness with delicious humour, and as a rule kept himself within the bounds of propriety. The greatest of his works and the greatest Telugu work of the age is 'The lives of the Telugu poets', over which he must have spent many laborious months, aye, years. With infinite care he sifted all the procurable evidence, and determined in a highly satisfactory manner the respective periods of the poets. It is mainly to his mighty efforts that several of the poets owe their resurrection. His selections from their works are always typical and admirable, and his criticism is invariably luminous and judicious.

Tennyson contemplating the glory to which Arthur Hallam would have attained, had he lived to ripe old age, says—

"All the train of bounteous hours  
Conduct by paths of growing powers,  
To reverence and the silver hair;  
Till slowly worn her earthly robe,  
Her lavish mission richly wrought,  
Leaving great legacies of thought,  
Thy spirit should fall from off the globe.

These high hopes of the poet we see amply fulfilled in the life of the late Rao Bahadur K. Veerasalingam Pantulu Guru.

May the departed soul of this illustrious man, in that immortal region of Light and Love, have peace and blessedness for ever and for ever.

## SOME NEEDS OF KANARA I.

(By S. G. WARTY.)

The needs of Kanara, as of any other district, are many and various. Not of all these, shall we have to speak here, but of those few and peculiar to Kanara, which being more or less constitutional, require to be immediately attended to, in order to stop these tendencies which retard the progress of the district.

### PRESSURE ON LAND

We have first to observe that 82 per cent of the total area of Kanara is under forest and only 18 per cent is cultivable area. As a result of this the pressure on land is extremely high; the density of population per square mile of the cultivable area being 722, and the proportion of agricultural population per 1000 of district population being 674, the population supported by agriculture alone on each square mile of cultivable area comes to 487. If we work out figures in the same manner for each district, we find that the pressure on land in Kanara is the highest in the presidency, the average for the presidency being only 197 as against 487 in Kanara. It seems Government have been very well apprised of this fact, for, in their reply to the interpellation of the Hon'ble Mr. P. A. Desai in the last session of the Legislative Council they say:—"The facts recorded in Chapter 1, of Volume VII Part I, of the Report on the Census of India for 1911 indicate that the population depending on agriculture is larger per square mile of cultivable area in the Kanara district than in any other district of the presidency". Now the question arises, how it is that such an abnormally large proportion of the population finds its subsistence on the soil. It cannot be said that the soil in Kanara, is of an exceptionally high quality. Those who live and cultivate the lands in Kanara, know full well what kind of soil it is and if any official confirmation is required, one has only to turn to Kanara Gazetteer, where he will find it stated that the soil is quite ordinary. No doubt stories are told of the rich spice-gardens of Kanara, but they are extremely limited in area, being in fact about 6 per cent of the whole cultivable area, and it appears they are not so well cultivated now as they used to be formerly, most of the owners having been involved in debt, and also because of the slump in the prices of their produce due to want of export facilities. Nor can it be said that Kanara has escaped any of those obstacles to successful agriculture which are prevalent in other districts. The indebtedness of the Kanara ryot is proverbial. As to the excessive subdivision and fragmentation of holdings, the district affords very many examples, the evil in fact being quite common. The Commissioner S. D., in the Land Revenue Report for 1916-17, remarks, that in Kanara survey numbers are being split up, and a very typical case of this nature regarding survey numbers 1 to 40 of Uppiapatana in Kumbhaluka, has been mentioned and elaborately commented upon by Hon'ble Mr. Keatinge in his exhaustive paper on the size of Land holdings in the Bombay Presidency. Again, the evil of absentee-landlordism can be



said to be prevailing in Kanara to a greater extent than elsewhere.

It cannot also be said that the methods of agriculture, are in any respect superior to those prevailing elsewhere. If it were so, fully one-third of the cultivable area of the district, would not be under fallow. A large fallow area is, according to Dr. Mann, "always a sign of backward agricultural methods, of insufficiency of manure, and generally of inadequate cultivation." If then all these explanations fail are we to suppose that the population always remains half-starved and half-fed, and that there is chronic famine in Kanara? Without coming however to any such definite conclusion of an unpalatable character it is sufficient for us for the present to admit that the situation is serious and demands immediate attention.

The remedy to this state of things is, in the words of Professor Gilbert Slater, to stop starving the agricultural Department and to stop starving the Industries Department. The liberal provision of 5 lacs in the Budget for the Industries Department, in the very next year of its creation, is a welcome sign of the earnestness of Government, and the appointment of Mr. R. D. Bell as the Director of Industries, leaves no doubt of their intention. We have every ground to believe that Mr. Bell will achieve the same success in his department which Mr. Ewbank has achieved in the Co-operative. It should be Mr. Bell's first duty to institute inquiries into the industrial conditions of those places where the pressure on land is un-bearably high, with a view to resuscitate and revive those small and cottage industries especially, which will give diversity of occupation to the cultivators and so far relieve the burdensome pressure on land.

As regards Agricultural Department, it is only feeling its way even at this late hour. Not until Rs. 15,000 from the Edward Memorial Fund collected in Kanara, were granted to Government for the purpose, could the Department see its way to open an experimental farm at Kumta. I believe non official help to Government is given in Kanara more ungrudgingly and to a greater extent than elsewhere. Still things are much behind what they should be. The want of a veterinary surgeon for the coast-talukas is yet to be supplied. Effective measures for the increase of food-production have yet to be adopted. Agricultural education to the cultivators in the district itself, has yet to be provided for. More-over, the Agricultural and Revenue Departments are required to put their heads together and work hand in hand, to restore to the agriculturists of Kanara, those forest privileges which were so ruthlessly taken away by the Forest Department and which have been the life-blood of agriculture in Kanara from time immemorial. It is to be noted that owing mainly to the efforts of Mr. Tupper the present Collector, some privileges have been temporarily restored as a first installment with promise of a more. It is entirely necessary in the interests of the people of Kanara that this wise policy introduced by Mr. Tupper should be continued even with greater liberality. Impartial critics cannot but think that the solution evolved by Mr. Tupper, best reconciles the interests of agriculture and forest, whatever short-sighted departmental zeal may say to the contrary.

## MISS HELEN KELLER'S MESSAGE TO INDIAN WOMEN.

The current number of the *Lal Bagh Chronicle* published by the Isabella Thoburn College, Lucknow, prints two letters from Miss Helen Keller, the well-known American lady, to the women of India. We print below the second and longer of the two :

March 11th, 1919,

DEAR GIRLS OF THE ISABELLA THOBURN COLLEGE,

Miss Robinson has written to me about you and the work you are doing, and at her request I am sending you copies of my books. They will tell you that I too had to work hard for an education under exceptional disadvantages. My soul had to transmigrate, as it were, from a fettered body full of darkness, to a new self, illumined with the light of the spirit. Your difficulties are not quite the same as mine; but there is such a bond between us springing from lives of constant effort and struggle that I feel a strong impulse to write to you.

Girls and women of India, I am touched, thrilled, by the courage with which you are working for an education that shall widen your opportunities and extend the field of your activities. Nothing weighs down human spirit like the deep-rooted prejudice of a long-established, mighty society, and lo, after untold centuries of silence and suppression, you are breaking through the barriers of convention that hold you back from your human heritage. I rejoice with you in the vision of new life, thought, and power that is opening before you. Surely something divine within you,—the voice of the gracious Life-giver,—is calling, urging you to rise to new heights of womanhood, and the winds of God are bearing you onward.

You are just emerging from a position as hard, as unfortunate as any race of women was ever in. Therefore your work and your final triumph shall be a peculiar and beautiful inspiration to all womankind. Women everywhere need the encouragement of your example and you need them in your struggle for emancipation. Then go fearlessly along the high ways of knowledge, insisting that all gates of opportunity shall be thrown open to you, never turn back until you and your children and all India are free. Remember the people of India alone can truly develop India's greatness, and women alone can free themselves from conditions that have from time immemorial thwarted their God-given, high inspirations, cramped their souls. There is nothing fanatical about your claim for social rehabilitation. You are but following the claim that a lofty spiritual conception of life, your inheritance from the ages, has planted in your hearts. You are disentangling your minds from the clogging material world and reaching up to a womanhood based on thought, glorified by soul.

In demanding higher education you are but asserting your rights as human beings. You have a right to start your life untrammelled by customs and traditions the world is rapidly out-growing, a right to work without the fetters and reproach of inferiority, to which woman has been subjected. You have a right to seek success in fields of usefulness that you choose yourself, a right to succeed or fail as human beings, unhampered by laws and customs from which men are exempted.

But you have not only rights, you have responsibilities. You have as vital an interest in building up the nation as your brothers, and it is your duty to foster a higher civilization in your country. Upon you India's welfare and happiness depend. Magnificent tasks await you at every step of your advance. And your first requirement for success is education.



not merely conventional education but the sort of education that will acquaint you with the fundamental causes of existing institutions and enable you to work out the right principles of social development. These studies may seem to some of you quite outside of woman's sphere; but in reality they are interwoven throughout the warp and woof of your domestic life, and unless you study them, you cannot shake yourself free from the wornout social, economic and political vestures of the past that have clothed you with ignorance, slavery, sorrow, and widowhood of soul and body.

The more you read and study, the more clearly you will perceive that the forces which retard human progress are ignorance, poverty, the rule of race by race, class by class, and sex by sex, and it is these foes we are all fighting, and these are the foes that must be overcome before the world can be liberated and enlightened.

I have read that one of your sages dreamed that he saw mankind on a journey; and first he saw them enquipped with bit and curb, and the reins were of iron and went back to a band of iron. Then he dreamed that men were led by invisible threads that came from the brain, and were held by an unseen hand. Now the first state was the dominion of force that we are throwing off, the second is the reign of intelligence and brotherhood in which we shall find our new freedom.

Through you, girls and women of India, a new India shall rise, strong and glad to take its place among the nations of the world. Through your devotion and spiritual strength shall the new womanhood of the Orient grow and blossom, and the myriads of young souls still buried in ignorance be brought forth into the light of the divine presence.

I shall always be glad to hear of your progress, and have faith in your courage to succeed. Wishing you everything good and beautiful in your noble struggle upwards,

I am,  
Your friend,  
HELEN KELLER.

#### FIRST GANJAM THEISTIC CONFERENCE.

(From a Correspondent).

From the first time in our Presidency and also probably for the first time in the whole of India a district Theistic Conference was held in Ganjam at Aska during this month, 50 delegates, men and women, were registered. Mr. P. Ramaswami, Lecturer, City College, Calcutta, presided. Mr. K. Kallanaswamy, District Munsiff was Chairman, Reception Committee. Addresses were delivered by Messrs. Subhukrishnaiah, P. Narasimha (Guntur), Visvanadker (Cuttack), A. Somanadham (Pithapore), Mahendra Patnaik (Calcutta), J. V. Narayana, N. Jagannadh Rao, I. Sanyasiraju, N. Narayanamurti (last 4 from Berhampore), B. Nageswararau (Ichapore), K. Ramamurthi, W. Venkatachalam and others of Aska. Mrs. Devaki Bai, and Srimati Sundaramma also addressed the assembly. Mr. Balakrishnarao Brahma Missionary offered prayers. The subjects dealt with were 'Social equality', 'Social Service', 'Worship', 'Sadhan' etc. The Conference sermon was on 'the Good and the Pleasant' by Mr. P. Narasimhan. Addresses were in English, Telugu and Oriya. There was one single resolution to carry on the Conference work from year's end to year's end. A standing committee was formed. Messrs. I. Sanyasiraju and J. V. Narayana were appointed Secretaries. The conference was invited to Berhampore for the next year. There were 2 Nagar Sankirtans, men and women went in procession singing devotional songs. There were 2 Harikathas on 'Ram Mohan Roy' and 'Dayakar' by Mr. Somanadham. One poor feeding was given where over 200 were fed. One good feature was that Telugus and Oriyas heartily co-operated to make the conference a success.

#### AUSTRALIAN WOMEN ON THE POSITION OF INDIAN WOMEN IN FIJI.

The Women's Service Guild, Western Australia, has for its objects to support from the standpoint of women, many movements to protect, defend and uplift humanity; to be loyal citizens of State, Commonwealth and Empire, to seek public good and not personal advantage to educate women in social and economic questions, and to educate women on the moral, social and economic disadvantages of the use of alcohol as beverage, with the object of securing prohibition during the war and the period of demobilisation.

Mrs. Jaijee J. Petit, has received the following letter from the Guild.

Dear Sister,

Your very kind letter of February 10th., accompanied by a parcel of valuable books for our library, has been very greatly appreciated and we beg to thank you most heartily for your beautiful offering.

We have had further communications to 31st. March, from Sydney, from the Hon. Secretary of the Committee to deal with the Social and Moral conditions of Indian Women in Fiji. She states that a petition has been forwarded to the Governor in Fiji which embodied the six reforms as suggested at the conclusion of Miss Gurnham's report of her investigations in Fiji, and a seventh clause to the effect that a man's wages be made sufficient to maintain a home in order that his wife is not forced to work in the plantations, had been added. The Petition also contains the Hospital Scheme of Dr. Kate Knowles, B. S., London, who has had eleven and a half years experience in India, which emphasises the extreme importance of immediate appointment of a medical woman (1) To take charge of the women's in and out patients department, (2) To inaugurate a school for native dhais (who shall be offered scholarships to cover expenses while in training), these dhais to be available for use in scattered dispensaries whether government or missionary.

We realise that the united action that the organised women have taken throughout Australia on this question has been one of the biggest united effort to gain social and moral reform, and paves the way for further Commonwealth effort in other directions. We are so interested to hear of the work of your Council of Women of the Bombay Presidency, and trust you will keep us in touch with the work that you are doing. This time of transition through which we are passing to gain social re-adjustment brings with it many difficulties, and the members of our organisation are hoping to do their little share in this state to uphold the principle that womanhood shall be equally included in the re-building.

With heartfelt greetings to all your members

We beg to remain,

Yours sincerely,

(sd) Bersie M. Rischbieth, President.

(sd) N. Stidworthy, Hon. Secretary.

#### THE BANK OF INDIA LIMITED.

The Net Profit of the Bank of India Limited, for the half year ended 30th June 1919, including the sum of Rs. 42,692-11-11 brought forward amounts to Rs. 5,91,780-9-9. The Directors have resolved to declare an ad-interim dividend at Rs. 3/-per share, that is at the rate of Twelve per cent per annum, free from Income Tax, on the paid up Capital of 50 lacs, which will absorb Rs. 3,00,000/-, and to carry the balance of Rs. 2, 91,780-9-9 to the next account.



## THE CONSTITUTION OF NEW GERMANY.

In the March number of the *Fornightly Review* Mr. William Harbutt Dawson, whose books on modern Germany are among the best informed on the subject, writes a sympathetic article on the constitution of modern Germany. He stigmatises as ungenerous and unjustifiable the doubts that have been thrown upon the *bona fides* of the German Constitution-makers. He outlines as under the main features of the draft constitution.

The draft constitution of Weimar makes a clean sweep of the entire paraphernalia of the past semi-absolutism. To day there are still monarchs in Germany, but no monarchies, and the constitution takes that great fact as its basic postulate. There is no ambiguity about these opening words: "all State power is vested in the German people." The constitution presumes a federated Germany, but the federation, though still called by the name Empire, is to have a republican basis. In apportioning representation in the Central Legislature of the future short work is to be made of the old territorial boundaries. These are declared to be dynastic and artificial, and it is held that they must not be allowed to stand in the way of a more rational division of the federal area. Accordingly it is proposed that the New Germany shall consist of a series of "Free States", each having at least two million inhabitants. As all but five of the twenty-five existing States (disregarding Alsace-Lorraine) have less than that population, it follows that a good deal of adjustment will be necessary. In order to make impossible the domination of Prussia in the federation, it is proposed to divide that kingdom into seven parts, several of them to be amalgamated with adjoining territories. Each of these Free States is to be governed by a single Chamber, to which the Government will be directly responsible, not in the old formal way, but in a full Parliamentary sense.

The new machinery of federal government is to consist of a President and a Legislature of two Chambers, forming together the Reichstag. The Upper Chamber, or House of States (*Staatenhaus*), is to consist of seventy delegates elected by the State Diets, not more than one-third falling to any one State—another provision aimed at Prussian domination—and the Lower Chamber, or "People's House" (*Volkshaus*) of 433 deputies (or 421 without Alsace-Lorraine), on the basis of one deputy for every 150,000 inhabitants, according to the census of 1910. Election in both cases is to be for three years, the original duration of the Imperial Diet before the period was extended to five years in 1888. In addition there may be an Imperial Council (*Reichsrat*), forming a sort of nexus between the Central Executive and the State Government. The historical student will not fail to notice the analogy offered by such a federal Legislature to those proposed by the ill-fated constitution of the Frankfurt National Assembly of 1848-9 and the Prussian "Union" constitution of 1850. The suffrage is to be universal (manhood and womanhood), the qualifying age being reduced to twenty, and voting is to be secret, as at present while effect is to be given to the principle of proportional representation. The idea is that disagreements between the two Chambers, or between the President and the Chambers, shall be decided by *referendum* a cumbersome method upon which an improvement will no doubt be found before the draft constitution has been long under discussion.

Upon the method of the President's election whether by the general body of voters mediately as in America, or by the direct popular vote as in Switzerland, or by the Chambers

as in France—the authors of the draft constitution are understood to have an open mind, though the Swiss precedent appears to be preferred. It is proposed that he shall hold office for seven years at a time, but provision is to be made for his deposition before the expiration of that term, should he cease to enjoy the confidence of the Legislature. His powers are far-going. He will promulgate all laws, without exercising a veto on them, a limitation which applied equally to the ex-Emperor. He will represent the Empire in international relations, and will enter into alliances and other treaties with foreign Powers in the Empire's name; but war is to be declared and peace concluded in virtue of laws, and it is also provided that, when a League of Nations has been formed, all treaties concluded with members of the League will require the assent of the Diet.

The President's greatest responsibility, however, relates to the formation of the Ministry. There will be a Chancellor as heretofore, but while he will exercise a general direction of policy he will henceforth be one of a Cabinet of Ministers, each independently responsible for his own Department. While the President will personally appoint the Chancellor, he will appoint the other Ministers on the latter's nomination, which was practically Bismarck's way with the first Emperor. Nevertheless, both Chancellor and Ministers must from first to last enjoy the confidence of the popular Chamber, and if that confidence is withdrawn from any one of them he must resign.

This is, of course, a stipulation essential to any system of Parliamentary government deserving of the name, but there is no disguising the obstacles in the way of its effective application in Germany. The chief of these obstacles are the multiplicity of parties, the fact that most parties will pull different ways, the excessive doctrinarianism of every one of them, and the critical, unaccommodating, disruptive tendency of the German spirit, which has been responsible for so much sterility in political life in the past. Hence it is to be feared that, unless German politicians have learned better by bitter experience, there will always be a danger of Ministers being overturned, or at least outvoted, by capricious or accidental combinations on side issues.

One feature of the new German Ministerial system which has been foreshadowed is of special interest, and will encourage those of us whose reverence for the British Parliamentary system is a tribute to its antiquity of more than to its efficiency. In speculating a year ago upon the lines which a German democratic system of government might be expected to follow, I hazarded the prediction that Germany would never be so unwise as to abandon her belief in the expert more needed in the sphere of political government than in any other, yet so seldom seen there—and that in devising any new constitutional arrangements she might be expected to go to her well-tryed and singularly efficient system of municipal government. That system is practically government by experts, who, though chosen by the representative assemblies, are not in all cases members of them, and hold office for a term of years (as a rule twelve) subject to re-election at the will of their masters. Commenting upon this suggestion in *Neue Rundschau*, Dr. Preuss said there was "much to be said for it." The principle has, in fact been recognised in his draft constitution, for the new German Ministers are not necessarily to be members of the Diet, though they must possess its confidence, and individual Ministers may resign or be removed without the rest ceasing to hold office. It is not difficult to see that a system of government by experts is here adumbrated, and that the future German Cabinets may be recruited, in part, from the outside. The experiment, if endorsed at Weimar, will be watched with great interest. *Ex.*



*Oriente lux!* Wonderfull, indeed, it would be if the older Western democracies were one day to learn wiser methods of government from a country which but yesterday was a byword for all that in political life was backward and reactionary. Personally I believe that a modified system of government by experts will work, and work well, in Germany; whether it would succeed equally or at all in this country may be questionable, for the fact has to be faced that while Germans worship the expert, we as a nation loathe his very name.

The range of functions and powers which it is proposed to assign to the federal jurisdiction is substantially as under the old Empire, though in regard to some questions a larger latitude is to be claimed. Thus the railway system is to be federalised — again a project of 1848, which Bismarck vainly tried to carry out in the seventies; national defence is to be entirely centralised, so that the "reserve rights," of the States in relation thereto will disappear; the separate diplomatic representation which was allowed to the secondary States when they joined the Empire in 1871 is to be abolished—a change which will make it possible for Great Britain to be represented in Germany for the future by a single diplomatic embassy instead of several as hitherto; there is to be some attempt at the federal regulation of the churches and the schools; there is a special article intended to protect the peculiarities of small nationalities; and it is also clear that the new Empire is to exercise wider powers of taxation, as is inevitable in view of the enormous actual and contingent liabilities which have been taken over from the bankrupt regime.

Such in outline is the constitution which has been put forward as the charter of a democratic Germany. It is unlikely that it will pass without vehement debate and much alteration, though no space remains wherein to give the reasons why. It is to be hoped, however, in the interest of the cause at stake, that the Weimar National Assembly will not repeat the blunder of its precursor of Frankfort and unduly waste its energies upon a superfluity of talk and criticism. Germany for the present is politically off the rails, and until she gets back to the track there can be no possibility of progress in any department of her national affairs.

#### MR. G. A. NATESAN ON THE PRESENT SITUATION.

Mr. G. A. Natesan, writes in the *Indian Review*, Madras, of which he is Editor: The Rowlatt Legislation may be forgotten. Mr. Gandhi's share in it may be forgotten too. But we venture to assert that some of the measures adopted in the Punjab to put down the disturbances there will not be forgotten, unless the Government of India, without any further delay, insist on putting a break on some at least of Sir Michael O'Dwyer's actions. We do not pretend to know the exact situation in the Punjab. We will even grant that the situation there warranted the introduction of martial law; but we cannot see the necessity for several of the orders and measures adopted by Lt. Col. Frank Johnson in his efforts to put down the disturbances. One is amazed to read in the papers some of these orders and ordinances. Even in times of panic the dropping of bombs from aeroplanes, and such measures as those adopted regarding students, shop-keepers, owners of cars, carriages and bicycles, and the wholesale arrest of leading citizens without trial or without a public statement of the reasons which have led to such drastic measures cannot be lightly accepted as steps necessary for public safety.

We instance in particular the whipping of persons in the public streets, an act, which is now admitted by the authorities. It is revolting to the sense of civilised humanity and we are not surprised that two noble Englishmen have publicly protested against it. It is, as the *Indian Social Reformer* has rightly described it, "a flagrant measure of insult and outrage to Indian citizenship, a sin against Indian manhood, irrespective whether the victims are petty shop keepers or menials, as the military authorities allege." We write all this not in anger but in sorrow and humiliation for we cannot reconcile ourselves to the fact that after the glorious achievements of Great Britain in the War, and the gallant, splendid and self-sacrificing manner in which India had rallied to the cause of the Empire, when the whole world is ringing with joy that a new era of liberty, a nobler and truer conception of freedom is to be the result of the deliberations of the Peace Conference, that in India where the cry for equality of status with British citizenship all over the world is the battle cry of all, Indian citizens should be whipped in public streets even under a regime of martial law. We sincerely deplore the recent outrages that have disgraced the fair name of India. We cannot help deploring too that it has not yet been possible for H. E. Lord Chelmsford the joint author of the great Reform Scheme, "to assert his authority as superior even to martial laws" and sternly set his face against the adoption of measures which even Britishers will be loth to defend.

May we add one word more. According to all accounts Sir Michael O'Dwyer's 'strong rule' is in a great measure responsible for all the bitterness of feeling and the sudden revolt against authority which expressed itself in many undesirable forms. In place of the martial law, deportations and internments we would suggest an easier remedy for promoting the peace of the province. Let Sir Michel O'Dwyer be requested to bid goodbye to the Punjab as early as possible and his successor, towards whom we are assured, there is a feeling of friendliness and respect, be requested immediately to resume charge. Let there be a thorough and impartial enquiry into all that has taken place in that unhappy province. Let the embargo on the newspapers be removed.

Indeed every effort must be made to regain the confidence and trust of the people. For the words of the Chinese philosopher uttered centuries ago, are as true to day as ever—

A disciple of Confucius inquired on one occasion what was essential in the government of a country; Confucius answered "There must be sufficient food for the people, an efficient army, and confidence of the people in their rulers."

"But" asked the disciple then, "if we were compelled to dispense with one of those three things, which one of them should go first?"

"Dispense with the army," replied Confucius.

"But still," the disciple went on to ask, "if one were compelled to dispense with one of these two things remaining which one of them should go first?"

"Dispense with the food," replied Confucius, "for from of old men have died; but without the confidence of the people in their rulers there can be no Government."

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not  
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

## CONTENTS.

—:o:—

Tampering with the Cur-  
rency.  
Shocking Sentences.  
Mr. Horniman's Explana-  
tion.  
Sir Sankaran Nair's Succes-  
sor.  
Prospects of the Reform  
Bill.  
An English Engineer's views  
on the Indian Situation.  
Indians' Rights in the  
Transvaal.  
Education in Baroda.

Some Needs of Kanara. II.  
The Late Rao Bahadur K.  
Veerasalingum Pantulu. II.  
A New Vedic Marriage  
Ritual.  
Generous British Aid to  
Belgium.  
The Congress Delegation to  
England.  
A Psychic Phenomenon.  
Railways and Compensation.  
One Rupee Note Booklets.  
"Indian Marriages."

## NOTES.

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**Tampering with the Currency.** It was stated in the papers the other day that the question of substituting nickel pieces for the present silver quarter rupees and half rupees, as in the case of the two anna pieces, is under consideration. We earnestly hope that before any step is taken in this direction, the fullest enquiry will be made in India. The currency habits of a people are among their most deep-rooted habits; and we much fear that the public mind has been a good deal unsettled by the frequent meddling with the moneys to which it has become habituated. The example of England or America or even Japan is not of much practical use. Even in regard to these countries, one sees protests in the economic journals against the undue expansion of paper money. There was such a protest in a recent *Economist* against the excessive use of the printing press in Canada to provide additional volumes of currency. The Indian people's passion for gold and silver dates from time immemorial, and it is an aphorism in sociology that no social habit or institution can be assumed to be irrational without very minute enquiry. In fact, it must have had some good reason for its origin though that reason might have ceased to operate. The Indian woman's fondness for jewellery is a staple topic of ridicule by foreigners who do not know that this fondness cloaks an economic necessity. The Indian woman's jewels are her own absolute property according to custom and law in all Hindu communities throughout the country, and they are perhaps, the only property which is severely protected by public sentiment from the covetousness of collaterals. A husband or father or brother who wishes to secure for his wife, daughter or sister, an economic reserve of some sort against emergencies, therefore, perforce, chooses this form of investment. We are, of course, writing of the conservative masses, and not of the town-living intelligentsia who have other means of providing for their womankind. To the ryot in the village the rupee was for many years not merely the medium of exchange (or even not so much a medium of exchange) but also a convenient means of obtaining a certain quantity of standard silver for

making jewels. So also, the sovereign. Since closing the mints to silver, Government have deprived the ryot (among other things) of this convenience, and he feels it. The sovereign is unobtainable. Gold and silver cannot be imported into the country except by Government. Instead of the free circulation of the precious metals in the shape of coins on which Indian social life has been based for centuries, people are now called upon to accept nickel coins and paper currency. And Sir James Meston preaches to the people from the heights of Simla on the necessity of unlearning their ingrained currency habits. We do not say that these habits are not wasteful, though we do not think they are so absurd in the circumstances of the country, as our bureaucratic economists would have us think. But we do say that a good deal more of constructive administrative and legislative work must lie to the credit of the Administration than at present, before it is entitled to call upon its subjects, without serious detriment to its credit, to change the currency habits of many generations. We were taught in our school-boy days to regard Mahomad Taghlak as a mad man because, among other freaks of his, he took it into his head to compel his subjects to accept pieces of stamped leather as the money of the realm. In these days, Mahomed Taghlak would be honoured as a great currency reformer. We entirely agree with the sensible suggestion of Mr. J.A. Wadia in his last letter to the *Times of India* with a slight modification. He says, let us have the mints freely open to silver or gold freely admitted into the country. We say, we should have both. It passes our comprehension in whose interests Government maintain the prohibition against the free incoming of gold.

**Shocking Sentences.** The Amritsar and Lahore martial law tribunals have pronounced judgments. Mr. Mahomed Bashir has been sentenced to death; Dr. Saifuddin Kitchu, Satyapal, Anubhav Anand, Dina Nath, Gurubaksh Rai, Ghulam Mahomed and Abdul Aziz, all of Amritsar, have been sentenced to transportation for life. In Lahore, Messrs. Harkishan Lal and Duni Chand, Barristers at Law, Mr. Rambhuj Dutt, pleader of the High Court, Mota Singh and Moulvi Allah Din have been sentenced to transportation for life and confiscation of property. Judging from the summaries of charges against some of these gentlemen, it is not easy to believe that their convictions are just. We do not wish, however, to express an opinion on the point in the absence of the judgments in the cases. The sentences, it will be generally agreed, are shocking in their severity and we are glad that Sir Narayan Chandavarkar and Sir Dinshah Wacha have promptly telegraphed to His Excellency the Viceroy praying for a mitigation of them. We see from the *Khalsa Advocate*, the only Indian paper, from the Punjab, conducted in English, which we get, that Sir Edward Maclagan has been endeavouring to temper strength with judgment. Orders have been issued by the Punjab Government with a view to



prevent the institution of fresh prosecutions in connection with the recent disturbances except under the special sanction of the District Magistrate. It has, moreover, been decided that persons in possession of articles looted from the Amritsar Bank on April 10th, will not be prosecuted if the articles are delivered up within a reasonable time, unless there is reason, in the opinion of the District Magistrate, to believe that the persons concerned were themselves participators in the attack on the Bank. Instructions have also been issued that sentences of forfeiture of property pronounced by the Courts in connection with the disturbances should not be enforced in the case of persons who are not assessed to income-tax, or who do not pay a land revenue of Rs 50 or over per annum. Other cases also are to be reported for orders. We learn from our contemporary that an order has been passed to protect the interests of those who were dependant on persons whose property is under order of confiscation. His Excellency the Viceroy has done a kindly act by reducing the sentence on Mr. Kalinath Ray to one of three months' imprisonment.

**Mr. Horniman's Explanation.** It will be in the recollection of our readers that commenting on Mr. Montagu's defence in the House of Commons of Mr. Horniman's deportation, we said we should reserve judgment till we knew what Mr. Horniman himself had to say on the point about soft-nosed bullets. Friday's *Bombay Chronicle* printed Mr. Horniman's letter to the *Manchester Guardian* and candour compels us to say that it is not a *Satyagrahi's* explanation so far as the principal charge against him is concerned, though politically it may pass muster. Mr. Horniman says: "Except so far as a telegram appeared in the *Bombay Chronicle* from a responsible correspondent stating that bullets of a certain type had been picked up in the streets of Delhi after the firing on the crowd, will you allow me to say that there is no truth in any of the statements," in Mr. Montagu's justification of the deportation? The allegation published in the *Chronicle* went much beyond what Mr. Horniman represents it to have done. It ran thus: "The latest evidence proves that soft-nosed, solid nickel tube and velopex bullets were used. Buck shot is admitted by the authorities, but bullets collected from various quarters prove the above facts. I myself saw a mushroomed bullet extracted from a brick, which appeared to be a velopex bullet. Similarly, I have seen hollow soft-nosed bullets and also solid ones. In short, deadly ammunition have been used." It is clear that the correspondent, realising no doubt that he was making very serious allegations which the Editor might hesitate without fuller enquiry to publish, did his best to force the latter's hands by asseverating he had seen this and that. There are such correspondents and they are a regular nuisance to editors. The very vehemence of the correspondent should have put an experienced editor like Mr. Horniman on his guard against giving currency to these charges without the fullest confirmation. We cannot believe that if he had been shown it beforehand Mr. Horniman would have assented to its publication. The very attempt to attenuate it into a mere allegation of having picked up a certain type in the streets after firing, proves this. It is, therefore, surprising that when he received the categorical relation of the Government of India, he did not seize hold of the opportunity to relieve his paper of the responsibility of such an odious allegation. A simple, straightforward avowal that a grave mistake had been allowed to occur, and that he regretted it deeply, would have served better to exonerate him with the public, whether or not with Government.

**Sir Sankaran Nair's Successor.** Sir Sankaran Nair left Simla on the 8th instant, and will hand over charge of Education Member of the Government of India at Madras. This does not necessarily mean that his successor (whose name has not yet been announced) will be waiting for him at Madras, as the handing-over can be done by letter or telegram. A Press message from Simla adds that it is strongly rumoured in Simla that Sir Claude Hill on return from leave will take over the portfolio of the Education Department and an Indian gentleman of proved experience and administrative ability will succeed him in the Revenue and Agriculture Department. Sir Claude Hill is the most liberal-minded member of the Government of India. Nevertheless, we feel that it is a retrograde step not to have an Indian in charge of the Educational portfolio. The *Hindu* hints that Sir M. Visvesvaraya is likely to be the Indian gentleman of proved administrative ability who will be put in charge of revenue and agriculture, while *Justice* thinks Mr. A. R. Banerjee is a suitable candidate. Sir Abbas Ali Baig may also be said to be an Indian gentleman of proved administrative ability, besides being a Mahomedan, a consideration our contemporaries have overlooked. He has served a full term as member of the India Council and has since preferred to stay in London. He recently contributed a vigorous letter to a London paper on Indian constitutional reform. And he is a Bombay man, and this is the turn of Bombay.

**Prospects of the Reform Bill:** The attempt of the Sydenhamites in Parliament to pack the Joint Committee with reactionary peers met with a severe rebuff in the House of Commons, the original motion being carried by 336 to 23 votes. Whatever else the Indo-British Associates may be, they are not Parliamentarians, or they would not have courted such a staggering defeat. The Committee consists of Lord Selborne (Chairman), Lord Crewe, Lord Sinha, Lord Middleton, Lord Sydenham, Lord Islington, Mr. Montagu, Sir Henry Craik, Sir J. D. Rees, Mr T. J. Bennett, Captain Ormsby Gore, Mr. Spoor and Sir Donald Maclean. Private advices from London agree that the opposition has little chance, neither can much be expected to be added to what there is in the Bill.

**An English Engineer's views on the Indian Situation:** Mr. Alfred Dickenson M. Inst. C.E. who was for several years consulting Engineer of the Tata Hydro Electric Company, concludes a letter to the *Daily News* (London) on the Indian situation, with the following observations the truth of which will be acknowledged by every one who has an insight into the present situation: "Whether the Indian Empire is lost to us, or made the brightest jewel in the British Crown, depends upon the measure of reform now conceded to her. If Parliament is wise, it will support and pass into law the Reform Bill of Mr. Montagu; if this happens, the Indian who counts will support the British Crown, and the future good government of India and her co-operation with this country will be secured. If that Bill does not become law, or unless a some substantial measure of reform be now granted, the responsibility for what may follow will be great. For ten years I have been developing one of the largest engineering projects in India. This has brought me into the closest touch with all classes of Indians, from the coolie to the merchant princes, and from the lowest to the highest there is a demand for, and determination to obtain, greater political freedom. I believe that if reforms are not conceded, a very grave position will be created."



## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, JULY, 13, 1919.

## INDIANS' RIGHTS IN THE TRANSVAAL.

*Young India* has thought it necessary to enter into an elaborate explanation with reference to our casual reference last week to Sir Pherozeshah Mehta's strongly-held objection to the part of the South African agreement or compromise whereby the right of the Union Government to discriminate against fresh Indian immigrants—it matters little whether legally or administratively—was conceded, they, on their part, undertaking to protect the vested interests acquired by Indians. We intended it rather as a posthumous tribute to Sir Pherozeshah's wonderful prescience than as a criticism of the agreement, which, even if pertinent, would at this date be altogether valueless. We cannot, however, agree to our contemporary's opinion that restriction of fresh immigration is something altogether apart from the present attack on trading and property rights. Mr. Patrick Duncan, whom *Indian Opinion* names first among the best friends of Indians in the Union Parliament, speaking in support of the present Bill said that it was an unpleasant task that they were asked to perform, but it was justified on the ground that European and Asiatic civilisation could not live side by side with advantage to either. "There must be some demarcation," he added "and in drawing the line, they should do so in a clear, firm and certain way, in order to inflict the least possible amount of harshness." In other words, the restriction of fresh immigration and the squeezing out by oppressive laws of such Indians as have already acquired a domicile in the Union, are part and parcel of a single policy. Both are means devised "to get rid of the Indian," in the words of Mr. Graumann, "because his presence here was inimical to the best interests of the European community." If we accept the claim, in whatever manner, that South Africa is to be a white man's country, it seems to us that we do not place ourselves in the strongest position to protest against such iniquitous measures as the present Asiatics' Land and Trading Amendment Bill. For our part, we are not prepared to acquiesce in the claim under any circumstances whatsoever. Every part of the world which the white man has colonised was or is inhabited by a coloured people. South Africa is pre-eminently so. The unjust treatment of Indians by the Transvaal Republic was one of the causes officially given for the Boer war. Mr. Lloyd George in his reply to the Independence Deputation of the National Party of South Africa pointed out that the native population wished to remain within the British Empire. Of all preposterous claims, that of South Africa to be an exclusively white man's land is the most preposterous.

We have been led to these reflections by our contemporary's unexpected difficulty, and not because they are material to the Asiatics' Land and Trading Amendment Bill. Moreover, that or any other

measure dealing with the position of Indians in any of the self-governing Colonies, has to be considered now in the light of the resolution and discussions in the Imperial Conference, which supersede all special and particular agreements arrived at in any particular colony. The policy accepted unanimously by the Imperial Conference is embodied in the following resolution passed at the sitting on the 24th July 1918:—

The Imperial War Conference is of opinion that effect should now be given to the principle of reciprocity approved by Resolution 22 of the Imperial War Conference, 1917. In pursuance of that Resolution it is agreed that:—

1. It is an inherent function of the Government of the several communities of the British Commonwealth, including India, that each should enjoy complete control of the composition of its own population by means of restriction on immigration from any of the other communities.

2. British citizens domiciled in any British country, including India, should be admitted into any other country for visits, for the purpose of pleasure or commerce, including temporary residence for the purpose of education. The conditions of such visits should be regulated on the principle of reciprocity, as follows:—

(a) The right of the Government of India is recognised to enact laws which shall have the effect of subjecting British citizens domiciled in any other British country to the same conditions in visiting India as those imposed on Indian desiring to visit such country.

(b) Such right of visit or temporary residence shall, in each individual case, be embodied in a passport or written permit issued by the country of domicile and subject to *visa* there by an officer appointed by and acting on behalf of the country to be visited, if such country so desires.

(c) Such right shall not extend to a visit or temporary residence for labour purposes or to permanent settlement.

(3) Indians already permanently domiciled in the other British countries should be allowed to bring in their wives and minor children on condition (a) that not more than one wife and her children shall be admitted for each such Indian, and (b) that each individual so admitted shall be certified by the Government of India as being the lawful wife or child of such Indian.

The Conference recommends the other questions covered by the memoranda presented this year and last year to the Conference by the representatives of India, in so far as not dealt with in the foregoing paragraphs of this Resolution, to the various Governments concerned with a view to early consideration.

In the memorandum referred to in the fourth part of the resolution, Lord Sinha had summarised the most pressing grievances of Indians in the colonies. The larger part of it was taken up with the grievances of Indians in the South African Union. Four of them were specifically mentioned, trading licenses, parliamentary and municipal franchise, ownership of land in Transvaal, and railway regulations. With regard to trading licenses, it was pointed out that owing to the tendency to transfer the control of licenses from the Government to municipalities, Indian traders were left at the mercy of their European rivals, and it was urged that the remedy was to give the fullest right of appeal in all cases of refusal of licenses to the Provincial Division of the Supreme Court—on questions of fact as well as of procedure. As regards



the prohibition of ownership of land in the Transvaal, which is a relic of the old Republican regime, Lord Sinha urged, as we mentioned last week, that it should be repealed by Parliament, on the grounds that it tends to foster insincerity on all sides, to deprive Indians of some of the elementary rights and responsibilities of citizenship, which are not denied even to the aboriginal natives and other non-Asiatic coloured peoples of the Province, and which are possessed by Indians in the coast Provinces, especially in Natal, where the bulk of the Indian population of the Union is to be found. "Transvaal Indians," it was added, "ought not to be compelled to regard themselves as possessing an inferior status, in this respect, to their compatriots resident in the coast Provinces, and such a statute as Law 8 of 1885 is an anachronism, and opposed to the spirit of modern legislation."

It is a refinement of cruelty that the present Bill which prohibits the formation by Indians of private companies to own land and the issue of trade licenses to Indians, has been proposed by a Select Committee which was appointed to investigate the grievances of Indians. Even the Kruger regime did neither of these things. Indians were not allowed to own land individually, but they could do so and have done so as private companies. This has been stigmatised as an evasion of the law, but there is conclusive evidence that this was not the case and that the Indians were only exercising a right allowed them by the law. Lord Sinha's statement in the memorandum that the practice of holding land in the name of private companies had grown up since 1914 is evidently based on inadequate data, for Mr. Alexander, who made one of the best speeches in the Assembly, asserted that when the Gandhi-Smuts agreement of 1914 was concluded there were existing companies of Asiatics holding land. The two new prohibitions are so entirely at variance with the spirit and letter of the resolution passed and the speeches made at the last Imperial Conference, as to suggest that the extreme party in the Transvaal is trying hard to get its worst prejudices embodied in the law before General Smuts returns to the country from Europe. The Indian community in South Africa are also evidently of this view, as *Indian Opinion* urges that this legislation should not be proceeded with until General Smut's return. We can only explain the fact, mentioned by *Indian Opinion*, that even our best friends in the Union Parliament support the Bill, as being due to their fear that that is their only chance of preventing a more drastic law being rushed through by the extremists. Under the circumstances, the Government of India's duty is plain. They should strongly protest against the Bill and bring the whole weight of their influence to bear upon His Majesty's Government to have the Bill vetoed, now that it has passed all stages in the Union Parliament. They should also take steps at once to carry out a practical suggestion put forward in the Sinha memorandum presented to the Imperial Conference. In order to enable the South African Union Government to deal with Indian problems impartially and promptly, Lord

Sinha suggested as a first step the provision of a convenient agency by which Indian grievances can be brought to the notice of the local Government authorities. He recommended the appointment of a local agent of the Indian Government at Pretoria, as likely to be an advantage both to the Indians in South Africa and the South African Government which has to deal with them. We would improve upon this excellent idea to the slight extent of suggesting that the Government of India's agent should be an Indian. Our review of the position leads us to the conclusion that, while a strong expression of opinion in India will strengthen the hands of Government here and in England, it should not be hastily assumed that nothing better than the present Bill can be expected at the hands of the Union Government. We should remember that we have now with us the entire strength of the authentic opinion of the Empire, which South Africa cannot disregard. On the other hand, intemperateness of word or action on our part is likely to estrange this great asset on which we should mainly rely for solving our problems. We cannot be always invoking the Imperial Government to intervene, without making both ourselves and the Imperial Government odious in the eyes of our sister Dominions. More than that, we can best help the Imperial Government to bring pressure to bear on South Africa by comporting ourselves in a manner which will enhance and strengthen the excellent feeling towards India which was so strikingly demonstrated at the last Imperial Conference.

#### EDUCATION IN BARODA.

- (1) *The Baroda Administration Report, 1917-18.*
- (2) *The Baroda Library Movement*, by Mr. Kudalkar.
- (3) *Memorandum on a University for Baroda*, by Professor P. Seshadri.

It is sad to read of the set-back to education in the Baroda State owing to the prevalence of plague and scarcity in 1917-18. The death rate rose to 40 per mille as against 26 in the previous year, and as against a birthrate of 30 in the same year. Almost all the schools in the State had to be closed for periods varying from two to six months. About 90 schools had to be permanently closed. There was a decrease of about 13,000 in the number of scholars. It is worthy of note that the decrease in the number of scholars in English teaching schools was confined to Anglo-Vernacular (Middle) Schools and to the higher primary standards in aided schools. The College and the High Schools for boys and girls showed, on the other hand, an increase, and the latter a striking increase. The adverse effects of plague and famine are seen at their worst in primary education, and especially in that of girls. The expenditure on English as well as primary education showed an increase over that of previous years, a proof that the falling-off in the number of scholars was in no wise due to retrenchment, as was the case in some other parts of the country. The Baroda Educational system is, perhaps, the most complete in India. This is not to say that it is perfect in all its parts. But it certainly



takes into account and seeks to provide for all aspects of education, physical, intellectual, industrial, aesthetic, ethical and religious. The system bears the impress of a single mind profoundly convinced of the value of education as a means of raising the people, and restlessly anxious to mould a system which will help to develop and to satisfy the whole of human nature. The education of girls is a strong feature of the Baroda system. An interesting feature of the scheme of schools for the depressed classes is an institution for teaching Sanskrit with a view to provide priests from among these classes. The education of the forest tribes is progressing, and it is noted in the Administration report as one of the most significant achievements of the schools for these tribes that some of the teachers are the products of these very schools.

Colleges and schools, however, are not the only means on which Baroda relies for the spread of knowledge and enlightenment among the people. It has inaugurated a system of libraries, certainly the best-organised in India. Mr. J. S. Kudalkar, the Curator of State Libraries, has compiled an interesting account of the origin and growth of the Central Library Department of the State, illustrated with many excellent photographs of town and village libraries. The Central Library in Baroda, organised by Mr. Borden, an American library expert, has six sections: the newspaper reading room, the circulating or lending branch, the Sanskrit branch, a children's section, a ladies' section, and a reference section. The children's section is a very pleasing one. The ladies' section does not mean that women are considered ineligible to read all the books which men may read, but only that special facilities are provided for their convenience. The Sanskrit section contains copies of many rare works found in ancient Jain *bhandars*. In addition to these sections, there is a librarians' training department attached to the library. The popular idea of a librarian's functions is not a very exalted one. But it is an erroneous idea. A trained and scholarly librarian is more akin to a professor than to the counter-jumper with whom he is identified in the popular mind. So far as we know, Baroda provides the only institution in India for training librarians. The district and village libraries, and the travelling libraries, carry this great movement of culture into the remote parts of the Maharaja's dominions. Reference to the newspaper reading room in the Central Library in Baroda, puts us in mind of a rather naive observation in the Administration report, in the section headed the Press Report office. "The criticisms of Government measures by the Baroda press," we read, "were generally well-balanced and induced by a sense of public duty". Nevertheless, it is remarked: "Comments and criticisms made in the foreign papers seem to be much more valuable, being written by disinterested men and by neutral parties." Comments by disinterested men have, no doubt, their value, but only subjects of the State know where the shoe pinches, and it is only an indigenous press that can give the administrator a true idea, so indispensable to him, of how his measures operate in practice. The Press in British

India is becoming increasingly absorbed in British Indian and overseas problems. The large decrease in the number of comments relating to Baroda last year in the outside press—from 206 in 1916-17 to 114—is significant. The new doctrine of mutual non-interference on the part of British India and Indian States, is bound to reduce still further intelligent, informed and independent criticism of the affairs of the latter, without which no administration can long maintain a high or healthy tone. No task demands the immediate attention of the rulers of Indian States more than the fostering of the growth of an independent and capable Press in their own territories.

We learn from the Administration report that a Committee was appointed and that its report was in preparation, on the question of starting a Baroda University. Meanwhile, we have received a copy of a memorandum on the proposal by Professor P. Seshadri of the Hindu University of Benares. Mr. Seshadri's memorandum is an enthusiastic plea for establishing a University in Baroda which, in his view, offers ideal conditions for it. Everything about Baroda strikes Professor Seshadri as peculiarly appropriate to a great University. Even the proximity of the Race Course to the site suggested, is included among the advantages it possesses for a University. A rather doubtful advantage, we should think. The *Viswamitri*, "though waterless for the greater part of the year," meanders romantically in our Professor's ardent vision. He sees, in brief, all the conditions described in Newman's "Idea of a University" present in the Gaekwar's capital. Baroda is a picturesque enough place, but it is not—we are speaking from a rather hazy recollection—"Athens, the eye of Greece, the mother of Arts and Eloquence." The Professor condescendingly absolves the Bombay University for not doing more than it has done for the students of this Presidency, on the plea that, under its conditions, it could not be expected to do more. Its greatest achievement, it is implied, is to have stimulated in Baroda the desire to have a University of its own. Notwithstanding the Professor's dithyrambs, we venture to think that Baroda will be wise if it postpones its idea of having a University for some years. Universities are not large open spaces even if intersected by a barren river, nor buildings, nor money. They are pre-eminently congregations of men. In Baroda, as in other Indian States, every important man is an official. Professor Seshadri can get together only a number of ex-officio Fellows assisted by the Dewan, the Members of the State Council, the Judge of the Chief Court, the Accountant General, the Dharmadhyaksha, the Director of Agriculture, and some other heads of Departments. Where there is no independent public life, there cannot be a University. Baroda, as the result of its broad educational foundations, will develop an independent public life in course of time. It has not got it as yet. Ahmedabad will be the seat of the Gujarat University in the next few years. Instead of starting a small separate University of its own, much of the apparatus, human and other, for which will have



to come from outside, Baroda will do wisely to do her utmost to help on the early establishment of the University of Gujarat at Ahmedabad. Happily, His Highness the Maharaja is not addicted to narrow, exclusive ideas. A great University at Ahmedabad, providing, as it will vastly greater opportunities for the clash of mind with mind which is the soul of University life, will benefit His Highness's subjects as much as the people of British Gujarat to whom they are so closely bound by ties of blood, language and history.

## SOME NEEDS OF KANARA. II.

(BY S. G. WARTY.)

### COMMUNICATIONS.

So far then as regards the extreme pressure of population on land. But the greatest factor that has contributed to the backwardness of the district, is the complete want of proper communications. The only communication that exists at present, is by coast-line cargo steamers which touch the ports of Kanara *once a week* during only 8 months of the year. The above-ghat talukas are entirely out of touch. Railways there are none. Free and rapid communication between the various parts of the district and with the outside world is thus debarred, and it is no wonder that, living as it were in seclusion, the district is backward politically and industrially. In fact, the Railway problem is *the* problem of Kanara. Signs however are not wanting of a better state of things coming to exist. Now that the survey of the Karhad-Ulva line has been sanctioned by the Government of India, we may rest assured that one day or other, the Konkan Coast railway will come to be a reality, and run through the coast talukas of Kanara. The Alnavar-Dandeli forest railway of 19 miles is being completed. The line should be continued to Kadra to meet the sea and opened for general traffic. The survey for the Hubli-Sirsi railway is being made. The Commissioner S. D. holds high hopes of its usefulness to Kanara on its completion. We have grave doubts about it. We feel on the other hand that when this railway is opened, the large produce in spices &c. which is now exported via Kumta and Tadri, will be diverted to Mormugoa via Hubli, to feed a foreign Portuguese port at the cost of our own.

The great project of the Karwar-Hubli Railway seemed at one time almost sure of success. Karwar has an excellent natural harbour. Ships from Aden can reach Karwar direct, one day earlier than Bombay, and with less consumption of coal. All the cotton of the Southern Maratha Country used to be exported via Karwar. But the Bombay merchants in those days opposed the project tooth and nail. They were naturally afraid that with such natural advantages, Karwar would soon be a rival to Bombay, and that their prosperity would disappear. The *Times of India* alone, with characteristic boldness and frankness, and with an eye to scientific economic development supported the Karwar-Hubli Railway project. But then the Secretary of State willed otherwise and encouraged the Hubli-Mormugoa line, thus helping to

develop a foreign port to the complete ruin of Karwar and Kumta the British ports. The question then received a quietus. Circumstances have vastly changed since then. Bombay has developed by leaps and bounds, so much so that the main problem of Bombay today, is where to house her growing population. To divert some part of the unwieldy trade of Bombay to Karwar, is still as possible as it is desirable, if the Karwar-Hubli railway project is again taken up seriously in hand. It will relieve the pressure on Bombay at the same time opening up a new port on the west coast. Karachi, Bombay and Karwar are the three ports of our presidency with excellent harbours. The two former have had more than their due. It is in the fitness of things that attention should now be directed to the development of the third great excellent harbour, Karwar. Besides, sooner or later, Karwar will or must be a military station; and if there is an art of economic development as Prof. Jevons says there is or ought to be, it is expected of far-seeing statesmanship to anticipate future developments and bring about the desirable result not only in the interest of Kanara, but of the presidency as a whole.

### MALARIA.

Still another fact which arrests our attention as we deeply study the problems of Kanara, is the gradual decline in the population of the district. In 1901, the population numbered 454490; in 1911, it decreased to 430543, a drop of about 24000 souls. The authors of the Census Report of 1911 say, that "the cause of this is Malaria." Government realised it and Dr. Mhaskar was at one time appointed in connection with the same. What came of it at last, we do not know. It is, however, our constant complaint that the large growth of forests in the district is the cause of this malaria. Government, however, are not easily satisfied. In their reply to the Hon'ble Dr. Fernandes, in the last session of the Legislative Council, they said:—"In the case of the Kanara district, it has been represented that the increase of forest growth due to improved conservancy, has tended to make Malaria more prevalent in the villages near forest. The question however has not been submitted to expert investigation, and Government are not in a position to say how far the above representation is supported by facts." In answer to this, we have to state as follows. In the words of the authors of the Census Report of 1911, "all the talukas situated above the Sahyadris have declined while the coast population has varied a few hundreds." To put the same statement accurately and in figures, while the decrease in population in the coast talukas during the decade is only 25 per cent., in the above ghat-talukas, it is 13 per cent. It is also to be observed that the death-rate exceed the birth-rate to a greater extent in the above ghat-talukas, than in the coast talukas.

Coupled with this fact, we have to take into consideration that in the above-ghat talukas, forests comprise about 85 per cent of the total area, whereas in the coast talukas, the forest area is only 75 per cent. The obvious conclusion is that the greater is



the forest the greater is the malaria. Why, if Government can remember aright, in their resolution No : 1550. Revenue Dept of 19th Feb, 1910, on the Forest Settlement of the Ankola taluka, they have themselves referred to the "deterioration of the climate, also due to the spread of forest"; and it was partly to prevent this deterioration of climate, that Government by that same resolution provided "to give more elbow-room to cultivation" even at the sacrifice of a little forest, though unfortunately this provision remained almost a dead letter, until last year Mr. Tupper, the present Collector, finally decided to at least partly carry out the intentions of Government. If in spite of this clear logic of facts, Government are of opinion that the question requires to be submitted to expert investigation, then we respectfully beg to submit that delay is dangerous. It is no use waiting till another 25000 are taken away by malaria. When a similar question regarding malaria in Sind was talked about in the last session of the legislative council, Government gave the Sind members assurance that immediate steps would be taken. Will they also take immediate steps regarding Kanara? And while their expert investigation is going on, they should issue strict orders that in the meanwhile all afforestation should cease, and from the point of view of medical aid, all possible facilities should be provided for the same in inland villages, by a more vigorous distribution of quinine and starting more dispensaries in suitable places.

Such then are the needs of Kanara. Their consideration has been constantly shelved by each successive Government. The continued neglect almost amounts to injustice. What steps the Government of Sir George Lloyd will take to improve matters is a matter of deep significance to us. Meanwhile we wait with anxious trembling hope.

### THE LATE RAO BAHADUR K. VEERASALINGUM PANTULU. II.

(BY MR. V. P. RAJ.)

Speaking of Milton, one English poet said—"The force of Nature could no further go; to make a third, she joined the former two"—meaning, Homer and Virgil were combined to make Milton for England. I may as well say, in the same way, that Rajah Rammohun Roy and Iswara Chandra Vidyasagar of Bengal were combined by Providence to produce Veerasalingam for the Southern Presidency. All the best in both of them has been reproduced in this remarkable man. Rajah Rammohun Roy is styled the Maker of Modern India; and Iswara Chandra Vidyasagar was the first reformer, who tried to evolve a new type of life by reforming or remaking the domestic life based on the culture and grace of the tenderly-cherished and uplifted woman. The departed one is the Maker of the Modern Andhra Desa. All the present-day organisations that stand for true culture and advancement in every direction, may be traced to the spirit of progress which he liberated and sent out through the length and breadth of this land. Gifted with a long lease of life, 71

years, he taught generations after generations of students, who drank in the richest inspiration that came from him perennially. They carried, in their turn, the torch of enlightenment and the banner of progress in all directions.

Like Raja Rammohun Roy, he made for himself the modern prose a beautiful and fitting vehicle for imparting his instruction. By a dexterous manipulation of words he could express the most delicate shades of feeling; and he could, as easily, coin words to serve as the technical terms in science, politics, sociology, industry and the like. Thus he revealed the potency and plasticity of the language. He has left 10 big volumes—a rich legacy, indeed to bear testimony to his varied literary activities. Poetry, drama, fiction, science, biography, religion, all are duly represented. With the insight of an educationist, he saw that merely linguistic talents did not amount to a true culture which needed many other accomplishments. Learning becomes vanity and scholarship pedantry, if they are not consecrated to a noble end. All that great learning and scholarship akin to that of Iswara Chandra Vidyasagar, was pressed, in his case, into the service of truth and humanity.

Dr. Martineau observes, "when a reformer takes his vow against some public sin and successfully defies the cold cautions of experience, it is because the vision of a purified future steadies his eye and nerves his arm". The illustrious deceased had that vision; and it gave him the strength and the courage that were needed for his long and continued combat with all sorts of social evils. Every soul that comes into the world comes with a "trailing cloud of glory"; and it is only the genuine man that can keep that cloud intact, without being blown away by the whirlwinds of a worldly life. He was simple and kept the springs of his life pure. He took hold of the essentials of life, and discarded all the non-essentials which usually make up the sum of life in others. He lived down what others were trying to live up to. He was simple i. e., he allowed full play for the natural instincts, which were kept fresh as they issued from the Spirit of God.

He was also sincere. This is another trait of his noble character. Simplicity and sincerity, as a rule, go together. A keen critic of society once observed that there were two sincere souls in the Southern Presidency, and mentioned the names of Dr. Miller and K. Veerasalingam Pantulu. This gave him a moral earnestness and courage, the like of which it is not easy to find. He had his own ideals of social and religious life for which he stood and fought; and to them he surrendered all the powers of his body and mind and heart, and gave up all his money, over 40 thousand rupees, with cheerfulness and satisfaction.

Sanctity is another trait found imbued in his character. He was not highly emotional, and often he was undemonstrative in that way; and sometimes it was hard for people to see the deeply hidden religious instinct in his life. Many put him down only for a social reformer and worker. But, I believe, whatever may be the outward expression, in the depth of his being there was the religious



sense and faith which formed the life-spring of all his activity. His heart melted in tenderness to relieve the sufferings of woman, for whom he cherished great reverence, even like the great Vidyasagar. He was for purity of life. When his papers and journals were in the full swing, every wrong doer was in mortal dread of his pen.

Rajah Rommohun Roy wrote in his Arabic pamphlet that when a man made against current opinions and beliefs, he was given either "the tongue of the spear" or "the spear of the tongue." The first he escaped, but the second he could not. He was subjected to suffering. Perhaps it is the 'pang that must be paid down for each new life.' Every great soul has its share; and if the spirit of Pantulu Garu should stand before us, it would say that it never claimed exemption from the common suffering, nor would it prove "traitor to the fraternal heart of humanity."

Defects of temper and temperament there may be; but through these clouds shines the sun of unflinching and self-effacing devotion to the ideals before which the common human heart pays its homage and offers its reverence. Noble brother, thou hast wrought thy mission faithfully and well. With honor, love and reverence be thy memory cherished for ever!

#### A NEW VEDIC MARRIAGE RITUAL.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

Kindly oblige me by accommodating the following short report in your esteemed paper.

It is now well-known that Mr. G. B. Vaidya, the enthusiastic Founder of the Hindu Missionary Society, has prepared a new Code of Wedding Rituals out of the Ancient Vedic literature. This Code in addition to its impressive spiritual aspect is simple, convincing and less expensive. In fact Mr. Vaidya has done nothing more than brushing off the chaff of several social customs which have found access into the pure realm of the spirituality and holy tenor of Hindu Marriage Ceremony and placing before the Hindoos a pure Vedic ceremony full of spiritual Mantras covering almost all the important functions that constitute a true Hindu Marriage, such as Mathuparka, Kanyadan, Vivaha Vidhee, Laja Homam, Saptapadi, Griha Pravesh and final Abhishta Chintan. All these functions are performed in the holy presence of the Fire God, whose worship forms the chief soul of the whole ceremony. The New Code has its innumerable advantages and those who have had the chance of observing its performance went home highly impressed with the magic spells of the Mantras and their result on the whole ceremony.

The Code is fast appealing to the young bridegrooms whose minds do not succumb to the tyrannical and selfish influences of the old orthodox system smeared all over with the dirt of unaccountable and irresponsible petty ceremonies which have altogether eclipsed the true soul of the wedding ritual and have made it a toy in the hands of ignorant and parrot-like priests. These priests neither know for themselves the meanings of what they recite and what they do, nor is it likely for both the bride and the bridegroom to understand what they are meant for. In this way hundreds and thousands of Hindu Marriages are every year solemnized in

the most expensive and at the same time ridiculous manner. Sooner the Hindus break down the fetters of this grafted and interpolated system, the better.

But I never expected that Mr. Prabhakar Rao Kotwal, a young educated Chandraseniya Kayastha Prabhu of the Parel Village, would come forward to set an example of himself by insisting on his marriage being solemnized by the New Vedic Hindu Marriage Code of Mr. Vaidya. Mr. Prabhakar Rao comes of a respectable stock. On the 20th. May last, his marriage was solemnized with Miss Jijabai, daughter of Mr. Deshpande. Both the parents of the bride and the bridegroom are noted for their fast adherence to orthodox principles, and it still enhances the merits of the incident when we see both of them readily consenting to the desire of the bridegroom to solemnize his marriage according to the New Code.

The marriage was attended by not less than one hundred men and women and the ceremony was conducted by Messrs. L. B. Raje and Sunderrao Vaidya as Ritwijas in the most perfect manner possible. The function which lasted for one and half hours, was most calmly observed by the audience and they offered their blessings to the married couple in the most serious and dignified manner, following closely the intonations of the Mantric recitations which the Ritwijas directed them to utter. Even the old ladies admitted the influence which the whole affair stamped upon their hearts.

Mr. Kesharao Thakarey of Dadar, who was present there, delivered a short speech and admired in eloquent and warm terms the moral courage which both the parties displayed in bravely accepting the New Code. He also pointed out that there was no reason for being startled at a C. K. Prabhu conducting the religious affairs of his community, since, he maintained, it was in the year 1823 A. D. that the then great leader of this community Balwant Malhar Chitnis, the Private Secretary of the Chhatrapati Maharaj of Satara, himself accepted the Agni-Hotra and ordained all his castemen to openly boycott the Priests and carry on their religious functions themselves. He further pointed out that records are not wanting to show that hundreds of Initiation and Marriage ceremonies were then performed by C. K. Prabhu Ritjiwas and none else. Mr. Thakarey said that this new departure is sure to confound some of the men and women whose minds have been saturated with the old orthodox principles, but he felt sure and confident that as the time rolls on this new and true Vedic System of Wedding Rituals is sure to appeal to sensible and far-seeing minds of all the Hindu peoples. After the usual offering of Pan Supari the august marriage ceremony ended and the men, women and children went home after congratulating the young hero Mr. Kotwal.

This incident has well commenced the mission of new thought among the C. K. Prabhu Community and I believe it will find ample welcome from the new generation in times to come.

Yours &c.

ONE WHO WAS PRESENT

Bombay 23-5-19.

#### GENEROUS BRITISH AID TO BELGIUM.

The National Committee for Relief in Belgium announces that it has concluded its efforts and that no further contributions or gifts of clothing should be asked for on its behalf. This decision is taken in concurrence with Mr. Hoover's announcement that the Commission for Relief in Belgium has also ended its work.

The National Committee for Relief in Belgium was founded April 27th, 1915, and up to May 31st, 1917, collected



solely from the British Empire £2,411,222. 18s. 2d., or an average of £100,000 per month, which was expended through Mr. Hoover's organisation. On that date the announcement was made that in view of the American loan to Belgium the National Committee temporarily suspended its efforts. £18,372. 19s. 11d. has since been received as a result of the original appeal. However, in October, 1918, to meet the urgent distress which immediately followed in the wake of the retreating Germans the National Committee issued an appeal which up to date has resulted in gifts of clothing to the value of £57,000. In addition it received cash subscriptions from Great Britain and the Overseas Dominions to the amount of £74,280. 1s. 11d., thus bringing the National Committee into the third place in the list of British War Charities with total receipts from donations of cash and clothing amounting to £2,560,876.

Any Branch Committees holding contributions previously collected but not yet forwarded, should send them to 3 London Wall Buildings, E.C. 2. They will be distributed among various approved Charities in Belgium, most of which are concerned with child welfare.

### THE CONGRESS DELEGATION TO ENGLAND.

Messrs. Hansraj Pragji Thackersey and Lakshmidas Rowjee Tairsie have issued the following appeal:—"At the Delhi Sessions of the Indian National Congress last year, it was resolved that a deputation of the Congress should be sent to England to place India's case before the British Democracy. Bombay has been asked and expected to contribute Rs. 10,000/- towards its expenses; and as you take interest in the subject the circular has been sent to you with a request that you will please contribute your mite. As remittance is to be made at an early date, the need of the amount to be collected soon is great.

### A PSYCHIC PHENOMENON.

The Editor, The *Indian Social Reformer*.

Bombay.

SIR,

If your correspondent "N. N. S." would give me some clear details about the 'wireless connections' and more about his own self I may be able to solve the problem.

Yours faithfully,

K. S. AIYAR.

President,

The Latent Light Culture.

Tinnevely,

3rd July 1919.

### RAILWAYS AND COMPENSATION.

The Editor, The *Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

It would be useful to the public to know in how many cases, Railway Companies in India are made to indemnify the unfortunate passengers or the representatives of passengers who are injured in collisions due to negligence. The majority of the sufferers belong to the poor and ignorant classes who are either ignorant of their rights or are unable to enforce them. Would it be too much to expect that Government, which is sometimes represented to have a paternal interest in their welfare will see that in such cases, proper compensation is awarded to the parties concerned within certain pecuniary limits, even if they are not knowing enough to enforce their rights themselves. Of course, those of the upper classes who may not be satisfied with the limits laid down, will be able to enforce their full rights by resort to the proper tribunals.

Mysore, 4-7-19.

Yours truly,  
H. V. N.

### ONE RUPEE NOTE BOOKLETS.

A Press *communiqué* issued by the Controller of Currency says:—Booklets containing 25 one rupee notes have now arrived from England and will be available at the Calcutta Currency Office from the 7th instant. The booklets are bound in an attractive cover and indentations make it easy to detach the notes as required. It is anticipated that the form in which the notes are issued will facilitate their use while reducing the risk of their being damaged while carried on the person. These books can now be had in Bombay.

### "INDIAN MARRIAGES."

Sir,

Please insert these lines whose object it is to show an oft-repeated crime concerning Indian marriages.

It we might attempt a definition of marriage, it is the life-long communion of a husband and wife seeking to identify their own interests and leading the life of a sustained reciprocal, intellectual and spiritual evolution, and conjugal happiness. That this conjugal bliss may be ensured certain considerations have to be fulfilled. But fundamentally of all, the youths that are to unite hands must have their whole-hearted consent. It is the object of these few lines to manifest how often this essential element is neglected and as a result leads to unhappy consequences. In India there is a surviving remnant of certain people who base their views regarding marriage on vague principles and temporal motives. They neglect absolutely all considerations as to the sentiments and ideals of the youths. Marriages take place at monstrous risks to young men and women, to satisfy old people who cannot obviously appreciate or sympathise with the feelings of youths. Strange it is to observe that they do not request the youths to marry but command them after the fashion of an olden prerogative which invests in them an unwarranted right to compel. Any persistent refusal on the part of the youth is met with threats of fasting and even suicide. The degeneracy, nay, the very bathos in the conception of marriage, has been triumphantly reached today by some who regard marriage, not as a solemn consecration but as a conventional ceremony, a commercial exchange, a financial bargain. Glaring instances of this kind appear day by day wherein a youth is hurled to a life which he abhors. A mighty weight of elderly persuasion compels the youth with yet green hopes and ambitions to accept a life which he cannot tolerate. Many such marriages have proved to be of disastrous consequences. Virtual divorces have been the inevitable result of marriages which do not carry with them the willing sanction of the boy and the girl.

It behoves therefore every one to see that marriages, so sacred, so divine, so emblematic of the eternal life to come are not precipitated on account of certain temporary interests and on the force of an airy, indefinable prerogative of old, but carefully considered as there is a youthful life and happiness involved.

Yours sincerely,

B. T. RAMASWAMY.

Sreenivasamandiram.

Hole Narsipur,

13th May 19

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SEP 8 1919

THE

# INDIAN \* SOCIAL \* REFORMER.

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

## CONTENTS.

India Office Reorganization.  
Return of the Indian Peace  
Delegate.  
Scholarships for Hindu Lady  
Students.  
Canada-India Trade.  
Selling of Girls in Kathiawad.  
The Russian Revolution and  
the Bolsheviks.  
The Press Act.  
The Indian Merchants'  
Chamber on Exchange  
Currency.

The Ramkrishna Mission and  
Anarchists.  
Karma and Social Reform.  
Indian Reforms and Women  
Franchise.  
An Indian Educational  
Commission to America.  
The Emancipation of Indian  
Womanhood.  
The Late Rao Bahadur  
Veerasalingam Pantulu.  
For Medical Students.

## NOTES.

**India Office Reorganization.** A telegraphic summary was received last week of the principal recommendations of the Committee which, under the Chairmanship of the Marquess of Crewe, was entrusted with the work of enquiring into and reporting on the reorganization of the India Office. As the full report is expected to be published shortly, we reserve our comments on the recommendations. In their broad outlines, they seem to be well calculated to work in with the project for the gradual introduction of responsible Government in India. The Secretary of State is proposed to be relieved of his banking and financing functions which are to be made over to a High Commissioner for India in London—a sort of Consul-General—on the model of the self-governing colonies. The India Council is to be a purely advisory body and one-third of its members are to be Indians. These two are the central features of the proposed re-organization.

**Return of the Indian Peace Delegate:** His Highness the Maharaja of Bikanir who with Lord Sinha represented India at the Peace Conference and signed, on our behalf, the Peace Treaty returned on Thursday. Since Lord Sinha's acceptance of office as Under Secretary of State for India, His Highness was India's non-official representative. By his speeches in England and his conduct at the Peace Conference (as testified by the Prime Minister), the Maharaja has rendered distinguished service to his country and his countrymen. The feelings of all India were aptly expressed by the Hon. Sir Dinshah Wacha at the reception on Friday evening at the Taj Mahal Hotel.

**Scholarships for Hindu Lady Students.** At a meeting of the Female Education Sub-Committee of the Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association held on the 15th July 1919, it was decided to offer six scholarships to Hindu lady students studying in schools and colleges in Bombay two of Rs. 15 each per mensem for Hindu lady students studying in the Grant Medical College, two of Rs. 10 each for Hindu lady students studying in Arts Colleges and two of Rs. 4 each to Hindu lady students of High Schools in Bombay. It was decided to invite applications upto the end of July 1919.

**Canada-India Trade.** Canada, like other countries, is taking measures to expand her trade with India. We received by the mail before last a letter from the Canadian Export Paper Company of Montreal, bringing to our notice the fact that Canada is fast becoming the world's source of supply for newsprint and other grades of paper. The Company say that they are particularly anxious to develop their business in India. We have replied to the Company that there is a large field for their enterprise in India, and that the removal of just causes of complaint regarding the treatment of Indians in Canada, will greatly facilitate the growth of commercial intercourse between the two great component parts of the British Empire.

**Selling of Girls in Kathiawad.** The *Praja Bandhu* of Ahmedabad writes:—"It is a matter for regret to note that during the last four months among the Leuva Kunbis of Kathiawad about ten thousand marriages were celebrated in which girls were given to the highest bidders, whatever the inequalities in their ages might be, and that nearly ten lakhs of rupees have thus been secured by their parents. Why, this fine piece of parental love on the part of those who in the words of His Most Gracious Majesty the King Emperor "have always been patient, laborious, and skilful"? Out of the proceeds thus realized, it is said, they buy corn, agricultural implements and pay 'Vighoti' to their rulers."

**The Russian Revolution and the Bolsheviks:** The *Outlook* (New York) of May 14 publishes the personal impressions of "Babushki" or Catherine Breshkovsky, the "Grandmother of the Russian Revolution," by Anne O'Hagan. Madame Breshkovsky regard the Bolsheviks as traitors to the Revolution. But not all the charges current against the Bolsheviks does she admit. The tale that made the blood of the women of America run hot and cold—that tale of "nationalization" of women—she laughed at with the impatient good nature of one who hates to be stopped in her war against real things to deliver a blow against imaginary ones. "No" she shook her leonine head vehemently, "no thing like that. Trust the Russian peasant for that! No, there is no such regulation. Some time, some places, may be, bad people make badnesses. That is all. The Russian peasant, he will have his own wife, his own children. And in Russia, you know, almost all are peasants."

**The Press Act:** The list of Indian newspapers from which security has been demanded during the last three months, says the *Indian Mirror*, Calcutta comes to 21. The total amount of security which the papers had to deposit during this period comes to nearly Rs. 75,000 as compared with Rs. 12,000, the amount of the original security.



# INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, JULY, 20, 1919.

## THE INDIAN MERCHANTS' CHAMBER ON EXCHANGE CURRENCY.

The Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau of Bombay is a very influential and representative body of Indian commercial men. It has been allowed the special privilege of sending a representative to give evidence before the Indian Currency Committee now sitting in London. The representative it has elected is Mr. M. Subedar who took an excellent degree in Economics at the University of London, distinguished himself subsequently as Assistant Professor of Economics in the Calcutta University, and has since made his mark in the business world of Bombay. The views of such a body should necessarily carry great weight. It has submitted a statement of its views on the exchange and currency situation to the Government of India in the form of a letter which has been published. With much that is contained in the letter, we are in agreement. We agree that the goal of Indian currency policy should be, as it was intended originally to be, a gold standard with a gold currency and not the present hybrid standard which is virtually no standard at all, but the will or whim of the Executive Government for the time being. We agree that the absence of banking facilities in the district is one important cause of hoarding, much of which, as the Committee of the Chamber shrewdly observe, is "but currency which is used only seasonally, and kept during slack periods in private vaults in silver." We are at one with the Chamber in their opinion as regards the utility and importance of a State Bank for India. The proposal of the Crewe Committee to appoint a High Commissioner in London to take charge of the financial operations now carried on by the Secretary of State for India, partially anticipates the recommendation of the Committee of the Chamber, who urge in this letter that "the entire management of Council Bills should pass out of the hands of the Secretary of State and be placed with the Central (State) Bank."

There is one suggestion, however, in the letter of the Committee—which, in fact, is given the most prominent place in it—which has greatly surprised us coming as it does from a body of prominent businessmen. No doubt, the Committee recognise that it is 'a radical measure,' "a measure of exceptional character," attended with "numerous difficulties owing to the general ignorance of the people," that it would require to be carefully explained to public bodies whose co-operation must be sought, without which it can only prove a failure. Even with all this reserve and qualification, however, the suggestion is one which should never have originated or found support from a commercial body of the character and influence of the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau. In order to reduce the demand for silver and thus check the rise in its price, the Committee

recommend as "one of the best remedies that can be thought of," the introduction of a coin of the value of say Rs. 2 or Rs. 3 as token coin with so small a percentage of silver that there may be no appreciable loss even when silver is at 70*d.*, and Government may be able to issue coins to any extent." We are afraid that in their anxiety to "dish" the silver producers and manipulators (as they call them), the Committee of the Chamber have grievously failed to realise the consequences which will follow in India itself the adoption of their extraordinary suggestion. Replying to a question from the Hon. Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis last September, Sir William Meyer said that the Government of India had no intention of issuing a metallic rupee coined of some metal other than silver, or one of any lower silver content than the present rupee. We trust Government will stick to the policy thus stated by Sir William Meyer; but times are hard and necessity knows no law, and when an influential body of Indian merchants put forward in all seriousness a suggestion of this kind, the Government of India may be excused if they felt some inclination to waver in their resolution to maintain the integrity of the rupee. We shall presently point out the weakness—to use no stronger word—of the Committee's suggestion, but, as practical men, they are likely to attach more weight to a concrete example of the result of adopting their suggestion, and we shall, therefore, mention it first. The example is centuries old though it has not prevented subsequent Governments from committing the same mistake and suffering the same consequences. The following passage is taken from the last chapter giving some reasons why the Roman Empire fell, in an excellent book, "the Influence of Wealth in Imperial Rome" by Mr. W. S. Davis :

As time went on, as in the third century A. D., the supply of precious metals ran low, as the coinage became more and more debased until the alloy vastly outweighed the true metal, we find a clear sign of a decline in civilization e.g. in reversion from payments by money to payment in kind. In Egypt comparatively few coins are found for the whole period from Constantine to Justinian, while the evidence of the papyri shows that small amounts were commonly paid in kind. Claudius II, while a military tribune under Valerian, was appointed the following salary: "3000 modii of corn, 6000 of barley, 2000 lbs. of pork, 3500 sextarii of old wine, 150 of good oil, 600 of oil of second quality, 50 lbs. of silverware, 150 large gold pieces, 160 smaller gold pieces, besides salt, wax, hay, straw, vinegar, fruits, skins for tents, three horses, ten camels, nine mules annually"—the Government here was clearly collecting its taxes in kind and found it easier to allot the supplies direct from its storehouses to its officers than pay the full salary in cash.

That practical illustration of the consequences of adopting their recommendation should appeal to the practical men who form the Committee of the Indian Merchants' Chamber. That the motive of the Roman Emperors were different and that the device of debasing the currency was adopted with different objects, are not at all likely to affect the consequences. Economic laws make no allowance for motives any



more than the law of gravitation. The practical man's contempt for theory rests entirely on his ignorance of the fact that theory is but the crystallised expression of prolonged experience and observation. Thus, Gresham's Law which is so flagrantly overlooked by the Committee's suggestion, owes its name to the fact that Sir Thomas Gresham, Queen Elizabeth's Finance Minister, observed with dismay that the new money which had been struck to replace the one in circulation, which was greatly depreciated, disappeared fast, while the old ones seemed to be more abundant than ever. As soon as the Committee's two rupee piece, containing a minute quantity of silver, is put in circulation, the silver rupees in circulation will disappear into hoards, or be melted and sold as bullion. Their price of silver (in the Committee's rupees) will go up, not down. Nobody will, in fact, sell gold to Government in exchange for its nickel two-rupee pieces. How in the circumstances Government can maintain the Rupee at 1s. 4d., as the Committee wish it to, passes our comprehension. This is the broad fallacy underlying the Committee's recommendation. There are some minor ones. The phrase "token coin" has a definite meaning beyond that it represents more than the value of the metal of which it consists. "Token" money cannot be legal tender except for insignificant amounts. That the Indian rupee is not intended to be a "token coin" is clear from the fact that it continues to be legal tender up to any amount. Even the half-rupee enjoys this privilege. If Government adopt the suggestion made to them to water down the rupee, they must declare it not to be legal tender except for a few shillings. The currency note stands in a more advantageous position. It can be converted into silver rupees, and as for all practical purposes the same status as silver rupees. But the "token coin" is inconvertible. Government are well aware of this, and that is why they do not let the rupee fall far behind its metallic value. There are several other principles which the Committee's suggestion flatly contradicts. In fact, the simple economics of it is that of the milk-man who waters his milk and that of the grocer who puts sand into his sugar in order to avoid increasing the price to his customers. But people so seldom recognise the benevolent intention behind these acts!

#### THE RAMKRISHNA MISSION AND ANARCHISTS.

We have received a copy of the second General Report of the Ramkrishna Mission for the three years ending 1916. It opens with an interesting account of the origin of the Mission. On the 1st of May 1897, the late Swami Vivekananda called together the monastic and lay disciples and followers of Sri Ramkrishna for the purpose of founding an Association in fulfilment of his long-cherished desire of bringing about close co-operation between the monastic and lay disciples and followers of his Master and of organising in a systematic way the various spontaneous activities, both spiritual and philanthropic, carried

on by and under the guidance of his fellow-disciples. The Swami in introducing the question stated that from his travels in various countries he had come to the conclusion that without organization nothing great or permanent could be done. But, he went on to say,

In a country like India, at our present stage of development, it does not seem to me well-advised to start an organisation upon the republican system in which every member should have equal voice, and in which its deliberations should be decided by the majority of the votes of the community. With the West the case is different... Amongst us also, with the spread of Education when we shall learn to sacrifice, or to stand above our individual interests and concerns for the good of the community or nation at large, then the working of our Association will be conducted on republican principles. Taking these into consideration, we should have for our organisation at present a Dictator whose orders every one should obey. Then, in the fulness of time, it will be guided by the opinion and consent of members.

The late Mr. Gokhale, when the Servants of India Society was founded, adopted the same principle of investing the First Member with dictatorial powers. Mr. Gandhi, we believe, runs his Satyagrahram on the same lines. Even Associations ostensibly organized on what the Swami called "republican principles" are in practice not far differently conducted. The same is the case more or less in Western countries also, and the Swami was not quite right when he implied that in those countries the head of a community or leader of a party takes the votes of his followers or fellow-workers on every occasion. The democracy only chooses its leader, and it can depose him. Theoretically, of course, the leader is supposed to reflect the views of his party all the time. But this has actually been the case in the case of few great leaders. President Wilson and Mr. Lloyd George are good illustrations of this at the present. In practice, the Indian leader and the leader in Western countries occupy the same position. There is, nevertheless, this amount of truth in the Swami's observation: the position of the Indian leader, if it was avowedly dependant on the votes of his fellow-workers, would be extremely precarious at present; whereas in the West the chosen of the people enjoys a position of security, till he is formally deposed, exceeding that of any monarch. With the advent of responsible government, in India also we shall soon learn that setting up and pulling down leaders every twelve months is not a pastime which a democracy can practise without grave consequences to itself.

The organization of the Mission follows the lines of the Buddhist *Sangha* and, indeed, it is named *Sangha* in the rules. In addition to preaching the Vedanta, the Sangha has for its objects (1) to train men, so as to make them competent to teach such knowledge or science as are conducive to the material and spiritual welfare of all persons; and (2) to promote and encourage arts and industries. It is expressly laid down that the aims and ideals of the Mission being purely spiritual and humanitarian, it should have no connection with politics. Not-



withstanding this distinct declaration, the hospitality of the Mission was sought to be abused by revolutionaries and anarchists. The report devotes several pages to an account of the difficulties the Mission had to encounter on account of the suspicions engendered by such action on the part of these men. It states that the Mission authorities smelt from the very beginning indiscretion and trouble and tribulation in and ultimate failure of the movement which resulted in the establishment of societies founded after the partition of Bengal, in imitation of the European socialists and Nihilists by sincere but misguided enthusiasts as well as by self-interested and characterless hypocrites. It stopped preaching work in Calcutta, Dacca and all places in East Bengal, and made a rule in about 1908 that no strangers would be allowed to stop at night in its centres at Belur and elsewhere in order to prevent persons with sinister motives from taking advantage of them for carrying out their secret purposes. For, it came to the knowledge of the Governing Body of the Mission, from the examination of certain political prisoners published in the papers at the time, that these people were unscrupulously using the *gerua* garb of the monk and the name of religion to serve their sinister ends, and that they had actually abused the open hospitality of the mission centres in the United Provinces and other places by sheltering themselves there at night or for a few days while travelling in these places for spreading their political propaganda. "From political agitators", the report goes on to say, "many turned into anarchists, and the party growing stronger began a regular campaign of murder and rapine over the province using all sorts of unfair and vicious means, e.g. dacoities, to serve their selfish end. And it came to the knowledge of the Mission authorities that they were using the name of the Mission and a wrong interpretation of its religious and philosophical literature to pervert the minds of young boys to join their camp." To counteract this evil, the Mission issued in 1914 a warning to the public against persons coming to them in the name of the Ramakrishna Mission and that of the Belur Math, to preach politics to them in any shape whatsoever. The public were asked to conclude at once that they were impostors who were making cowardly attempts to hide their true colours behind the prestige of the Mission and the Math to serve their own dark purposes.

Notwithstanding such prompt and straightforward action on the part of the authorities of the Mission, the official suspicions against the Mission found expression in the Bengal District Administration Committee's Report, 1915. It was said that Barendra Kumar Ghosh and his brother Arabindo, were assisted in proclaiming the doctrine of Indian independence "by the influence of the famous Vivekananda who before his death in 1905 (he died in 1902) had with his Guru, Ramakrishna, originated a great revival of Hinduism. Numerous hostels and students' messes afford evidence to confirm the assertions of reliable witnesses,

that Vivekananda's books were extremely popular with the youth of Bengal. Their attraction lies in the fact that as the Principal of a College told us, 'his preaching gave rise to Nationalism with a religious tendency.'" Lord Carmichael in a speech at Dacca in December 1916, while expressing high appreciation of the objects of the Mission, deplored that "mean and cruel men do join these societies in order to corrupt the minds of young men who would, if only they were not interfered with, be benefactors to their fellow-countrymen." The Mission could not well ignore this pointed reference from a high official authority and they submitted a representation to His Excellency showing that no member of the Mission has had a hand in political agitation. Lord Carmichael invited the Secretary of the Mission to an interview, and in a subsequent letter, he explained that what he wanted to impress on the people was that charitable and philanthropic work such as the Mission undertook was being adopted deliberately by a section of the revolutionary party as a cloak for their own nefarious schemes and in order to attract to their organisations youths who were animated by ideals such as those which actuate the Mission, with the intention of perverting these ideals to their own purposes; and with this object unscrupulous use was being made of the name and reputation of the Ramakrishna Mission. His Excellency added: "I have full sympathy with the real aims of the true Ramakrishna Mission and it was this abuse of the name of the Mission that I wish to prevent. I hope the words I used will help the Mission to guard against the illegitimate use of its name by unscrupulous people." The report concludes this narrative by recording with pleasure that Lord Ronaldshay visited the Belur Math on the morning of the 7th March, 1919, and that His Excellency was pleased to make a grant of Rs. 500 to the Mission "as a contribution towards the cost of retvetting the riverside land belonging to the Math at Belur." Lord Ronaldshay has given evidence more than once recently of his interest in Indian philosophy, and his visit to the Belur Math should have been as gratifying to him as it evidently was to the Mission.

#### KARMA AND SOCIAL REFORM.

(MR. KOPARGAM RAMAMURTI, B.A. L.L.B.)

All well-wishers of the progress of social reform in India, especially among Hindus, will rejoice to see the emphatically favourable position taken up by the *Indian Social Reformer* (in its learned editorial of the 22nd June) in relation to the ancient Hindu doctrine of Karma. "So far as the doctrine of Karma is concerned", it cordially acknowledges, "we think it is the best safeguard of personal and national conduct...And it is our fervent belief that it is only when Indians as individuals and as a nation realise the full significance of this great doctrine that India will finally be purged of all her social and other evils, the principal of which is caste." These remarkable words constitute a declaration of



faith which may very well inaugurate a new policy and usher in a new era in the history of the social reform movement in India.

As was pointed out by the same authority so long ago as the 23rd of October 1910 in another connection, it is an unquestionable fact that "we Indians are brought up in the creed that we should attribute our misfortunes to our own defects and demerits in the present or in previous births." In discussing the "Essentials of Hinduism," one of the presidents of the All India Social Conference, the late Rai Bahadur Lala Baijnath, also emphasised the same fact when he said that the doctrine of Karma constitutes "the everyday working belief of every Hindu, be his mental and spiritual development what it may." But does this cultural creed of us, Indians, this everyday working belief of every Hindu, harmonise or conflict radically with the working faith of the social reformer? This is a question which is obviously of more than academical interest, and of more formidable import than some may be disposed to concede, to those who earnestly seek to make social reform acceptable to the average Hindu or Indian householder.

It is not, however, easy to define in any detail a working faith common to all social reformers as a class. The Indian National Social Conference which is the highest official embodiment of the purely social reform movement in India, has no avowed creed. It has adopted no verbal formula to indicate the working faith of its members. The only working faith, if such it can be called, which it may, on an unfriendly superficial view, seem to profess, is a negative one, namely, that social reform has no need of any faith, that it can get on without being rooted in the religion of the people. But as a matter of fact its leaders have always been noted for their intense piety and religious zeal, and the movement has been successful only to the extent that they have succeeded in imparting their faith and fervour to its followers by whatever religious appellations they may be known. There must surely be some working faith common to all these earnest reforming men of many faiths. But the difficulty is to catch and define it for the benefit of the unconverted.

Of one thing, however, we may be certain. Whatever may be the exact terms or details of the working faith of each social reformer, it will be found to agree with the working faith of every other social reformer in being essentially a faith of what may be called "strenuous optimism." That is, not the optimism which holds that everything is happening and will happen only for the best in this happy world, and therefore sits complacently with folded hands, lost in admiration of the greatness and beauty of God's providence; but the optimism which, without the least derogation to God's greatness or goodness, believes that it is still humanly possible to make a heaven of this earth, so to speak, and therefore diligently labours to that end. It is this faith in the

potency of human endeavour which really gives the social reformer his vocation. Any view of life, therefore, which undermines that faith and negatives the utility of human exertion puts the social reformer hopelessly out of court. Does the doctrine of Karma enforce such a view?

The doctrine of Karma in its broadest outline may be expressed in the words of St. Paul: "Whatever a man soweth, that shall he also reap." The same was expressed in almost identical terms in the Mahabharata thus: "As a man soweth, so he reapeth." It is a statement of the universal law of cause and effect in its operation on man's life and progress. It declares that every action of man whether mental, moral or physical has its corresponding and invariable effect; and what a man is, is only the composite result of what he thought, desired and did in the past, and what he thinks, desires and does in the present, will inevitably go to determine what he is to be in the future. It follows from this that man is not the pampered pet or helpless victim of some capricious outer power called Fortune or Fate, but he is himself the maker and master of his own destiny. As Maharshi Vasishtha says: "Whatever one attempts to do, he readily meets with his reward: this being the effect of personal exertion. Fate is no other than the same thing." Or again: "Fate is no other than a name for our own past actions." In this view, the doctrine of Karma is obviously the most satisfactory exponent and upholder of man's freedom and power, the Magna Charta, in fact, of human *swaraj*. The Lord Sri Krishna, seems to emphasise the same view when he says in the Bhagawad Gita, "Let man raise the self by the self and not let the self become depressed; for verily is the self the friend of the self, and also the self the self's enemy."

But enterprising missionary gentlemen from the West, who take the trouble of acquainting themselves with our religions and philosophies that they may be the better able to refute them with authority are all agreed that the doctrine of Karma is a narrow pessimistic theory which admits of no hope of redemption to erring and suffering humanity. It is taken for granted that according to that the doctrine of Karma works as a hard soulless automatic machine uncontrolled by any divine being, easy to move but impossible to stop, an irresistible steam-roller which crushes to a finish the luckless individual who has set it in motion and from which not even God can save him. Professor Max Muller, the Vedic scholar, no doubt held quite a different view of the Hindu conception and practical beneficence of this doctrine. But Dr. Farquhar, the learned author of the "Crown of Hinduism," is decisively of opinion that it was the source of the pessimism of India and that it is responsible for the Hindu's want of compassion for the degraded outcaste tribes. For, once it is believed that the sufferings of these wretched people are the justly measured requital of their past sins, who would waste pity on them, since they are only criminals undergoing a life-term punishment? And,



besides, what power on earth could save them from even a part of their misery? He has therefore boldly declared that if the Hindus want to carry out reforms, they must abandon the idea of *Karma*,—a sentiment which seemed at one time to find a responsive echo in the very heart of our social reform camp, it being somehow supposed that there was something in the "orthodox Hindu view" of *Karma* which made it peculiarly inconsistent for one who believed in the doctrine to participate in any attempt to effect reform.

But what is the orthodox Hindu view of *Karma*? There is sometimes a tendency to measure the orthodoxy people by the amount of ignorance and prejudice they are able to bring to bear on any important question. But a wise discrimination has in all cases to be made between any view which may for the time being beguile the minds of the unthinking and ignorant among our people, and the really "orthodox view," which can only mean the considered view of the learned and pious,—the *sishtas* of society. Sri Ramachandra as a neophyte, as a beginner in learning, sitting at the feet of his master to receive supreme instruction and guidance, gave vent to the ignorant view of the uninitiated when he weakly lamented thus: "I am a captive to the manifold tendencies and circumstances born of my previous *Karma*, O sage, and can only act now just as they force me. I am helpless. What can I do?" The orthodox Hindu view, on the other hand, found expression in the masterful utterance of the master-sage, Vasishtha: "The notion that our past purushartha (*karma*) is forcing us, must be vigorously trampled under foot: It is not greater than present exertion." And again: "So far should one diligently exert his right endeavour that the evils resulting from previous actions may of themselves become subdued." A number of cantos are devoted to the consideration of this subject in the *Yoga Vasishtha Ramayana*. They form a grand series of exultant pæans of praise sung to the greatness of present exertion and its undoubted capacity to triumph over the past: "Energy coupled with constant endeavour and supported by wisdom and enthusiasm can break down even the Mount Meru. What of mere past *Karma*?" Vasishtha compares the two varieties of *Karma*, past and present, to two fighting rams contending for mastery over each other, sometimes the one and sometimes the other succeeds in driving its rival to the fence. But the final victory is triumphantly assured to the ram which represents present exertion, that being manifestly the superior of the two. And the reason given for this superiority is simple. However vast and powerful our past *Karma* may be, a period has been put to it. It is now limited to definite dimensions, having acquired, as Vasishtha puts it, a definite length and breadth which cannot be further extended; whereas the power that it is possible for us to evolve and exert today is unlimited, depending as it does on our own will, and can be easily made to excel and destroy the malign influence of the past. So,

over and over again does Vasishtha exhort man to awake, arise and exert his might: "Since Fate is no other than one's own previous action, throw it far aside and uplift life by an effort with the help of holy company and the study of the moral shastras."

Sir Narayan Chandavarkar has done no more than the barest justice to the orthodox Hindu view when, in dealing with Sir Alexander Cardew's politico-vedantic excursions, he recently pointed out with great force that no statement of the law of *Karma* is complete which omits to note that "man can and should by his effort and acquired merit raise himself above the limitations of birth and status." He has also, if one may respectfully say so, incidentally done a great service to the cause of the social reform movement in India of which he is still the recognised head and leader. For, he has at one stroke dispelled the popular notion that to the Indian reformer, as to the foreign missionary, the doctrine of *Karma*, which is by many regarded as a basic truth or essential tenet of Hinduism, is nothing but a pernicious and mischievous superstition. If anything more remained to be done to clear up the misapprehensions of reformers and anti-reformers alike, the *Indian Social Reformer* has done it by its frank and emphatic declaration of faith. To this we may also add: It is only when this fervent belief thoroughly permeates the listless rank and file of the scattered forces of the Indian social reform movement that it will succeed in making an effective appeal to the heart of the Indian nation.

Owing to the general holiday in celebration of the Peace, the *Reformer* could not be printed yesterday evening as usual.

## INDIAN REFORMS AND WOMEN FRANCHISE.

### I.

A public meeting of the women of Bombay was held on Saturday the 12th July under the presidency of Mrs. Jaiji B. Petit, to record their protest against the recommendation of the Southborough Franchise Committee and the Government of India, disqualifying Indian women for franchise in the Reform scheme. There was a large audience of ladies representing all classes of Bombay.

### DISFRANCHISEMENT OF WOMEN—A GREAT BLOW TO PROGRESS.

Mrs. Petit after explaining the object of the Southborough Committee and referring to the visit of Mr. Montagu said that franchise was recommended to be given to a youth of twenty-one who paid income-tax or Municipal tax while for a woman paying the same tax it was debarred. In her opinion this prohibition from enfranchisement was a great blow to the progress of Indian women. She said that Government often told them that it was ever anxious for the social, political and educational progress of Indian women. She could not realise how the same Government could now prevent them from enjoying the rights of giving votes and thus hamper their political progress. Concluding she said that at present a Parliamentary Committee was appointed to discuss the question of Franchise and other important questions regarding the Reform scheme, so, it was high time that the Indian women should appeal to the said Committee for



considering their case. It would ill-become a civilised and progressive country like England to do such an injustice and insult to the Indian women.

#### A DISTINCT GRIEVANCE.

Mrs. Heerabai Tata then moved:

"This Meeting of the women of Bombay protest against the recommendations of the Southborough Franchise Committee and the Government of India to disqualify women for the franchise in the Reform Scheme, on the grounds that the social conditions of India make it premature and unpractical to grant it.

"This Meeting begs to draw attention to the fact that women in the Bombay Presidency and other parts of the country already exercise the Franchise intelligently in Municipal and other elections. It urges that there is no reason to consider it premature and unpractical for qualified women to exercise the higher vote, and request that mere sex should not be made a disqualification.

"This Meeting considers the postponement of this question a distinct grievance, a denial of the due rights of women, and a likely deterrent to their progress. It earnestly urges the Government of India, and the British Parliament to reconsider this question and remove the sex disqualification."

#### SEX-BARRIER "OUT OF DATE."

In moving the resolution Mrs. Tata said that all admitted that the sex barrier was now out of date and unworthy of the times. The first progressive steps taken by all great nations had been the removal of sex-disqualifications and free and full admission of women to the full rights of direct representation. The refusal to admit Indian women in the Reform Scheme discredited the whole of Indian womanhood and put them on a par with children, criminals and lunatics, though as a fact Indian women were an integral part of the whole nation. They never demanded enfranchising each and every woman; but what they demanded was that sex disqualifications should be removed for those women who were as fully entitled to vote as men. In Bombay and Madras Presidencies it had not been found unpractical to grant women the Municipal franchise, and she could not find out the reason of debarring them from the higher votes. The other argument put forward by the Committee about the custom of seclusion of women, she said, was absolutely untenable as the higher votes would be exercised by women who possessed high qualifications and who had broken the purdah system. Even the purdah difficulty could be solved by keeping women election officers to collect the votes of the women who did not wish to appear at the polls. She said that practice was followed even in Australia where the women do not observe purdah. So much trouble was taken to collect votes for men; why should a little more trouble not be taken to solve the difficulty of the gosha system? That some women would not use the franchise, if it is granted was no reasonable argument at all.

She further said that even taking it for granted that the social condition in some parts of India would prevent women from voting, the same would not be true of Bombay, as it was the most advanced Presidency in that respect. The speaker then showed that the Committee had recommended special representation to minor communities. Why she asked did they not grant then the claims of the women of this Presidency even as an experiment? It had been maintained that women could not be given franchise till they changed their social conditions and broke the purdah, but the grant of the franchise was the best weapon by which they could break those customs.

Mrs. Avantikabi Gokhale, seconding the resolution, said that on account of purdah system Indian women were held

unfit for franchise by the Southborough Committee. But history would tell them what the Indian women did from behind the purdah.

The resolution was supported by Mrs. Sarali Ambala Sarabhai and further supported by Mrs. Jayakar, Mrs. Hatim Tyabji and Miss Natrajan, was carried unanimously.

Dr. (Miss) Joshi then proposed a resolution that:—

"This meeting requests its President to forward the above Resolution to the Right Hon the Secretary of State for India, and his Excellency the Viceroy (by cable), and further authorises the President to send copies of the Resolution to Lord Sinha, Mrs. Besant, Mrs. Naidu, Mrs. Fawcett Viscount Haldane of Cloanden, Mr. Polak, Lady Muir-Mackenzie, Mr. Ramsay McDonald, Hon. Mr. Shrinavas Shastri, and other friends of the cause of women, requesting them to interest themselves in the matter, and advance the objects of this meeting in every possible manner."

The resolution was unanimously carried.

A vote of thanks to the chair terminated the proceedings.

#### II

The following telegram has been addressed to Lord Selborne, Chairman, Joint Committee on Government of India Bill, House of Lords, London, by Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, Kt. President of the Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association on the question of the Franchise of Women:—  
"The Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association desires me as President to represent to you respectfully the Association's great disappointment at recommendation of Southborough Committee against franchise to women in India in Reform Scheme. Cause of Social Reform much discouraged thereby and among women in India and large class of Social Reformers also there is growing feeling of dissatisfaction. Franchise to women will greatly help cause of sanitation and education on which India's future greatly depends. Educated women by reason of intelligence and sound practical sense, more deserving of franchise than uneducated classes to whom Southborough Committee have recommended elective right."

#### AN INDIAN EDUCATIONAL COMMISSION TO AMERICA.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

It seems on this side of the Atlantic that Hindustan is living in the stone age of education. If she really wishes to take her rightful place among the great nations of the world, India must have a more modern educational system. But where will she go to seek for the ideals of newer education?

In the past the Indian zone of observations has been chiefly confined to only one country in the West, and that too, admittedly backward in matters educational. Be that as it may, this zone should now be pushed and widened to the United States. Here one can see at this moment, better than at any other, what reconstructional plans are engaging the thoughts of American leaders, what re-educational experiments are in progress for the disabled in war, what new departments are being added to colleges of science and agriculture.

A few years ago the English government in India sent a Fish Commission to this country to study American fisheries. Is it too much to expect that American colleges and universities will be considered as worthy of careful study as American fisheries? At all events, the Indian leaders who are interested in the educational advancement of India should send a Commission to America at an early date. The Commission



should be made up of the very best educational experts India can afford. The founders of the University of Mysore, the Women's University of Poona, and the Hindu University of Benares as well as the organizers of the proposed Muslim University at Aligarh and the Nizam's University in Hyderabad, should be willing to co-operate in sending this mission to America. If the needed means and initiative fail to come from the Government, they should be furnished by the nation itself. For after all, education is the most important piece of business in the Indian agenda just now.

It is interesting to note that several foreign countries, including Japan and England, have recently sent commissions of education to the United States to make an intensive study of American educational system. Why should not India also "go and do likewise"?

An Indian Educational Commission to America is not at all an idle speculation; it is eminently practical. Many of the leading American educationists whom I have consulted on the subject have given it their unqualified approval and whole-hearted support. Dr. Walter A. Jessup, the President of the State University of Iowa, with which I have the honor to be connected for the past few years, wrote to me in part:

"Should the proposed Commission visit the United States, we would be pleased to have them make Iowa City and the State University of Iowa their headquarters while studying the schools, colleges, and universities in the central part of the United States. We believe that it would be to the advantage of such a Commission to make this place their headquarters since in Iowa City there may be found typical public schools of all grades including the State University, with its professional colleges of law, medicine, dentistry, pharmacy, and engineering, and its college of liberal arts, graduate college, and college of education.

"The College of Education of the State University of Iowa is equipped with an experimental school, including both elementary and secondary grades, and is used as a sub-station of the United States Bureau of Education.

"In the event that the proposed Indian Commission should come to Iowa City, the State University of Iowa would do everything in its power to facilitate their work."

I also bring encouraging words of greetings from no less a distinguished man in the world of education than the Honourable P. P. Claxton, the Commissioner of the United States Bureau of Education at Washington. Dr. Claxton, whose position is very similar to that of the Minister of Education in the British Government, sent me among others the following lines: "I wish to assure you and others who are interested in the matter that it will give me great pleasure to lend whatever assistance I can to this Commission either personally or through the United States Bureau of Education."

Education in India has been more or less unsatisfactory. The time has come when the frozen decorative ideals of the past should be shattered, and swept out of the halls of learning. There is now a great need of a co-ordinated and well-directed plan to build a new education for new India. And as a basis for such an educational reform, a commission of expert investigators and trained educators should come to America, and see first hand the creative work that is being done in commerce, industry, art, literature, and science. The results of such an investigation are bound to give immense stimulus for reconstruction of educational life, and make it quiver to the very soul of India.

It only remains for me now to add that if an educational commission should come, Mr. R. K. Khemka, the very able President of the Hindustan Association of America, which

has for years been helping the newly arrived Indian students choose right American colleges, will be delighted to place his services at the disposal of the mission. Should it desire both Mr. Khemka and I would be willing to look after the preliminary details of its visit and pilot it through the country. Those who are interested in the plan or want information concerning American educational opportunities are invited to communicate with the President of the Hindustan Association, 116 West 39th Street, New York City.

Towa, City, { Sudhindra Bose, M.A., P.H.D.,  
U. S. A, { Lecturer in the State University of Iowa.

## THE EMANCIPATION OF INDIAN WOMANHOOD

SIR NARAYAN CHANDAVARKAR WRITES IN THE *Times of India*:—

As one morning, guided by an elderly Brahmin lady, I was lingering with fond looks on the flowers and foliage, which make Bangalore one of the garden cities of India my companion said: "Look there! My fairy of this lovely spot! She is Hoovi, my pet name for her—a panchama girl, one of your untouchables!" I looked and saw a comely girl of 17 or so, gathering in a corner flowers and leaves. My lady friend continued:—"You ought to study that girl. She has told me her story but if you watch her and her father one evening you will find out. She is a girl of spirit!—the kind of new woman India is bringing out."

So I watched with my lady friend. It was sunset. Hoovi was sitting outside her hut. Her father, a coachman, had driven his master home and come to his. Turning to her, he said:—"That is how you have been wasting yourself, foolish girl? You are breaking your father's heart. When will you gladden him by marrying a husband and having a home?"

"Father", replied Hoovi, "when will you cease talking about husband and home to me?"

"And why should I not talk? I want to see you happy?"

"Happy! As if husbands and happiness go together!"

"What do you mean, silly girl! Don't husbands make women happy?"

"Father, I pray you don't worry me day and night. You gave me in marriage when I was an infant and the man died shortly after. Suppose I marry again and the new husband dies. Fate has destined me to widowhood. Leave me alone."

"Afraid of husband's death! Death overtakes all. Is that a reason for not marrying?"

"Father, death is common to all. But desertion of wife—is that also common?"

Here the father seemed nettled. He had married a second wife while Hoovi's mother was alive, and Hoovi's mother had left him in protest.

"Now, girl, beware what you say! Have respect for your father. Don't tax me constantly for marrying a second wife. I have not deserted your mother. Your mother has deserted me."

"And I am proud that she has. She has shown you we women are not like the horse you drive and make money by."

"Don't get wind into your head. Talk sense. Will you marry or not? They all say you are a beauty and can have a good husband for the asking. Why waste your beauty?"

"Father, was not my mother a beauty when you married her?"

That again was a home thrust to the twice-married man. Both of us, my lady friend and myself who were overhearing the dialogue unseen, feared the father would no longer endure the taunt but would slap the girl in the face. He rose from



his seat and went near her as if he meant to strike the girl. But no! He became sweet and said: "Daughter! have pity on your old father. My caste people taunt me because I am keeping you unmarried. They all say your beauty is being wasted and you can have a good husband for the asking."

"Father, caste people should have nothing to do with my beauty. Husbands, you say, can be had for the asking. But I want to show that wives cannot be had so cheap."

The shadows of evening had closed. It was dark. A voice from within called the father. "Don't make yourself cheap with that shrew. Your meal is ready." My lady friend said to me it was the voice of the second wife.

As we returned home from the scene, my lady friend asked:—"Isn't that a fine girl?" "Yes," I replied, "the Depressed Classes Mission is fermenting, though the heaven is small." "Better say, British rule is telling," remarked my shrewd companion.

Next day we met Hoovi, gathering flowers and foliage. My lady companion turned to her and said: "Hoovi! we heard you hold your own against your father about marriage. But won't you marry, Hoovi; I feel for you—you are comely, you deserve to be a wife."

She replied:—"Amma" (Canarese for mother), "more comely are these flowers. They have no husband and are happy. Leave me to live my life among them. They love me and I them."

"What do you think of that?" asked me my lady companion.

"I am thinking," said I, "of Lord Southborough and his Committee."

Hoovi's was not the only case of the new spirit among Panchama girls I came across. Happening to be in Mysore, a few days after the dialogue between Hoovi and her father, I was taken by my venerable friend, Mr. N. V. Narsimengar, a stalwart Brahmin of 77 years, who has made the uplift of Panchamas his life's mission, one morning to see the local Panchama schools, boys and girls. As, after inspecting one of the girls' schools, we emerged into its compound, we saw a crowd of elderly Panchama women and men—the women on one side, the men on the other. Among the women stood, erect and brave, a girl of 16, who, as we came up to the crowd, called out to Mr. Narsimengar in these words:

"Buddhi" (Canarese for Master), "how are you going to settle my fate?"

Mr. Iengar went up to her and asked:—

"Hoodgi!" (Canarese for girl). "Are they still pressing you to marry?"

The girl: "There they are before you. Please question them."

Mr. Iengar turned to the crowd of Panchama males. A stout Panchama, the girl's father, came forward. Mr. Iengar asked him: "Why do you press her to marry?" The man with folded hands replied: "Buddhi! We are yours. Just as you order." Mr. Iengar turned again to the girl: "Daughter! Be patient. It will all be right. Continue studies in the school."

With calm dignity the girl replied:—"I have any amount of patience not to yield. It is the elders there who are impatient."

"Brave girl"—so I addressed her as we parted—"stick to your fine spirit. Marry when you like a suitable husband of your choice."

She blushed, and as I left blessed me with the words: "Salaam, Master"!

As we were proceeding from the place to a Panchama Hostel and school, maintained by His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, Mr. Iengar told me the girl's story—that her relations had selected a husband for her, an illiterate Panchama, for whom she did not care. Mr. Iengar continued: "It is a problem." "What is the problem?" I asked. He replied:—"If the girl remains unmarried, her caste will treat her as a Basawi (meaning a woman dedicated like the Murlis in Western India, to the gods and therefore free to live a bad life).

"Surely, Mr. Iengar, you should find a good husband for her. Perhaps the Hostel where we go will help." At the Hostel we met about 40 Panchama boys, clean, and intelligent. "Fine nursery for husbands for the new Panchama girls," I remarked to my Brahmin guides. A replied: "No nursery for husbands here. Nearly all are husbands already."

### THE LATE RAO BAHADUR VEERASALINGAM PANTULU.

The following resolution was passed by the Managing Council of the Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association at their meeting held on the 12th July regarding the death of Mr. Veerasalingam Pantulu:—

"Resolved that the Council of the Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association records its deep sense of regret at the great loss sustained by the country from the death of Mr. Veerasalingam Pantulu, who, as a social reformer of exceptional courage and strength of conviction manifested in his life both by precept and example, undismayed by persecution worked strenuously to the last to elevate India's womanhood and bring relief to Hindu widows and who, by his literary works in the Telugu language which have become classical and popular in the Telugu country raised the minds of the people and improved the tone of literature."

The Secretary, Hitakarni Sabha, Rajahmundry, informs us that the ashes of the venerable late Rao Bahadur R. Veerasalingam Pantulu Garu are to be deposited in the Rajya Lakshmi Park on Sunday the 20th July at 8 a. m.

### FOR MEDICAL STUDENTS.

Information has been received that several Indian students who recently went to the United Kingdom from this country for the study of medicine have experienced great difficulty in securing admission to a Medical School, owing to the demobilization and return to their studies of large numbers of English students.

Owing to the large number of applications now being received by the London Medical Schools from students demobilised from the Army and Navy, it is practically certain that, for the present, admission will be unobtainable for Indian students who have not already qualified in India and although the position may be easier at the provincial Medical Schools, there is no doubt that the chances of an Indian student being successful in an application for admission to a Medical Faculty are very much better if he has obtained in India, qualifications which will enable him to become a post-graduate student on his arrival in the United Kingdom. At present any Indian student who has only partly completed his course in India would be much better advised to obtain his qualification here before seeking admission to a Medical School or Faculty in the United Kingdom.



There is no desire or intention on the part of Government to discourage Indian students from going to the United Kingdom for the study of medicine, but, owing to the present crowded condition of Medical Schools and Faculties there, it is only in the interest of the students that they should secure promise of admission to those institutions before leaving India.

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THE

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not  
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

## CONTENTS.

the Bombay University and Professor Patrick Geddes.	Indians in South Africa.
Sir Sankaran Nair's Successor.	The Kanara Leader.
Europeans for the Indian Medical Service.	India Office Reorganization.
American Scholarships for Indian Women Students.	The Late Dr. Taravath Madhavan Nair.
Selling of Girls in Kathiawad.	Bombay Wages Census.
Social Reform Anniversary.	The Hindu Marriage Bill.
The Late Maharaja of Bhavnagar.	Night Colleges.
Indian Women's Suffrage.	Appeal for Help to Social Workers.
	The Indian Industrial Conference.
	The Oosmania University.
	A Correction.

## NOTES.

The Bombay University and Professor Patrick Geddes. The Senate of the University of Bombay resolved practically unanimously on Wednesday to appoint Professor Patrick Geddes as Professor of Sociology in the School of Sociology and Economics which the University has decided to start. Those who have followed the eminent Professor's work in India during the last three years, and his publications before he came to India, will recognise that the Bombay University could not have made a better choice. The Regulations require that the Professor of Sociology should have an intimate knowledge of Indian conditions. The insight which Professor Geddes has acquired into Indian life and thought during his short stay among us, is nothing short of marvellous. On the subject of town-planning which he has made his own in an especial sense, he, as is well-known, has a high appreciation of the principles which inspired the ancient town-builders of India. He also holds strong opinions on the town-planning and improvements which are so often undertaken in utter disregard of Indian traditional ideas and usages. Speaking to a friend in Bombay, he indicated in a terse formula what, in his opinion, should be the proper height of residential buildings. It should not, he observed, be more than what a pregnant woman carrying a pot of water could climb comfortably. That illustrates the point of view from which he approaches civic problems—the constant reference to human needs and resources and sentiments, without which sanitary and civic disquisitions are as sounding brass and tinkling cymbal. We are confident that Professor Patrick Geddes, during his three year's tenure of office in the Bombay University, will inspire many young men and women—and elders too—with his own intelligent and helpful enthusiasm for humanity.

**Sir Sankaran Nair's Successor.** It is announced that Sir Sankaran Nair has resigned his office as an Ordinary Member of the Council of the Governor-General with effect from Wednesday. The Hon. Mian Mahomed Shaffi has been appointed to succeed him. Mr. Shaffi represented the Punjab in

the Indian Legislative Council, and spoke and voted against the Rowlatt Act in all its stages along with other Indian non-official members. This has been made the subject of adverse and irrelevant comment by the Punjab Martial Law Tribunal which tried Mr. Harkishenlal, Pandit Rambhuj Dutt and others. "We do not propose to discuss Mr. Shaffi's reasons for voting against the Bills," the august Tribunal has remarked, "but we should not be surprised if threats of this kind were not wholly without the effect intended, and it may well be that such orders to toe the line had something to say to the complete unanimity on which Mr. Shaffi dilated in his speech in the Council." The appointment of the gentleman so superciliously dealt with by Mr. Leslie-Jones and his two colleagues, to the membership of the Council of the Governor-General, may, without rashness, be regarded as indicating the exact value which His Excellency the Viceroy and the Secretary of State (who, no doubt, has been apprised of the fact) attach to the excursions of the Martial Law Tribunal into high politics. Mr. Shaffi is a Mahomedan gentleman of attainments, and has distinguished himself at the Bar of the Lahore High Court, in the Senate of the Punjab University, and in the public life of that province by the sobriety and soundness of his views. That he has not always been able to see eye to eye with the majority in Indian politics, does, in our opinion, only show that he can think for himself. The appointment is by no means a bad one, and we are sure that, with his intimate knowledge of the Punjab, Mr. Shaffi will be able to help the Government of India to look at some of the sentences passed by the Martial Law Tribunals in their proper perspective.

**Europeans for the Indian Medical Service:** The *Pioneer* understands that the Government of India are drawing the attention of the Secretary of State to the extremely serious shortage of regular officers of the Indian Medical Service and urging the recruitment of a large number of European officers for permanent enrolment. The Government of India have also proposed that certain measures recommended by the Medical Services Committee as likely to increase the attractions of the I. M. S. should be announced in England at once. The journal further understands that the increased rates of pay for officers of the Indian Medical Service in civil employment will be announced very shortly and that these rates will be given effect to from the 1st December, 1918. If there is any truth in the *Pioneer's* surmises, the Government of India cannot be relieved of the charge of not dealing openly with the Indian public. The Medical Services Committee which visited different parts of the country last cold weather, took evidence from a number of witnesses on four draft schemes, two of which would have practically shut Indians out of the Indian Medical Service. The trend of the Indian evidence before the Committee was, we believe, emphatically in favour of restricting the



Indian Medical Service strictly to the requirements of the army, and of recruiting a proportion of candidates for it by an examination in India as proposed in the Montagu-Chelmsford report for the Indian Civil Service. As for the Civil Medical Service, it should, of course, be preponderantly Indian. We should like to know on what grounds the Government of India ask for an increase in the European element in the Indian Medical Service, if it is true that they do so. Indians are often twitted with hankering after the loaves and fishes of office, but, if the *Pioneer's* statement has any basis in fact, it would seem that the Government of India are anxious to see as much of them as possible distributed among Europeans before India is launched on the course to responsible Government. This, we think, is hardly fair.

**American Scholarships for Indian Women Students.** We are indebted to Miss Myra Withers, the Traveling Secretary National, Y.W.C.A., Bombay, for the following further information which she has placed at our disposal regarding the Barbour Scholarships, received from the President, University of Michigan, for Indian Women Students. "Scholarships to the number of ten yielding 500 dollars each have been provided by the Regents of the University of Michigan through the generosity of the Hon'ble Levi L. Barbour of Detroit, for the care, support, maintenance and schooling in the University of Michigan of young women from oriental countries, including Japan, China, India, Russia, The Philippines, and Turkey. Applications for those scholarships should be made in writing to the President of the University of Michigan. Accompanying the applications, certificates of character and certificates showing scholastic attainment and fitness for University work should be filed. The Scholarships are awarded by a committee consisting of the President of the University, the Dean of the College of Literature, Science and the Arts, the Dean of Women, and the Dean of the Medical school. The scholarships may be renewed from year to year for four years, provided the standing of the holder remains good. The sum of dollars 500 might, by strict economy, cover living expenses during the year, but, I think, it would be wise if one came provided with an extra amount of money."

**Selling of Girls in Kathiawad.** We published an extract from the *Praja Bandhu* of Ahmedabad in the last issue, commenting on the fact that during the last four months among the Leuva Kunbis of Kathiawad about ten thousand marriages were celebrated in which girls were given to the highest bidders, and that nearly ten lakhs of rupees have thus been secured by their parents. Mr. Ranchhodlal Mehta writing from Bhayawadar-Kunkavav, Kathiawad, says: "Instead of ten, there should be one hundred, as on the average not less than Rs. 1,000 per each girl was taken. This, I have properly investigated in my district and in all other States of Kathiawar. You may differ, but this evil is due to caste having lost hold over men, and to economic reasons. About 90 per cent. of cultivators who have sold their girls or have participated in this "roaring traffic" in human flesh have turned "Ubhads" (non-agriculturists) as they do not like to work as cultivators. I also believe, it is the curse of "tainted money" which they receive." We do not differ from Mr. Ranchhodlal in his view that the loosening of the hold of caste, without the substitution of a higher moral or legal restraint, is likely to have evil social consequences. It is on this account, as we have repeatedly urged, that we insist on the introduction in Mr. Patel's Bill on behalf of inter-caste marriages provisions for monogamy and legal majority of the parties.

**A Social Reform Anniversary:** Under the auspices of the Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association, the anniversary of the Widow Marriage Act and of Cursondas Mulji and Pandit Ishwarchandra Vidyasagar was celebrated on Friday evening in the Prarthana Samaj Hall, Girgaum. Sir Narayan G. Chandavarkar presided. Sir Narayan said that they had met there that evening to pay their tribute of respectful and grateful memory to two of the most illustrious Indians who had flourished in years past and who had worked in the cause of social reform, having left an example of self-sacrifice which endeared their names to them. They had gathered there to give their gratitude to the memories of Cursondas Mulji and Pandit Ishwarchandra Vidyasagar. He then referred to the literary services rendered by Cursondas Mulji in Gujarati and Pandit Vidyasagar in Bengali. He said they would take a lesson from the memories of the great men whom they revered. He said Vidyasagar devoted himself to the work of improving the condition of widows and the child widows in particular. Sir Narayan hoped they would follow in their footsteps and work in the cause of social reform. Dr. (Miss) Kashibai Nowrange said that though the Widow Marriage Act was passed in 1856, she regretted they had not made any satisfactory progress in widow marriages. She was surprised to see the condition of women in Calcutta where no progress was made. She appealed to them to spread the movement in every part of the country. Several others having spoken, the proceedings terminated with a vote of thanks to the Chairman.

**The Late Maharaja of Bhavnagar:** The late Maharaja of Bhavnagar was an enlightened prince whose administration was distinguished by zeal for education and social progress. One of the most recent acts of His late Highness was to announce the early adoption of the policy of total prohibition of the manufacture and sale of alcoholic liquor in his State. We trust that the administration which will continue His Highness's work, until such time as the heir to the *gadi* comes of age, will carry out this great idea of the late Maharaja, which earned for him wide-spread fame.

**Indian Women's Suffrage:** A Reuter's telegram dated the 22nd instant states: At a meeting of the East India Association Mrs. N. C. Sen read a paper on the future of Indian women. Mrs. Besant said they hoped the Joint Committee would extend the franchise to Indian women, or Parliament would amend the Draft Bill. Lord Sinha said it was their duty to recognise that the custom of keeping women secluded was responsible for the intellectual and physical deterioration of the race. If they were to progress as they desired, Indians must change their ideas with regard to women altogether.

**Indians in South Africa.** A Johannesburg telegram of the 17th July states that the South African Indian Congress will open on August 3. The notice convening the Congress says the Indian community is threatened with destruction unless concerted action is taken. Meanwhile, Indians are signing an agreement to disregard the civil laws in South Africa as long as any law imposing any class distinction or disability upon British Indians remains on the State Book.

**The Kanara Leader.** We offer a cordial welcome to the *Kanara Leader*, an Anglo-Kanarese weekly published in Kumta. The Kanara district is badly in need of an organ which will express its needs and voice its aspirations with knowledge and sound sense. Our new contemporary has a useful field before it, and we wish it every success.



## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, JULY, 27, 1919.

## INDIA OFFICE REORGANIZATION.

The Crewe Committee which was appointed to enquire into and suggest reforms in the organization of the India Office so as to bring it into line with the reformed Governments contemplated in this country, has made its report. It is, on the whole, a good report. One cannot help on perusing it being impressed by the contrast between it and the Government of India's despatch on constitutional reform. The Crewe report has the characteristics—and the defects—of the best type of British State papers—even temper, moderation of statement, perfect courtesy, scrupulous fairness to dissent, loyal desire to give effect to the policy laid down by Parliament and, on the other hand, compromise for the sake of compromise, an abstract and unreasonable fear of logical conclusions, and an utter absence of enthusiasm such as one might feel if one were given the choice of several diseases to die of. The cold detachment of the majority report was evidently too much for Professor Keith who, though his years exceed the salmists' three score years and ten, is all enthusiasm for India. Confining ourselves to the majority report which is most likely to gain acceptance with the Joint Committee and Parliament, we find that the first thing they propose to do is to relieve the Secretary of State of the commercial and financial agency part of his present functions, and of the incubus of the India Council which at present obscures his real responsibility for the good Government of India. The vast mass of work of a merely financial character which devolves on the India Office has seldom been authoritatively described. But Lord Morley in a moment of unusual expansiveness gave the public a glimpse of it in a speech to the English Association of Bankers at their annual dinner in 1911. He said:

I think that even many of you, experienced men as you are, will be rather astonished at the magnitude of the India Office figures. The cash balance at the present term is £ 18,750,000—not rupees, but pounds—and of that £ 8,350,000 is placed on deposit at 2 to 3 months' credit, and nearly £ 10,000,000 is lent to first class firms on unimpeachable security from three to five weeks' notice. The maturing and re-lending of these sums cause a cash business which amounts to £ 60,000,000 a year. There are other details with which I will not burden you, but the India Office is responsible in the year 1910-11 for £ 160,000,000 (240 crores of rupees). There are other details of further management of accumulated funds of Gold Standard Reserve in this country, which amounts to upwards of £ 17,000,000, and of Paper Currency Reserve, which amounts to £ 7,500,000.

In addition to this enormous banking business, the India Office has the duty of making large purchases of stores. The Crewe Committee propose that all this financial and commercial business should be transferred to a High Commissioner for India in London. There can be no two opinions as to the desirability of this reform.

The question of what to do with the Council of India attached to the Secretary of State, has given rise to some difference of opinion in the Committee. The majority favour its abolition and the substitution in its place of an Advisory Committee of which at least one third of the members shall be Indians. Sir J. B. Brunyate, on the other hand, is in favour of retaining the Council on the present lines, but as a compromise he suggests that it may be provided in the Reform Bill that the Council shall cease to exist at the end of ten years unless the Commission which is to enquire into the working of the reforms, should recommend its continuance. Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu favours abolition and wants no substitute. But if some substitute should be felt necessary, he would rather accept Sir James Brunyate's suggestion than the Advisory Council. We favour the idea of an Advisory Council, but, in our view, it should consist predominantly, if not wholly, of non-official Indians. Our reason is quite simple. The Government of India supply all the official and administrative experience and information which the Secretary of State wants. It might have been necessary in the days before weekly mails and the submarine cable to have in London officials whose experience and knowledge of this country would be readily available to the Secretary of State. The vast improvements in the means of communication—wireless telegraphy soon to be reinforced by the aerial post—have made many old political and administrative maxims obsolete. When the fresh and living experience of the Government of India can be drawn upon at any hour of the day or night by the Secretary of State in London—in a few years the Viceroy will be able to fly over to and talk over matters with the Secretary of State—it is obviously superfluous to have a Council consisting of a majority of time-expired officials whose knowledge has solidified into reminiscence. Lord Morley enumerated among the difficulties of the Secretary of State the "great deal of writing on the Indian Government by men who have acquired the habit while they were in the Government, unluckily retaining the habit after they come home and live, or ought to live in peace and quietness among their friends here." In a private letter to Lord Minto, Lord Morley spoke out even more freely his opinion of these gentlemen: "The ex-Anglo-Indian official, with plenty of time on his hands, and a horrible facility of penmanship, flies to the newspapers in most lively vociferation, above the familiar signatures of "Indicus Olim," "One who knows" and so forth." There may be something to be said on the ground of policy for finding a harmless venue of indulging in their "horrible facility for penmanship" for eight or ten of these gentlemen in the seclusion of the India Office. But there is absolutely nothing to be said for it on its merits. The question of a predominantly or wholly Indian Advisory Committee to the Secretary of State, stands on an altogether different plane. Indian opinion through the Legislative Councils is to exercise an



increasing influence on the Governments in India. The Secretary of State, unless he has some sort of an Indian atmosphere about him, will not be able to grasp the point of view of Indian opposition or support to Government measures. He cannot regularly communicate with non-officials in India as he does with the Governments in India. The only means whereby he can create an Indian atmosphere about himself is to have a number of Indians about him for a short term of years at a time. An Advisory Council of about eight members—three Hindus, two Mahomedans, a Parsi, an Indian Christian and a domiciled Englishman—will be a proper body for the purpose.

We do not understand the reasons which the Crewe Committee advance for throwing over the idea of a Select Committee of the House of Commons on Indian affairs. Lord Morley though he saw the objections to, declined to reject the idea of, such a committee. Lord Chelmsford and Mr. Montagu advocated it in their joint report. Only the other day, Mr. Montagu pointed to the safeguard which will be afforded by the Parliamentary Select Committee in replying to objections to the Rowlatt Act. Sir James Brunyate regrets that the Crewe Committee have not favoured the proposal. Mr. Basu is, of course, strongly in its favour. In the face of this strong consensus of official and non-official opinion, we can only conclude that the Committee's real reason for vetoing the idea is none of those alleged in the brief paragraph which they devote to it in their report. They say that the fundamental objection is that the appointment of such a body might encourage a tendency to interfere in the details of Indian Administration. This reason contradicts another reason given by the Committee for rejecting the proposal. It is that members of the House of Commons are already overburdened by the heavy and ever-increasing duties in connection with Home affairs to which their constituents not unnaturally expect them to give priority. If this is the case, the Select Committee may, at the worst, prove useless for the purpose of keeping in touch with Indian affairs. The fear of interference in the details of Indian administration, can only arise if the members of the Select Committee have little or nothing else to do. The Government of India (and Sir James Brunyate as a recent member of that Government) cannot be said to favour interference by the House of Commons in administrative details, but yet Sir James supports the Select Committee idea on the ground that he is anxious that during the period of experiment in progress towards self-Government there should be every possible contact, both direct and indirect, between the political and administrative life of England and that of India. If the principle laid down by the Crewe Committee themselves as that which should guide the Secretary of State in his dealings with the Government of India and the enlarged Indian Legislature, be applied to this proposal, the Committee's opposition to it cannot stand. That principle

is that whenever the Government of India is in agreement with a majority of the non-official members of the Legislature, the Secretary of State should not interpose his veto except for very urgent reasons. If the idea of a Select Committee of Parliament were brought before the Indian Legislative Council at its Simla session, there can be no doubt as to the result. We hope that the Joint Committee will re-consider the matter and restore the proposal which was regarded in India as an integral part of the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme, and as some sort of counterpoise to its manifold restrictions on ministers and the popular majority in the Legislature.

#### THE LATE DR. TARAVATH MADHAVAN NAIR.

The circumstances attending the death in London on the morning of Thursday the 17th instant, of Dr. Taravath Madhavan Nair, the leader of the movement in Southern India for the recognition, in the coming constitutional reforms, of the non-Brahmins of Southern India as a homogeneous political community distinct from the Brahmins, were sad and tragic. A cable to the *Madras Times* ascribes his death to a complication of diseases which left little room for hope of recovery though the end seems to have come earlier than was expected. It is also stated that the Joint Committee on the Reform Bill had arranged, in view of the expected end, to take his evidence on Friday last, at the request of Sir Thomas Barlow the eminent English physician. Dr. Nair was about fifty years of age at the time of his death. He came of a well-to-do Nair family of Palghat, with the house-name of Taravath. Dr. Nair, we believe was not married. A sister of his is a Malayalan poetess and Sanskrit scholar of repute. The stalwart physical appearance of Dr. Nair certainly did not foreshadow such an early close to his career. As a medical man famed for his skill and attainments, he was in regard to the preservation of his own health in a position of advantage as compared with many other educated Indians. The Malabar family system practically ensures every member against the dire penury exposure to which in early life has sapped the strength and vitality of several talented Indians in other parts of the country. And, as observed above, he belonged to a well-to-do house. He made his mark in his profession as soon as he set up practice and was in the enjoyment of a considerable income. Dr. Nair was no ascetic, he would have laughed at asceticism as rank folly. He lived well and took holiday trips to Europe at intervals of a few years. His early death of complications brought on by diabetes, bright's disease and gangrene of the leg, can, therefore, only be ascribed to the fatality which has pursued Indian public men and movements.

The evolution of Dr. Nair's opinions is an interesting study. From the fact of his having attained fame as the leader of the separatist non-Brahmin political movement during the last few years, one would suppose that he had associated himself in the past with the social and religious re-



form movements which have for their object the ultimate extinction of the caste system. This was not the case. His genius was wholly political and it never attracted him to the programme of the social and religious reformers. He had adopted English ways of living, and we rather think that he had no faith in any social reform which did not include a complete Europeanisation of manners and outlook. But no man was less disposed to acquiesce in the claims of superiority of Europeans in India. It was widely stated that he resigned his commission on the hospital ship, Madras, in disgust at the invidious treatment meted out to the Indian medical staff. When he first returned to Madras from England, Dr. Nair was intimately associated in public life with the late Mr. G. Parameswaran Pillai who made the *Madras Standard* (now merged in *New India*) the meteor of a journalistic season by his wit and daring which spared nobody of any note. Reputations built upon this kind of journalism are apt to behave like the proverbial rocket. Mr. Parameswaran rather unexpectedly quitted journalism to qualify as a barrister-at-law, and did not long survive his return to this country after being called to the Bar in England. The National Congress of 1894 held in Madras owed not a little of its success to the energetic co-operation of Dr. Nair and Mr. G. P. Pillai. At that period Dr. Nair was an ardent Congressman and, with his friend, he shared the reputation of being the most uncompromising critic of the bureaucracy. Dr. Nair's constructive public work was mostly achieved in the Madras Municipal Corporation where, by his informed and independent attitude, he became very soon after his entry the dominant figure. In the Madras University also, he did valuable service. He was elected by the Municipality of Madras to the provincial Legislative Council. Dr. Nair's high powers of debate, absolute disinterestedness and his thorough mastery of the matters on which he spoke, made him there as elsewhere a formidable critic of vested interests, official and other, and a powerful champion of public interests.

Contemptuously intolerant as he always was of pretensions of class and caste, there was nothing in Dr. Nair's career so far to lead one to think that he would inaugurate a caste war as the crowning act of his public career. The blame and the folly of having driven a man of his outstanding talents and character to set up a hostile camp on the basis of caste, must rest with the more bigoted Brahmin leaders of South India. Had these leaders heeded the call of the social reform movement in the early nineties and had they not—with the help of Mrs. Besant—treated it as a schoolboy ebullition, there would have been no non-Brahmin movement in Madras today. It is true that Dr. Nair and Mr. Theagaraja Chetti held aloof from social reform as much as Sir Subrahmanya Iyer and Mr. V. Krishna-swami Iyer. But there were several young men, Brahmins and non-Brahmins, who were intensely devoted to social reform, and between whom there existed feelings of the utmost cordiality. The Brahmin leaders with the help, first, of Mrs. Besant and, then, of Swami

Vivekananda, effectually obstructed the progress of the social reform movement. And the nemesis came in the shape of the non-Brahmin, or rather anti-Brahmin, movement led by Dr. Nair—a movement which has made Madras the by-word of Indian politics. While we hold that Dr. Nair's movement was intrinsically wrong, being based on the fanciful conception of all non-Brahmins as a single community, we feel that it is no more than what the Brahmin obscurantists of the South had called upon themselves by their perverse adherence to antiquated doctrines regarding caste and society. Dr. Nair, therefore, was strictly speaking a creation of the conditions in which his lot was cast. A less strong man would have succumbed to those conditions. A more strong man would have risen above those conditions and moulded them to his will. An outstanding example of this latter kind is Sir Sankaran Nair whom Brahmins and non-Brahmins alike acclaim as their leader today. An orthodox Brahmin lawyer, speaking at an entertainment in Madras the other day, said Sir Sankaran Nair came from Kerala. "The great Sankara also came from the same tract to lead India to its religious salvation. This was the second Sankara who would lead them to their political salvation."

#### BOMBAY WAGES CENSUS.

The results of the second wages census of the Bombay Presidency (including Sind) taken in August 1916, have been published in the form of four tabular statements, with an explanatory memorandum by Dr. Mann. Two of these tables relate to urban and two to rural areas. The first of the urban tables gives the rate of wages of certain classes of labour for certain towns selected as centres of industry and not because they were centres of trade or administration. The labourers to which this table relates may be described as those who work under some sort of organised supervision as in factories and under large employers of labour, skilled and unskilled, like Municipalities, Port and Improvement Trusts, contractors and so on. The second urban table relates to the journeyman labourer. Some of the columns in this table merely repeat the figures in the first table. The other two statements relate to rural areas. Information for these tracts is based on returns received from districts selected as typical of distinct homogeneous tracts. The headquarter talukas were excluded as the rates prevailing there were believed to be influenced by those of the headquarter towns. Twelve representative villages were selected from each taluka for enquiry regarding the earnings of an ordinary agricultural labourer; and for ascertaining rates for artisans and servants paid by the month, account was taken of all the parts of the taluka, which lay more than two miles away from the town.

The results of a census of this kind can but broadly indicate tendencies, and even this limited utility is curtailed when a period of three years is allowed to elapse between the taking of the census and the publication of its results. And the three years, in



the present case, have been three years of unprecedented economic travail. No wonder, the publication of the memorandum and the statements have attracted little attention. Their contents are now of little more than archaeological interest. Sir George Lloyd has here a concrete instance of the dilatory methods of the administration involving the reduction of an important enquiry into a mere waste of time, money and energy. Neither Government nor the public can benefit in the least by this belated publication of information which would have been of great interest and much utility if published soon after it was collected. Even the Secretary to Government to whom it cannot be an altogether unfamiliar experience to have to deal with antiquated information, has shirked his task in this case. Mr. Thomas could at least have instituted a comparison between the main features of the results obtained at the first Wages Census held in 1911, and those obtained at the last. Few people keep a file of Secretariat productions, and such a comparison would have invested this document with at any rate some historical interest. As it is, we have nothing more than Dr. Mann's general statement that the returns show clear indications of a general rise over the rates that prevailed five years previously, without any attempt to estimate the approximate extent of the increase.

The wages of domestic servants in rural areas is given, but not in urban areas. Surely, domestic servants are more largely employed in towns than in villages where most people do their own cooking washing &c. The problem of domestic servants in a city like Bombay has reached an acute stage, and a comparison of the wages of a cook in 1916 and 1911 would give most interesting results. One of the curious facts brought out by the census is that the skilled labourer, working on his own account, gets less in Bombay city than in many other towns. Thus, workers in iron and hardware can be had at a minimum wage of 8 annas a day in Bombay, while in most other towns they get 12 annas or 1 Rupee. The brass worker in Bombay gets 10 annas (minimum) in Bombay, and Rs. 1-4-0 in Poona. In contrast to this, the general labourer gets 8 annas in Bombay and not more than 6 annas in all other towns. The language difficulty, we think, comes in the way of a free flow of labour from one part of the presidency to another. In future censuses, an attempt should be made to estimate the movement of labour within the presidency. The labour force of Bombay city is chiefly composed of Marathas who form quite a third of our population. The reluctance of the Gujarati labourer to emigrate was due to the unfailing agriculture of the division. But those days are gone. Famine, plague, malaria and influenza have worked havoc everywhere, but their incidence has been severer in Gujarat than in the other divisions where the people lead a harder life. A striking feature of the rural tables is the large number of villages especially in the Central and Southern divisions, where the grain wage still prevails. Cash wages seem to be the rule in Gujarat and Sind where export crops predominate.

## THE HINDU MARRIAGE BILL.

(By Chandulal Maganlal Doctor B.A., LL.B.,  
Baroda).

The Hon. Mr. Patel's Marriage Bill has provoked a good deal of discussion as every proposed innovation does. Those who profess to be advocates of the Hindu Religion attack it mainly on the ground that it is a menace to the Hindu Religion and that it would not be consistent with the avowed policy of the British Government of non-interference in religious matters to pass such a measure.

The first question, then, that has to be determined is whether the proposed measure offends the spirit of the Hindu religion. According to the popular Hindu notions every custom, practice, and institutions or, generally speaking, every action of a Hindu has religious value. The Shastras have attached religious significance to every matter for ensuring the proper observance of rules laid down. Caste is thus a religious institution; and anything which offends caste offends religion. But this view cannot find acceptance in the modern times when religion has quite a different meaning and stands apart from purely social institutions like that of caste. That a man should be compelled to marry in his own caste has, therefore, no religious value today, and, consequently, removal of such a barrier does not in the least offend the Hindu Dharma.

Assuming that the question of intercaste marriage has any religious significance, it is difficult to conceive why a man should be prevented from marrying whomsoever he chooses, of course subject to other limitations of Gotra etc. at least within the Hindu fold. Under the Freedom of Religion Act of 1850 a Hindu is free to renounce his religion and embrace another without forfeiting his right of inheritance and other rights. If a Hindu casting away his religion can retain his legal status as a Hindu regarding inheritance and other rights, why should it not be permissible to him to contract a valid marriage with another Hindu? The British Government have also passed the Hindu Widows' Remarriage Act of 1856, a piece of permissive legislation in a so-called religious matter. The Dissolution of Native Converts' Marriage Act of 1865 goes even further in enabling a Hindu convert to Christianity to obtain a dissolution of marriage which could never be dissolved under Hindu Law. The inhuman custom of Sati was abolished by Government with a strong hand. Indeed the cry of non-interference in religious matters does not sound well in the twentieth century, at least where the question is essentially social and the proposed measure merely permissive.

And what is the nature of the proposed measure? It simply enables any two Hindus of different castes to contract a valid marriage without being obliged to renounce Hinduism. Under the Civil Marriage Act of 1872 it is open to parties belonging to any religion to declare renunciation of religion and to contract a valid marriage without religious ceremonies and the couple and their children do not forfeit their rights of inheritance &c. as Hindus. But that Act attached the incidents of divorce and



monogamy to such marriages while the Hon. Mr. Patel's Bill does not make any change in the form or incidents of Hindu marriage. It is to be performed with all Hindu rites and ceremonies as are in vogue; divorce is not to be allowed by reason of the proposed measure, nor is monogamy compulsory. The Bill, in fact, preserves the true Hindu sacramental character and Hindu spirit of the marriage. The only change is permission to a man of one caste to marry a woman of another caste. If we wish to be with the times the change is one which we urgently need. It will relieve persons from the necessity of renouncing Hinduism which will therefore have the advantage of not losing in strength on this account. Owing to changed conditions, practices have grown up, which, though not sanctioned by the Shastras, are not objected to by us. A Hindu thus contracts a valid marriage with a Jain in Gujarat without the least disapproval of the people.

The only feature of the Bill which pinches the orthodox community is, I conceive, the right of a Hindu to be called a Hindu even though he marries outside his caste which is prohibited. As observed above, a Hindu can marry outside his caste even today by renouncing his religion. We thus lose two members from amongst us. Is not the Bill then rather calculated to prevent Hindus falling away by affording scope to a growing body of advanced opinion? The measure will also relieve persons from making a declaration against their conscience, for those who are minded to marry will do so even at that cost. Perhaps an impetus may be given to intercaste marriages by the proposed measure as it may satisfy the requirements of some who are not in favour of the right of divorce, besides being not obliged to renounce Hinduism. But that will tend to lessen the number of unequal matches and loosen the tyrannical hold of the caste.

It may be worth noting that the progressive ruler of Baroda has already enacted in his State the Civil Marriage Act which goes further than the Hon. Mr. Patel's Bill. It was passed in 1908 without any public protest and no baneful results have followed within the decade. The Baroda Act does not require renunciation of religion unless parties belong to different religions. The marriage has to be registered as is the case under the Civil Marriage Act of British India of 1872, and the incidents of divorce and monogamy also apply. The Basu Bill went further than the Baroda Act in so far as persons of different religions could marry without renunciation of their religions. A Civil Marriage was recently celebrated in Baroda by residents of British India for the simple reason of escaping the declaration of renunciation of Hinduism. Why not afford them scope in British India? Reform by the people themselves without the help of law is always more desirable, but where society is very inert, a measure proposed and supported by enlightened members of it is sure to aid and advance the cause.

The Hon. Mr. Patel's Bill is so mild in form as to be acceptable all over India. It is simply misunderstanding the scope and aim of the Bill that is the cause of the greater part of adverse agitation.

If the rights of succession and inheritance are the same as in the case of a marriage under the Act of 1872 what is all agitation for except to protest against the use of the name "Hindu"? Can we really afford to be so narrow-minded and intolerant as to grudge the use of that name when we are talking of great things? When the orthodox and reformers alike feel the present manifold caste system oppressive and injurious to national development, when we learn from shastras that at least Anulom Marriages were allowed formerly, where the Bill is merely permissive enabling men of advanced views to contract legal marriage without affecting others, when the rights of excommunication of castes are untouched and when Government has time after time made provision for advancing sounder thought and action by legislation, is it not but proper for us all to fully support the measure and for the Government to pass it?

### NIGHT COLLEGES.

To,

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

As it was announced in local papers recently that a philanthropic Hindu gentleman, Mr. Hansraj Pragji, has promised to give a handsome sum of money to the Gokhale Educational Society for the establishment of a second-grade Arts college in our city, I beg to encroach upon some space in the columns of your valuable paper in order to put forth my views on the subject.

There are at present three Arts colleges in our city where generally students of the middle and rich classes study. Those who cannot afford to pay money for college fees or to buy books or those who have to go out to earn livelihood for themselves and their families generally do not take advantage of these colleges. After having passed the Matriculation Examination these unfortunate students, who can be counted by thousands, have to give up their studies much against their will. I think, and I am not certain whether it is my original idea, that the existence of a Night College in our city would be greatly advantageous to such poor students who after working during the day-time can spare some time after their office or mill hours in order to elevate themselves. What a great benefit can be done if we start in this direction in our city, at first, only by one Night College! There is no reason why Night Colleges and such other educational institutions should not exist in our city as well as our country.

A night school named the Night High School was for the first time founded in Bombay in 1912 by two enthusiastic graduates, Prof. R. V. Pai, M. A., and Mr. W. G. Sheyte, B.A., in order to enlighten those unfortunate people who owing to miserable circumstances are unable to taste the sweet fruits of education. Owing to persevering and laborious efforts of its worthy founders during its infancy the institution has done yeoman service to our city by lifting up during the last six years hundreds of poor people, including several ladies, from illiteracy and consequent misery and we find that, following the example set by the Night High School, there are in all three secondary night schools to-day in the metropolis of Bombay, and several others are to be opened by the Bombay Municipality in the near future.

There is no reason why the Gokhale Educational Society should not found a Night College instead of an ordinary day college, as is proposed to be founded by it, when the Society



itself has already founded a Night school for mill hands and other people and is fully aware of its advantages. I am quite sure that a Night College will be as greatly successful as night schools, for I feel pretty certain from my personal experience about such night educational institutions that the moment the foundation of such a Night College is announced hundreds of eager students shall flock to it even before the College is practically opened.

The idea of founding a Night College, though novel, is quite a practical one. I do not think that the University of Bombay in accordance with its rigid and conservative rules can raise any real and substantial objection against it. Moreover, many first class educationalists will be glad to work as honorary or paid lecturers and professors of the College during night time. Last but not the least, poor students working in mills and offices will be able to pay, if necessary, small nominal fees, which will be of great use to meet general educational expenses for the upkeep of the College. The time of the Night College may be kept from 6-45 or 7-0 p.m. to 9-45 or 10-0 p.m. which is the general school-time for all night schools.

There are some rumours in the air that the workers of the Gokhale Educational Society desire to start a morning college or an ordinary day college. In my humble opinion a morning college will not be as successful as a Night College would be. The main objection against such a morning college is that mill hands and such others who have to go early in the morning to earn bread for themselves and their families will not be able to take any advantage of such a college owing to unsuitable college-time and thus one of the main objects of such a morning college will be frustrated. Moreover, during morning time first class educationists will not be able to work as honorary or nominally paid lecturers and professors owing to other engagements. Not only that, but such a morning college is supposed to be meant for poor students generally, who work in offices for the whole day, and if their morning time is taken up in attending the morning college, they cannot find any suitable time to study at home, whereas a collegian is expected to study at home for at least four hours a day. Such would not be the case with a Night College for in that case students shall have sufficient time to study at home in the morning.

I am sure that many philanthropic and rich persons will be glad to help the Society in this direction, though the institution of a Night College may seem to be a novel one, for the students of such a Night College will learn very good lessons of independence, self-help, self-respect, hard work and charity, which go to make up a good citizen.

Yours faithfully,  
ROOSTUM M. P. ADARABAD,

Bombay,  
10th May 1919.

#### APPEAL FOR HELP TO SOCIAL WORKERS.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

SIR,

All the true leaders of India are of opinion that unless our depressed classes are educated and given more freedom in social matters India cannot progress politically and socially and reach its goal of Home-rule. One among these classes by name Rudrappa Basappa Chavadi, Kudji, Bijapur, who works among his own people to reform them, lectures before the audience of Mahars and puts new ideas among his people. Among Mahars there are five subcastes, namely, Dhar, Samagar, Holer, Madig, and Shoe-makers. Among all of them the bad practice of dedicating the daughters to Gods or Basavis

is prevalent. This Rudrappa lectures at different places and advises them not to dedicate their daughters to gods as Basavis, to give in marriage the young Basavis, not to drink and to be clean. Moreover, he advises them to send their children to schools. At every meeting the audience of Mahars being impressed by his lecture and advice, takes an oath to abolish such practices and habits and to behave in a good manner in society. He is doing all this at his own expense though poor and with also some scanty help from some Bijapurians. He has lectured at many places and important centres of S. D. such as Bagalkot, Badami, Ramdurg etc. This has produced good result since Rudrappa is one of them. Now he wants to continue his work along this line, and he is in need of one peon whom he cannot afford to pay on account of poverty and he has also to maintain himself. Taking into consideration the cause he has taken up it is the duty of the public to help him in money. The Government should also, I think, help such social workers among depressed classes in money and encourage them in continuing their social work since the Government also wishes to elevate the condition of the depressed classes socially which, I believe will be achieved by such workers as Rudrappa.

R. L. JAYALI,

Head Master,

New English School, Bijapur.

#### THE INDIAN INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

The objects of the Indian Industrial Conference as laid down by its Constitution are the promotion, protection and development of Agriculture, Commerce, Manufactures and Trade of India on sound lines and to introduce new Industries, wherever possible :—

- (a) By holding Conferences and Meetings to deliberate upon and discuss the economic, agricultural and industrial needs and problems affecting the whole country.
- (b) By collecting correct Statistics and other information on the above subjects.
- (c) By disseminating the information so collected through the medium of books, pamphlets or leaflets.
- (d) By organising wherever possible, temporary or permanent Exhibitions, Demonstrations, Museums, or Laboratories for conducting experiments.
- (e) By encouraging the study of commerce, technology and economics.
- (f) By making representations to the various departments of British Government, to the Railway Companies, the Rulers of Indian States and Industrial and Commercial bodies or Associations on all matters pertaining to or bearing on agriculture, manufactures, trade and commerce of the country.

- (g) By the formation of industrial and commercial Associations in the various parts of the country, where they are non-existent.

To carry out the objects mentioned above, on a scale commensurate with the needs and the growing Industrial awakening of a vast country like India, there is the need of a substantial financial aid, both for the purpose of placing the work of the Conference on a permanent basis and for the continuance of its activities from year to year. Although the public response to our appeals for funds has not of late been as encouraging as it should be, the office of the Conference



has been striving to the best of its power to promote these objects. In the words of Mr. V. P. Madhao Rao, the President of the Conference held at Calcutta in December 1917.—

“The whole clerical and compilation work is performed by an Assistant Secretary and a clerk. In spite of this small and poorly paid establishment, the achievements of the Conference office are not small or insignificant. It has done work which in a self-governing country like Japan would have devolved entirely on Government or in the case of a dependency like the Philippines would have been taken up by the Ruling powers of the United States of America.”

There has been a feeling within the last three or four years, that the Conference office should, in addition to the educative work, which it has done since 1905, introduce some new features in the methods of its activities and take up some new lines of a more practical nature. Realizing the force of this suggestion, the office of the Conference had addressed in 1916 a circular letter to the Press and leading gentlemen all over the country, as well as the members of its Standing Committee. Out of the various suggestions received in response to this circular, the only suggestion, which the Conference has taken up, as being both feasible and beneficial to the general public, is the establishment of an

#### INTELLIGENCE OR INFORMATION BUREAU.

It will appear from the above extract from the address of Mr. V. P. Madhav Rao that the importance of the work done so far by this Conference has not been realized. To give a fresh impetus to its activities and to extend the sphere of its usefulness, we intend to take in hand immediately the following projects :—

(1) To bring out a Revised (Sixth) Edition of the Directory of Indian Goods and Industries, giving information regarding the names and full addresses of Manufacturers and dealers in the indigenous articles, Indian Banks and other Industrial concerns, as well as known Indian Mercantile Associations in the whole country.

(2) To compile a list of Indian as well as of foreign experts, who by their training either here or in foreign countries and practical experience in different Industrial and Manufacturing branches are capable of rendering assistance to the capitalists and others intent on starting any new industry, or reviving old or existing concerns requiring expert aid.

(3) To organize a Commercial Museum at Bombay to display samples of indigenous and foreign industrial products, models of Machinery, raw materials and artware.

For the practical working of the above programme, and for carrying on the work of the Central Office, during the current year, Resolution No. X passed at the last Session of the Conference has authorized us to raise a small sum of Rs. 12,000/—only by appealing to the public. We, therefore, earnestly request the Rulers of the Indian States, Zamindars, Merchants, and leaders of public opinion in different Provinces, and Members of the educated classes all over the country to readily and generously respond to this appeal. Our old constituents and supporters are requested to respond more liberally to our request to enable us to carry out the schemes mentioned above during the current year.

Yours faithfully,

Ambalal Sarabhai.

J. K. Mehta.

Hon. Joint Secretaries.

23, Church Gate Street, Fort Bombay.

#### THE OOSMANIA UNIVERSITY.

In view of the opening of the Oosmania University College Hyderabad-Deccan in August 1919, the following gentlemen have been selected to lecture on the subjects noted against each as soon as classes in those subjects have been formed.

1. Mr. Kazi Mohamed Husain, B. A. (Cantab), M. A. (Punjab) Bar-at-Law, Professor of Mathematics.
2. Mr. N. G. Welinkar, M. A., L. L. B. Professor of English.
3. Mr. Amirt Lal Sil, M. A., Assistant Professor of Mathematics.
4. Mr. Chowdhri Barkat Ali, B. Sc. Assistant Professor of Chemistry.
5. Mr. Wahidur Rahman, B. Sc. Assistant Professor of Physics.
6. Mr. Jamilur Rahman, M. A. Assistant Professor of Islamic History.
7. Mr. Harun Khan Sherwani, B. A. (Oxon) Honours in History, Bar-at-Law, Assistant Professor of European, Greek, Roman and English History.
8. Mr. Mohamed Elias Burney, M. A., L. L. B. Assistant Professor of Economics.
9. Mr. Khalita Abdul Hakim, M. A. Assistant Professor of Logic and Philosophy.
10. Maulvi Syed Ayed Ashraf Shamsi, Assistant Professor of Persian.
11. Maulvi Abdul Hameed, Assistant Professor of Persian.
12. Maulvi Waheeduddin Salim, Assistant Professor of Urdu.
13. Mr. Gulbahar Singh, M. A. Assistant Professor of Sanskrit.
14. Mr. C. N. Joshi, M. A. Assistant Professor of Marathi.
15. Mr. Sri Kantaya, B. A. Assistant Professor of Canarese.
16. Mr. Subba Rao, Assistant Professor of Telugu.
17. Maulvi Abdul Wasey, Assistant Professor of Theology (compulsory for Art Students.)

AZHAR HASAN,

Assistant Secretary.

#### A CORRECTION.

The name of the President, The Latent Light Culture, Tinnevely, is “T. R. Sanjivi” and not “K. S. Aiyar” as published in our issue of the 13th inst. in the correspondence under the heading “A Psychic Phenomenon.”

#### ADVERTISEMENTS.

##### WANTED.

The following appointments under the Bombay Municipal Schools Committee are to be filled up (on probation for a year) :—

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 20-5-17. **VAIKUNTH L. MEHTA**, Manager.



# INDIAN \* SOCIAL \* REFORMER.

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

## CONTENTS.

Sir Sankaran Nair in Bombay.  
The Southbrough Committee and Women's Franchise.  
Indian Reforms and Women Suffrage.  
Miss Naorange's Protest.  
The Joint Committee on Indian Reforms.  
Sir Michael Sadler.  
Khan Bahadur Habibullah Sahib Bahadur.  
The Dangers of Petrol.  
Gold for India.  
Indian Reforms.  
The Editor of the Pratap.  
Lord Haldane on the Lahore Convictions.  
The Rev. Dr. Mackichan and Secondary Education.  
Currency and Social Reform.

Electricity in Bandra.  
The Widow Re-Marriage Act Anniversary.  
Bombay Presidency Women's Council.  
Indian Publications.  
The Recent Disturbances.  
Lord Curzon's Salary.  
Professor A. B. Keith.  
Karma and Social Reform.  
As we go to the Press.  
Cost of the War.  
The Late Rao Bahadur Kandukuri Veerashalingam Pantulu Garoo.  
Writing Reform in China and India.  
Back to Hinduism.  
Sri Ramkrishna Seva Samiti, Sylhet.

## NOTES.

**Sir Sankaran Nair in Bombay:**—Sir Sankaran Nair was in Bombay from Saturday the 26th July to yesterday when he sailed for England. His time was fully occupied with personal interviews and social functions. Bombay took to him very kindly. But he did not make any speech. The few remarks he permitted to himself at public functions were limited to expressions of thanks. The only observation relating to his recent tenure of the Membership of the Governor General's Council was made at a dinner given in his honour by the Ripon Club. He said that when he joined his appointment, Lord Hardinge who was then Viceroy asked him if he knew what he had been appointed for. Sir Sankaran Nair replied: 'To do the duties of the office.' The great Viceroy replied that it was to see that there was no trouble between the Government and the people of India. Sir Sankaran Nair said that he accepted the onus on condition that the Government of India listened to his advice. Lord Hardinge thought that it was a fair condition. Mr. Hassan Imam with his wife and daughter, Dr. Tej Bahadur Supru, and Mr. A. Rangaswamy Iyengar, editor of the *Swadeshamitran* of Madras, are also passengers by the Kaiser-i-Hind which sailed from Bombay yesterday. Mrs. and Miss. H. A. Tata also left by the same boat to work for the cause of Indian women in connection with the proceedings of the Joint Committee.

**The Southbrough Committee and Women's Franchise.** The *Indian Mirror* writing on the resolution passed at a public meeting of women in Bombay the other day protesting against the action of the Southbrough Franchise Committee in denying women votes, remarks: "In the first place, it may be asked how many women will come to the polling booths? The *pardah* gives the reply." The public meeting of women at which the resolution was passed, gives the reply to our contemporary's reply. It was unfortunate that out of three Indian

members of the Southbrough Committee, two, Mr. Surendra Nath Banerji and Mr. Aftab Ali, were from purdah provinces. When we read the Committee's report, we thought that, though Mr. Hogg had most strongly pressed the claims of women, Mr. Srinivasa Sastry would have also favoured the same course. But Lord Southbrough's evidence before the Joint Committee disposes of this assumption; leaving us in this matter puzzled as to what Mr. Sastry's scruples could have been. While in Bombay, he certainly gave us the impression of being strongly in favour of giving the franchise to women, and, we believe, he had himself spoken to some ladies to go and give evidence before the Franchise Committee. The women of India have, however, found a stalwart champion in Sir Sankaran Nair who declared at a dinner at the Ripon Club last week that he was going to England to fight the cause of women and the depressed classes. We wish him success.

**Indian Reforms and Women Suffrage:** We are glad that Sir Narayan Chandavarkar as President of the Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association has sent the following cable to Lord Selborne, Chairman, Joint Parliamentary Committee, Government of India Bill, House of Lords, London:—"Anent Lord Southbrough's evidence before your Committee regarding women suffrage, I crave leave as President, Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association, and Secretary for years past of Indian National Social Conference, to submit respectfully that belief gathered by Lord Southbrough from Indian witnesses as to women in India not desiring to use vote is untrue in fact and is old stock argument of reactionaries who unwilling to oppose publicly women's rights social or political, take shelter in the argument that women do not want such rights. Such argument used years ago in opposition to women's education, widow marriage and similar reforms, Lord Southbrough misled by that argument."

**Miss Naorange's Timely Protest:** We are glad that Miss Kashibai Naorange, in her thoughtful address at the Widow Remarriage Act Anniversary on the 25th July, called attention to and protested against the polygamous tendencies observable amongst a certain section of educated Indians at the present day. We have repeatedly urged that Mr. Patel's Inter-Caste Marriage Bill will but accentuate this tendency unless safeguarded by provisions as to the previous civil condition of the parties. Men who are eager for matrimonial experiments will find in it a ready means of gratifying their morbid cravings. If inter-caste marriages are validated without conditions as to monogamy, we may see Indians with wives of different castes to suit their different moods.

**The Joint Committee on Indian Reforms.** The telegraphic summaries cabled by Reuter of the proceedings of the Joint Committee of Parliament on Indian constitutional reform, are not very inform-



ing. So far as expressions of opinion of individual witnesses are concerned, therefore, they should be received with reserve, though, in the case of Sir James Meston, it is possible to piece together the cabled scraps with the help of the Government of India's despatches. Errors of fact, however, should be promptly set right. For instance, Sir Claude Hill, another official witness examined by the Committee, is reported to have told the Committee that he was not aware that all shades of Indian opinion favoured Executive Councils, both Central and Provincial, consisting of equal numbers of officials and non-officials. Sir Claude had evidently not read the India Office Note prefixed to the addresses presented in India to His Excellency the Viceroy and the Right Honourable the Secretary of State, in the Parliamentary blue-book containing them. It is therein stated that there is a general consensus of opinion in the Indian addresses that half the executive council should be Indian, but sharp differences as to the method of their appointment, the alternatives being nomination (as at present) and election by the elected (or, alternatively, non-official) Members of the Provincial Legislative Council.

**Sir Michael Sadler:** We are indebted to *New India* for the following quotation from the *London Sunday Chronicle*: "Having set the revolutionary example with Mr. H. A. L. Fisher of having a Minister of Education who knows something of education, I hear that the Government is likely to follow on with Professor Michael Sadler, when—and if—Mr. Fisher goes to Washington. It is curious, by the way, to recall that three years ago Professor Sadler's name was mentioned as Minister in succession to Mr. Henderson. His qualifications are innumerable. He was a member of the Royal Commission on Secondary Education in 1893-5, and afterwards Director of Special Inquiries to the Board of Education for eight years. Also he knows the German education system thoroughly—which is as it may be." The writer does not seem to know of Sir Michael's most recent and important work as President of the Calcutta University Commission. Some weeks back when the papers were indulging in speculations about the next Viceroy of India, a valued friend concluded a private letter with the query: "Why not Dr. Sadler?" We replied that such a thing may be possible in America but England did not think her Professors as suitable as—well, some others—to be heads of administrations. We must admit that Mr. Fisher's appointment as British Ambassador at Washington, if it comes to pass, will necessitate a revision of our view regarding British regard for Professors.

**Khan Bahadur Habibullah Sahib Bahadur:** The Hon. Mr. P. Rajagopala Chari, the Indian member of the Executive Council of Madras, has left for England on three months' leave. In his place, Khan Bahadur Habibullah Sahib Bahadur has been appointed to act. We are glad to read the testimony which the *Hindu* bears to the Khan Bahadur's qualifications. "Khan Bahadur Habibulla Sahib," says our contemporary, "is an able, intelligent and worthy member of the Mahomedan community. He is now Municipal Chairman of Vellore and non-official President of the District Board of North Arcot. He has been a member of the Madras Legislative Council, having been elected as member when the electorate was not separated into Hindu and Mahomedan electorates and when the voters of the constituency contained a majority of Hindu voters. He has been known to be of the Congress view of Indian politics and to be liberal and progressive in his views. Mr. Habibullah has acquired a vast store of knowledge of Municipal and Local Board affairs by his long experience in varied capa-

cities in connection with the Vellore Municipality, the Vellore Taluq Board and the District Board of North Arcot." We wish the Khan Bahadur a successful term of office.

**The Dangers of Petrol:** A Reuter's telegram dated Cairo, the 25th July, says: "General Harry MacAndrews, Commander of the 5th Division, stationed at Aleppo, died last week in tragic circumstances. His tunic had been cleaned with petrol and was hanging in a room to dry. The General wearing pyjamas, entered the room smoking a cigarette, whereupon the petrol vapour immediately exploded, severely burning General MacAndrews, who died in hospital a week later." This ought to be a warning to those who handle petrol with gross carelessness. The other day a passenger brought a big parcel wrapped in brown paper into a compartment of a local train on the B. B. C. I. Railway. It was soon found that petrol was leaking from the parcel. Under the impression that the coolie who brought the parcel to the carriage, had put it upside down, it was turned up, but the leak continued more vigorously than before. A considerable part of the floor of the compartment was affected by the flowing liquid. At last, the parcel had to be taken out and emptied. We believe that the Railway prohibits the carriage of petrol without being properly protected. We mention this incident to impress on passengers by public conveyances the very grave risk to themselves and the travelling public of handling petrol without extreme care.

**Gold for India:** The following Reuter's telegram is of hopeful augury. The Secretary of State has authorised the Ottawa Mint to sell on his behalf telegraphic transfers on India without limit of the amount for gold to be tendered at the Mint at the rate of one rupee for 9.4168 grains of fine gold. We hope that the gold will find its way to India and that the action of the Secretary of State foreshadows an early abolition of the ban on the free import of gold into this country.

**Indian Reforms:** Messrs. G. A. Natesan and Co. of Madras have published a handy volume containing the full text of the Government of India Bill 1919, the Memorandum accompanying the Bill, Mr. Montagu's speech and Sir Sankaran Nair's minutes; summaries of Southborough Committee's Reports, Government of India despatches, and connected papers; also schemes of reforms of the Congress, the Muslim League, the Indo-British Joint Conference. The book is priced Re. one.

**The Editor of the Pratap:** The Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab has reduced the sentence of imprisonment passed on Radha Kishen, editor of the *Pratap*, from 18 months to two.

**Lord Haldane on the Lahore Convictions:** A Reuter telegram says that the Privy Council has granted leave of appeal to 21 persons convicted by Court-martial at Lahore in connection with the riots at Amritsar on the 10th April. The applicants contended that the alleged offences were committed before the establishment of martial law, therefore they should have been tried by an ordinary court. Viscount Haldane in pronouncing judgment, said that without expressing any opinion on the facts of the case they were bound to advise the Sovereign that there should be a scrutiny of what had been done in order to avoid chances of miscarriage of justice.



# INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, AUGUST, 3, 1919.

## THE REV. DR. MACKICHAN AND SECONDARY EDUCATION.

In their despatch to the Secretary of State on the report of Mr. Feetham's Committee on the division of functions, the Government of India expressed the view that secondary and university education should be retained in the hands of the official half of the provincial Governments. They cited in support the opinions of certain persons not named but described as being possessed of special competence in some form or other to express an opinion on the question. "A recent Vice-Chancellor of an Indian University" whom we, in Bombay, can have no difficulty in identifying with the Rev. Dr. Mackichan, observed:

Primary education is a complete unit. It has been developed along sound lines in the part of the country that I know best, and, aside from the inadequacy of its diffusion, it is the most successful branch of the whole educational system. By all means let this department be entrusted to the provincial council. In the extension of primary education over the entire population, Indian politicians will have a task sufficiently large for their utmost energies, and a task that will be congenial too; for the spread of primary education is a cherished aim among many of the ablest of them. But let us keep secondary education, the foundation of the whole system of English Education, the key to India's intellectual advance along Western lines, meanwhile, under the authority which now controls it. In this view, I have the support of all the men experienced in Indian education with whom I have discussed this question since your report appeared. These include one who stands foremost among Indian educators who gives his most emphatic support to the view which I have advocated, *viz.*, that secondary education must, at all costs, be excluded at this early stage of the new constitutional experiment from the list of transferred subjects..... With all earnestness therefore I would urge that even in a tentative list secondary education be not included among the transferred subjects.

With due deference to Dr. Mackichan, we may point out that his reasoning leads to a conclusion quite the opposite of that which he urges with so much vehemence. Primary education, he says, is the most successful branch of the whole educational system. Secondary education, it follows, is a less successful branch of that system. Yet, Dr. Mackichan would keep secondary education in the hands of those who according to his own admission have not been able so far to make it a success. To be consistent, he should have recommended that primary education should be retained under the authority which now controls it, and secondary education should be given a chance of success by being made a transferred subject. Dr. Mackichan says that all the men experienced in Indian education with whom he discussed this question, support his view. This is merely to say that he has had no opportunity of discussing with men of experience in Indian education, who do not support his view. The very fact that Govern-

ment have to rely on three such "selected opinions" as those appended to their despatch, shows that the opinion is by no means general among educationists in India that secondary education should be a reserved subject. May we ask Dr. Mackichan, what the average Member of Council or his Secretaries know of the needs of secondary education in this country? What interest have they got in it? Their children do not attend our secondary schools or Colleges. Such European children as are unable to go to England for their education, have a special system for their exclusive benefit, which is entirely unconnected with the education of Indian children. It may be urged that education may be placed, as at present, in the charge of the Indian Member, of the Executive Council. But what help does the Indian Member derive from his "department" in respect of education, outside routine matters? Surely, the Legislative Council dealing, as it necessarily must, with secondary education as a subject which goes to the root of national progress, and as one on which the hopes of every individual member of it for his own children are centred, will bring to bear on it its most anxious consideration. We are sure that secondary education cannot fare worse, even if it does not at once do better, in the hands of Ministers than in those of the authority which now controls it. In the long run, it cannot but fare immensely better.

Dr. Mackichan speaks of secondary education as the foundation of the whole system of English education, the key to India's intellectual advance along Western lines. There are many Indians who hold that English should be taught earlier than at present in our schools, and the Government of Bombay have recently sanctioned as an experimental measure the opening of English classes in twenty selected village primary schools in this Presidency. Those who know the great demand that there is for English education, can have no doubt as to the result of the experiment. Municipalities are likely soon to apply to Government to extend the permission to their schools. We know of one Municipal School Committee which has already resolved to do so. If the question is left to the Legislative Councils, Dr. Mackichan's description of secondary education "as the foundation of the whole system of English education" will soon cease to be true. We want a system of education which will be continuous from primary to secondary, from secondary to University. Then, as regards Dr. Mackichan's view of secondary education as "the key to India's intellectual advance along Western lines," should not primary education also be such a key? His great mistake lies in confusing the means with the end. English education is the means not of imposing Western "kultur" on Indians, but of enabling Indians to develop their own culture so as to make it responsive to the calls made upon it by the conditions of modern life. That this has been the effect of English education, cannot be denied by any one who knows India as it is today and as it was, say, fifty years ago. English education is the main influence which has stemmed the tide of indiscriminate imitation



of Western ways so common in the early eighties. To speak of it as the key to intellectual advance on Western lines, is not to appreciate the best part of its influence in this country. It is because Dr. Mackichan fails to realise this, that he thinks that the mission of English education among us can be best fulfilled by maintaining it as a bureaucratic preserve. Why does Dr. Mackichan think that the spread of secondary education will be less congenial to Indian public men than that of primary education? Has he not seen complaints that in some parts of the country local bodies favour secondary education even to the neglect of primary education? We can assure Government and Dr. Mackichan that the spread of secondary education is no less a cherished aim of Indian leaders than that of primary education. Lord Curzon's unpopularity was due, first, to the belief that he intended to restrict higher education under the pretence of developing primary education and, only secondarily, to the partition of Bengal.

### CURRENCY AND SOCIAL REFORM.

The *Servant of India* thinks that our remarks in the issue of July 13, on the report that Government intended coining nickel half rupees and quarter rupees, are irrelevant and exaggerated and, what is worse, contrary to the principles of social reform. Those remarks, though immediately suggested by the report, were directed, as the context shows, to the probability of the nickellising process being in course of time extended to the Rupee. That our apprehension was not ungrounded is clear from the fact that very soon after, the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau, following the same train of currency thought, came out with its recommendation of a two-or-three rupee piece which would consist of such a small quantity of silver that there might be no appreciable loss even when silver was 70 d. per ounce. Though the probability of a "nickel" rupee, as the sequence of a nickel half rupee and quarter rupee, was in our mind in the remarks under reference, they bore quite as much directly upon the substitution of nickel for silver half and quarter rupees. Our contemporary says that "as a token and divisional coin, Government is not expected to make the half rupee contain anything more than half or two thirds in billion value." We are not quite clear what this is intended to mean, but if our contemporary is under the impression that the silver in the present half-rupee or quarter rupee is less than one-half or one-quarter of the weight of silver in the rupee, it is entirely mistaken. The weight and fineness of our silver coins are: the rupee, 165 grains fine silver, 15 grains alloy, total 180 grains. The half rupee is  $82\frac{1}{2}$  grains fine silver,  $7\frac{1}{2}$  grains alloy, total 90 grains. The quarter rupee is exactly half of that. The two anna piece, again, was exactly one-half the weight in silver and alloy of the quarter rupee. This has now been made a nickel coin which, in our opinion, is by no means a convenient or an artistic specimen of the workmanship of our mints. The popularity of the one-anna piece is a fact, that of the

two-anna nickel is not. Most persons would much prefer a silver four anna piece to two of this nickel monstrosities. Convenience of handling and grace of design, however, are matters of opinion, and we do not wish to quarrel with our contemporary if it finds that a silver two anna piece eludes its fingers while the nickel square gives them a comfortable sensation. We confess that whenever we happen to have the nickel plate and the silver bit together, we are glad to get rid of the former sooner than the latter. Of six educated persons whom we asked since seeing our contemporary's comments, five owned to a similar preference. We part with the nickel with some alacrity, and with the tiny silver thing with some reluctance. This, our contemporary may think, is not to be expected of a social reformer, but that is fact, all the same.

"The rupee and the smaller coins have long been tokens," writes the *Servant of India*, "and we hope that the *Social Reformer* does not imagine that Government coins this money for supplying silver to people in a convenient form. The facilities the public has for purchasing silver for purposes of ornaments or trinkets will not be taken away if the proposed nickel coins are minted by Government; and all the outcry of our contemporary as regards Indian women's ornaments and wealth is simply beside the point." It adds: "Even supposing our contemporary is right, few would expect the *Social Reformer* to oppose a measure that would educate the people in the mere economic uses of the precious metals without giving a shock to their religious or social sentiments and inflicting any loss on them." The weights in fine silver and alloy which we have given above of the Rupee, the half rupee, and the quarter-rupee, show that the two latter, containing as they do the exact proportion of silver which they bear to the rupee, are not token coins whose face value is larger than their metallic value. Add to that the fact that the half-rupee at any rate is unlimited legal tender while a token coin, like the shilling, is legal tender only for two pounds. As for the Rupee, as we have pointed out before, it is a misnomer to call it a token coin, though this term may be good enough for popular use. It has been, since the mints were closed and the gold exchange standard introduced, in the way of becoming a token coin. But it is not now a token coin in the strict sense of the word, and will not be one so long as Government guarantees that, for exchange purposes, it shall not fall below 1s. 4d. The best proof that Government do not regard the Rupee as a token coin pure and simple, is furnished by the fact of their moving up the price of it, first, by two pence, and then again, by another two pence in sympathy with the price of silver.

The Government of India have a true instinct that the credit of the rupee is closely bound up with their own. In this respect, we must say that Government have a truer appreciation of Indian feeling than those whose qualification and competence to voice public opinion in other matters we should be loth to question. As for the *Servant of India's* hope that



we do not imagine Government coins this money for supplying silver to people in a convenient form, we wonder what else does our contemporary expect us to imagine. What are coins except pieces of metal in a convenient form provided by Government for the use of the people—as a medium of exchange or as mere metal, if that is more profitable or suits them better? Our contemporary observes that the facilities which the public has for purchasing silver for purposes of ornaments will not be taken away. Does it believe that it is the same thing for the cultivator or weaver in the village to bargain with the local sowcar for a tola of silver of a certain fineness as to get a rupee and have it melted? So long as the habits of the people continue to be what they are, is it just or right for Government to deprive them of this facility? The closing of the mints to silver was a grave wrong to the masses, and the proposal to coin nickel pieces are but further enterprises in the same disastrous direction. Are we sure that, at the bottom of all the present unrest, there is not a vague but violent sense of economic dislocation induced by the currency revolution adopted quarter of a century ago? These things take time to make their consequences felt. But they are not to be escaped or evaded. They are inexorable. Our position is: let the past be past: let us do nothing to make things worse: let us as quickly as possible put things on an automatic basis by having the full gold standard and currency. If the Government of India had only India to consider, the difficulties in the way of this consummation, are not insuperable. We say that they should first look to the interests of India, and if it so happen the interests of India require other interests to be overlooked, they should do this firmly and unflinchingly, because they are the Government of India and not of any other country. As for the *Servant of India's* remark about what is expected of the *Social Reformer*, may be venture a mild word of protest against the supposition that a social reformer must twist everything to his ends or supposed ends? An honest currency is one of the greatest of social ends. We do not believe in manipulating the currency of a people as a means of educating them in the economic use of the precious metals. One might as well speak of the accident which caused the shortage of water-supply in Bombay last week, as a valuable education to the citizens of Bombay in the economic use of water.

### ELECTRICITY IN BANDRA.

There has been some correspondence in the *Times of India* about the obtaining of a license by the Bandra Municipality to introduce electricity into the municipal area for the purposes chiefly of lighting. One of the arguments advanced against it is that no municipality in India has undertaken electric lighting as a part of its functions. Lighting is an obligatory duty of every municipality, and whether this is done by means of oil lamps or gas or electricity is of no consequence. There are municipalities in India which have electric installations.

Simla, Darjeeling, Mussoorie and Dehra Dun, have them. But these may be regarded as hill-stations exceptionally favoured by Government. This cannot be said of Amritsar. Our attention was first called to the possession by Amritsar of an electric installation of its own by the report in the papers that the mob last April attacked the Municipal Electrical station. In view of the allegation that no municipality in India had attempted to have its own electric lighting, we wrote for and have now received detailed information regarding the Amritsar Works. The Audit note of the Municipal Electricity Department, Amritsar, shows that that Municipality is managing very successfully the electric lighting of the city. Amritsar is a city of about 150,000 inhabitants and an area of about 10 square miles, as against Bandra's 25,000 persons in an area of 2½ square miles. The density of the population of the great Sikh centre is over 15,000 per square mile. The electric lighting of the streets of a town so congested present difficulties which are non-existent in the case of Bandra with its average density of 11,000 per square mile. But the most important difference in favour of the Bandra project is this: Amritsar has to generate the electricity for lighting its streets by means of oil engines, whereas in Bandra we shall get the supply ready generated by the Hydro-electric Company from water-power on the Lonavla Hills. In the first year of supply, the Amritsar nearly Municipality was able to make a profit of Rs. 40,000 on a capital of about Rs. 5,60,000 after providing for interest, depreciation and all expenses of management, renewal and so on.

The Chief Engineer's Note appended to the audit report furnishes some interesting information. It is there pointed out, for instance, that modern manufacturing processes have eliminated the effect of climatic conditions on the generating plant. "Defects due to climatic conditions on generating plant, at the present day," says Mr. Greenwood, "is a term applied to hide defects brought about by lack of supervision and bad management." He points out that the only part of a generating set that can be influenced by climate is the "insulation of armature coils." He details the processes by which a modern factory makes it impossible for such faults to arise. He also points out that the depreciation on mains is much smaller in overhead than on underground installations. In Bandra as in Amritsar the mains will all be overhead. The chief difficulty with regard to overhead mains has hitherto been the poles. The steel poles first used in Calcutta were found unsatisfactory. The poles on the ground level were eaten away, more so on the side facing the traffic, and finally came down through want of support at the base. This was entirely due to the traffic splashing the liquid manure from the road, the acid of which attacked the steel and corroded it. This is avoided at Amritsar by all the poles being fitted with cast iron bases, which absolutely eliminates troubles of this kind. "The poles consist of steel, cast iron, insulators, and copper wire, none of which will deteriorate in the air, and will safely last one hundred years. The climate has no claim in shortening the life of



"the overhead mains." So writes Mr. Greenwood, and we have expert authority for saying that the difference between the inland position of Amritsar and the sea-side one at Bandra will make no difference to the life of the mains. The public will do well to discriminate carefully between the facts and the prejudices which are advanced to discredit the Bandra Municipal scheme.

### THE WIDOW RE-MARRIAGE ACT ANNIVERSARY.

In her very eloquent and forceful speech at the anniversary celebrations of the passing of the Widow Re-marriage act, held in the hall of the Prarthana Mandir, Girgaon, under the auspices of the Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association on Friday before last, Dr. Miss Kasiibai Naorange said:—The widow Re-marriage Act was passed and thanks to the indefatigable labour of Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, the cause of the Hindu widow, made some headway. Its success in Maharashtra was even greater than in Bengal. Though it was Vidyasagar who carried on the agitation, the credit of having begun it ought to be given to his revered mother. Her heart melted with pity for the unfortunate little widowed girls who always found a haven in her house and one day overcome with emotion for the lot of the little unfortunates she said to her son:—"You are deeply versed in the shastras; can you not find some authority in them for the re-marriage of child widows?" Vidyasagar who held his mother in deep reverence was touched by her words and at once began his search for shastric authority for the re-marriage of widows. The moral of this is quite plain and it is this: It is the women who must take the lead in such matters. Another thing to which Miss Naorange drew pertinent attention was that meetings in connection with such celebrations ought not to be confined to large towns but should be held in villages to make the cause succeed better. The mere fact that a law has been enacted in favour of the marriage of widows is not enough for its success. Although it is now sixtythree years since that was done. The number of widows who seek admission into the Foundling Asylum at Pandharpur is on the increase every year. The chief cause of this deplorable state of things is that no public opinion sufficiently favourable to widow re-marriage has yet been formed. The Reform Association should therefore send its preachers out in the mofussil and they should try to educate the public on this important question by holding meetings in villages, large and small.

Dr. Naorange made a few pertinent suggestions by way of caution at the close of her address. She observed:—Shastric authority for the re-marriage of widows was needed in the days of Vidyasagar and Vishnu Shastri Paudit. But those times are now gone. Widow marriages, now, will take place on the principle of justice and of the equality of the sexes. In days gone by, the widow's cause had to be popularized and the first re-marriage was that of a girl of ten years. Now it is the widow who will decide whe-

ther she will marry or not and when and whom she will marry. The decision now lies with the widow. The duty of the parents and guardians of girls and widows is to educate them so as to bring about a healthy growth of their body, intellect and mind. The times in which we live demand that girls like boys should be liberally educated. When that is done they will be in a position to decide the question of marriage for themselves. Lastly, it will not be out of place to refer on this occasion to a sad tendency observable among some of the educated men of to-day. It is common for men to marry several times in the lifetime of their wife or wives on such flimsy pretexts as want of beauty in the wife, incompatibility of temper, some slight defect of body etc. It is not uncommon to come across men who marry a second wife because they have no children by the first, or because she is not fair-looking or because she looks old! The promoters of the widow re-marriage movement will do well not merely not to applaud such marriages but to condemn them. If such marriages were permitted to take place they would upset the equilibrium of society and ruin it by increasing misery. Recently a marriage was celebrated in which the bride—a widow—with full knowledge married a man who had forsaken his wife because he considered her ugly! Such marriages are a disgrace to Society and ought to be roundly condemned by all educated men and women.

### BOMBAY PRESIDENCY WOMEN'S COUNCIL

It may be of interest to the general public to know of some of the new and varied activities of the Bombay Presidency Women's Council in connection with methods for improving the conditions under which women live and work in these days of progress and readjustment.

To assist in carrying out this very important and far-reaching scheme, it was found that an up-to-date hand book, compiled on the lines of the well known Year books that are so useful for reference, and including information of various kinds essentially connected with women's work in India, would be a necessity. The Council accordingly arranged for the preparation of this, and its publication will mark one very distinct step in the progress of the general work, for the work done by the Hand Book Committee will benefit many of the other committees which are carrying on the Council's work.

Possibly no Sub-Committee of the Women's Council will find this *vade mecum* a more valuable asset than will the new Women's Employment and Information Bureau lately organised by the Council.

By its means, the Bureau workers will without difficulty acquire detailed knowledge of the facilities for training women and girls in India so that they may help applicants with advice as to how to qualify for suitable work, and equip themselves for the posts they seek.

Now that very few of the "War posts" that were created by the exigencies of the last few years are still in existence, competition among women-workers will be keener, and it behoves those who intend to



succeed to prepare themselves to depend less on influence than on ability, which, after all, must prove the final test. Thorough acquaintance with, and knowledge of, all the intricacies of the work chosen will be the "Open Sesame" to the land of independence—the goal of the women worker who thus equipped, will find she not only increases her own self-respect but helps to raise the whole standard of women's labour, a legacy she should be proud to hand on to her successors. This is the spirit the Bombay Presidency Women's Council longs to foster and it will be the chief object of the Employment Bureau which will not confine itself merely to bringing applicants into touch with employers. The Members of the Employment Bureau Committee offer their voluntary services to carry on this work and will make every effort in dealing with special cases to obtain information and advice from those best qualified to give this.

It is hoped that applicants who wish to communicate with the Bureau will address themselves to the Honorary Secretary Women's Employment Bureau, Bombay Presidency Women's Council, Mayo Road, Bombay.

A useful purpose will also be served by the stall, to be opened on Tuesdays and Saturdays in the Council's Office, for the sale of laces, embroideries, cakes, knick-knacks, etc. By its means societies affiliated to the Council, missions, work rooms, etc., which do not keep permanent sale depots in Bombay as well as individual members who may be skilled in handicrafts, may find a ready sale for their goods.

The chief object of this Presidency Women's Council is to associate women of all races for their mutual help and the service of others, and the Council is striving with all its power to carry out this useful purpose.

**Indian Publications.** Messrs Ganesh and Co. of Madras have issued a second edition of Sir John Woodroffe's "Is India Civilized?" They also send us the following new publications: "Moulted Feathers" by Mr. James H. Cousens, "Footsteps of Freedom," by the same author, Sir Sankaran Nair's Minutes of Dissent with Champaran and Kaira appendix, and "Rights of Citizens" by Mr. S. Satyamurthi.

**The Recent Disturbances.** At the forthcoming session of the Imperial Legislative Council, the Hon. Mr. Chanda (Assam) will move a resolution urging the appointment of a mixed committee of officials and non-officials to investigate into the causes and nature of the recent outbreaks of disorders in Delhi and the firing upon the crowds there, as also the circumstances of firing upon the crowds in Calcutta in April last.

**Lord Curzon's Salary.** The following from a Parliamentary report will interest our readers. "With reference to the Privy Council office estimate, Mr. Baldwin explained that it was proposed to raise the salary of the Lord President, Earl Curzon, for this year from £ 2,000 to £ 5,000. Mr. T. J. Bennett moved to reduce the total amount by £ 3,000, but after an explanation that the increase was proposed to bring the amount up to the amounts received by other War Cabinet Ministers, the vote was agreed to."

PROFESSOR A. B. KEITH.

The Editor, The *Indian Social Reformer*,

Sir,

I notice in the last issue of the *Reformer* a statement that "Professor Keith, though his years exceed the psalmist's there score years and ten, is all enthusiasm for India." This is surely a mistake. Prof. A. Berriedale Keith who was recently appointed Professor of Sanskrit in Edinburgh cannot be more than 45 years of age. He is a youthful prodigy being equally learned in Sanskrit and in Colonial administration.

July 28.

N. MACNICOL.

[We apologise, Ed. I. S. R.]

#### KARMA AND SOCIAL REFORM.

The Editor, The *Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

May I thank Mr. Ramamurti for his article on "Karma and Social Reform" in your issue of July 20? May I also ask him to give references for the quotations which he makes in support of his thesis. Without references it is very difficult to judge its value. It would be interesting to know too, whose translation he uses in such case.

Yours sincerely,

KINGSLEY WILLIAMS.

24-7-1919.

[Mr. Ramamurthi had given the quotations in Roman characters, but we had to omit them to save space. These have been sent to Mr. Williams. Ed. I. S. R.]

#### "AS WE GO TO THE PRESS."

The Editor, The *Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

The above incorrect expression is not unusually found in our Indian Newspapers. The use of it by some writers evidently arises from their belief that the word "Press" (it ought to be "press") is a noun in the expression, instead of a verb, "to press" being an infinitive, meaning to set the typed matters on the printing machine for printing off the copies of the issue of the newspaper in question and the verb 'go' means "are about."

Yours &c.,

An ex-School Master.

#### COST OF THE WAR.

(FROM THE *Economist* DATED 24th MAY.)

In reply to a question by Mr. Lambert in the House of Commons on Tuesday the Chancellor of the Exchequer made the following statement as to the cost of the war to the United Kingdom from August 4, 1914 to March 31, 1919:—"It would perhaps have been possible to answer the right hon. member's question with more confidence had he indicated in his question the assumptions on which he wished the calculations to be based. As it is, I give the answer with all reserve. After making the allowance usually taken for normal peace expenditure on the one hand, and for debts due from the Dominions and Allies on the other hand, and after taking account of other Vote of Credit assets, the net cost of the war to the Exchequer of the United Kingdom up to March 31st last, on the basis of the Exchequer issues during the five years ending March 31st last, may be estimated in round figures at £ 6,700,000,000. These figures are, of course, exclusive of liabilities in respect of the war, accruing after March 31st last, and of losses to private citizens, localities, and trades in so far as these losses have not been made good out of the Exchequer." Mr. Chamberlain afterwards explained that in making this calculation he took credit for half the amount of the loans made by the United Kingdom to Dominions and Allies.



THE LATE RAO BAHADUR KANDUKURI  
VEERASHALINGAM PANTULU GAROO.

To the Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Dear Sir,

I shall feel thankful if you will kindly publish the following in the columns of your much esteemed journal :—

Being one of those that had not the privilege of doing homage to the memory of the great reformer of South India by joining his funeral procession to the burning ghaut as a mourner, I readily resolved on undertaking a journey to Rajmundry, when I received an invitation, to attend the Conference held on the 19th instant to concert measures for "the further management of the work and institutions associated with the name of Pantulu Garoo" and to join the sad function of depositing the ashes of the distinguished deceased in the Rajalukshmi Park in the Anand Gardens in the morning of the 20th instant. In matters of this kind it would not be improper to refer to personal considerations. I therefore take the liberty of stating here the special reasons, besides the one above-mentioned, which impelled me to undertake the journey at considerable personal inconvenience. There are occasions in the life of every one of us, when, regardless of personal comforts and conveniences and of business, whether public or private, we have to rush to the post of duty "to do our bit." As I have married a lady who was a widow—and that a Telugu Brahmin one—I felt that members of my family, particularly my wife who owes her status as a married woman to the noble labours of that redoubtable reformer, were under a special obligation to attend the functions.

Accordingly, with my wife and little ones, I left Secunderabad in the evening of the 18th instant and arrived at Rajmundry at about 1 o'clock in the afternoon of the 19th.

In the evening of the same day i. e., Saturday, the 19th instant, the Conference with the objects stated above was held in the premises of The Veerashalingam Theistic High School under the presidency of our distinguished scholar, statesman and reformer, Dewan Bahadur R. Venkatratnam Naidu Garoo, M. A., L. T. It was unanimously agreed that the work of the great reformer should be continued, but as regards its scope and methods, there was, apparently, though not in reality, much difference of opinion. It is not possible in this brief communication, nor is it necessary either, to state the points of view of the several speakers. Suffice to say, that according to some, the Widows' Home should be an institution devoted solely and primarily to bringing about the remarriage of widows, while the imparting of education to its inmates should be a subordinate and incidental matter. Others were of opinion that the Home should be chiefly an educational institution for widows, though giving necessary assistance in the matter of re-marriage to such of its inmates, as, in the opinion of its (the Home's) conductors, were worthy of such assistance. While—and that was remarkable—all agreed that, consistently with the aims and objects and expressed wishes of the deceased, it was impossible for the Home to dissociate itself, like Professor Karve's Institution at Poona, from re-marriages and be an educational institution exclusively. Another point of difference was, as to the type of social and religious reformer that should be at the head of the Institution. Some of the "Young bloods" in the Brahma Samaj in these parts—I mean, in the Telugu country—have greatly shocked orthodox sentiment by their "go-a-head" methods (and, to be candid, though I am an Aryasamajist, the destructive tendencies of my Brahma brethren in faith, gave me a rather unpleasant feeling and I was tempted to say to them "neither so fast, nor so far"). And as the

deceased himself became "an anushtanica" Brahma in his latter days and as, in the opinion of many, that fact acted as a set back to the progress of the widow re-marriage cause, some were of opinion that neither Brahma Samajists nor Aryasamajists (under protest from me as to the latter) should be in charge of the Institution. In his closing speech the learned President summed up the needs of the situation most beautifully in his characteristic manner by laying down that the Institution should be a *Home*—a true Home—to its inmates and it was left to the *Father* of the Home as to what had to be done in each individual case in the matter of re-marriage. And as for the type of reformer that should be at the head of the Institution, it should be decided in the first instance whether the Institution should be a "*Hindoo Widows' Home*" or not. If it should be a "*Hindoo Widows' Home*," it was essential that the person at its head should be one conforming to the minimum requirements of the status of being a Hindoo. At the end of his speech, when declaring the Conference closed, the learned President invited all those present who, he said, were the spiritual progeny of the deceased reformer to join the sad function of the following morning in the spirit in which, as pointed out by one of the speakers—it was my humble self he referred to by name—orthodox Hindoos offered "Shraddha" to their deceased relations, with this difference, that in our case it would be in a truer, a more rational and a more useful manner.

I reserve a report of the next day's proceedings for my next letter. I also propose, in due course, to send you a short sketch of the life and work of this great Reformer.

I remain,

Dear Sir,

Secunderabad (Dn.)  
29th July 1919.

Yours fraternally,  
BAJI KRISHNARAO, B.A., B.L.  
Pleader and Member of the Arya Samaj.

WRITING REFORM IN CHINA AND INDIA.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

A great reform has been effected in Chinese writing. Hitherto the Chinese script characters have been ideograms, each unit of writing conveying an idea. The Chinese standard dictionary contains over 40,000 ideograms, and many new ones are being added for scientific terms in medicine etc. For very ordinary reading the illiterate must master 6,000 of these complicated symbols; to be a scholar 20,000 must be known. The consequence has been that the art of reading has been confined to a few, leaving hundreds of millions of illiterates. But now, so far as the illiterates are concerned, the Chinese Government are changing all this system of writing.

"A new and simplified form of writing has been adopted by the Chinese Government." The system was instituted by the Chinese Government Bureau of Education and officially approved by the Ministry of Education in 1918. Those who have studied the scheme are enthusiastic as to its practical value, and if half the benefits anticipated are realized the adoption of this new script will mark an epoch in China's history.

The new script instead of being ideographic is phonetic, instead of conveying ideas the symbols represent sounds. The consequence of this change of graphic signs is that instead of requiring nearly 45,000 complicated characters, "the new script employs only 39 symbols."... "By a combination of these (39 signs) all Chinese words can be accurate-



ly represented." (No changes of form are made in the combination, the symbols are just placed one after another as the sounds occur like an A B C.). All, then, an illiterate has to do is to learn the shapes of 39 signs, and their sounds, then, pronounce them, and, as he knows the words, he recognizes in the writing the words he hears in speech.

Will friends of Indian elementary education just reflect on the boon this Chinese writing reform will confer on illiterates?—only 39 symbols, easy to write with the Chinese brush and Indian ink; easy to print with, easy to fit on any typewriter. A minimum of effort for pupil and teacher within the comprehension of the dullest. Bravo, China!

Note also that there is no interference with the ideograms, the new script is an alternative for the hundreds of millions who cannot possibly find time, or energy, or money for the ideographic characters, the older and the newer will go on for a while together, but who doubts the issue? Now the adoption of a common simple phonetic alphabet for the Indian vernaculars would be as great an educational boon to the nearly 295,000,000 illiterates of India as the new Chinese script promises to be for China. It would, I think, be a greater, and a common simple phonetic alphabet for the vernaculars need make no interference with the numerous indigenous scripts. All that is suggested is that the hundreds of millions of this and coming generations should be given the option of the use of some common Indian alphabet. English has 26 letters, badly used; an English phonetic alphabet requires 36 letters. The Japanese is phonetic and takes 49 signs, the new Chinese script employs only 39 phonetic symbols. On an average, an Indian vernacular has only 37 main elementary sounds so that an alphabet of 37 letters would suffice. For a far-reaching reform like this the co-operation of Government and Indian leaders of education is necessary, but sooner or later, some such reform must be adopted and in the interests of India, the sooner it comes the better for India. Any one desirous of more information should get "Our duty to India and Indian Illiterates," from any C. L. S. Dept.

26, Mayfield Place,  
Eastbourne England, }

J. KNOWLES.

### BACK TO HINDUISM.

We are requested by the Hon. Secretaries of the Hindu Missionary Society, Bombay, to publish the following:—

Mr. James Athyankar, once converted to Christianity long with his parents about twenty years ago, was taken back into Hinduism by the Hindu Missionary Society of Bombay, on July 3, 1919. He was given a sacred thread at the time of the ceremony. His new name is Krishna Shreehar Godbole, which is really his original name. His brother Satabai was similarly taken back into Hinduism in January last.

Mr. Sumantrao Yashwantrao Bandsode (age 29) and Miss Haranabai Anandrao Lokhande (age, 17) renounced Christianity and embraced Hinduism. They were initiated on July 27 by the Hindu Missionary Society of Bombay and were invested with the sacred thread. They come from families that have been Christian for three generations.

### SRI RAMKRISHNA SEVA SAMITI, SYLHET.

#### AN APPEAL.

We have already informed the public of the distress of the people of Sylhet due to an abnormal rise in the price of

rice. Since the beginning of July we have started a relief centre at Sadhubati under Maulvibazar Sub-division. The number of recipients of our doles in the centre is daily increasing. From July 7 to July 14 the average number of recipients was 134 a day. Since then the average number of recipients has reached 230 a day, but the number will be doubled as the area of the centre is to be extended shortly. Up till July 21, the Samiti has spent Rs. 160. As the Ashu crop is likely to be delayed owing to drought in the beginning of the year, the Samiti will have to maintain the centre for about two months more. In response to our appeal the generous public has contributed to our Relief fund Rs. 216-10a which amount is not even adequate to maintain the centre for longer than a week.

So we appeal to the generous public to extend their charity for the relief of the distressed people.

Any help in cash or kind will be thankfully received and acknowledged by Babu Nabani Kumar Gupta B. A. Secretary Ramkrishna Seva Samiti, Sylhet.

Harendra Chandra Sinha

President.

21-7-19

## ADVERTISEMENTS.

### WANTED.

The following appointments under the Bombay Municipal Schools Committee are to be filled up (on probation for a year):—

- (a) Lady Assistant Superintendent for Marathi Girls' Schools.
- (b) Lady Asst. Superintendent for Gujarathi Girls' Schools.
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SEP 22 1919

# THE INDIAN \* SOCIAL \* REFORMER.

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

## CONTENTS.

:o:

Social Reform Politics.	The Afghan War.
Disease and Marriage.	Seven Bengali Pioneers.
Responsive Government or Rersponsible Government.	Indianization of British Indian Government.
The Root of the Exchange Truble.	Currency and Social Reform.
India and Gold.	The Students' Literary and Scientific Society Bombay.
Indian Deputations to England	Nitrogen, a Compound.
India and the War.	Village Panchayets and Panchamas.

## NOTES.

:o:

**Social Reform Politics:** There used to be discussed some twenty years ago the question, whether political reform should precede social reform or whether social reform should precede political. That question is not much heard of now, partly because opposition to social reform on the part of political reformers has tended to disappear, and partly also because social reformers have come to feel that the unsettled state of public mind, consequent on unsatisfied political aspirations, has the direct result of postponing social reforms. It is a mistake, however, to suppose that social reformers think that their programme is any the less important today than it was twenty years ago. On the contrary, the problems of social reform are increasing in number and complexity. In addition to the subjects which have hitherto specifically been connoted by social reform in India, we are now beginning to be confronted by problems which in western countries are included under the head of social reform. Indian Social Reform, instead of being discussed as a matter of Shastric interpretation, is now gradually extending to large parts of civic life. We are beginning to test the efficiency of administrations, municipal, provincial and imperial, by their success or failure to raise the standard, mental, moral and physical, of the average man, woman and child. To take one instance, "Infant mortality" says Mr. Pooley in his *Japan at the Cross Roads*, "is the most sensitive index we can have of social welfare. It measures mercilessly the intelligence, health and right living of parents, the morals and sanitation of communities and governments, the efficiency of physicians, nurses, health officers and educators." We say that a steadily increasing number of Indians are beginning to look at politics as a means of advancing great social ends, and not as a means merely of substituting one "cracy" for another. The series of lectures on Indian National Reconstruction, at the John Small Memorial Institute in Poona, which Mr. G. K. Devdhar is delivering seem to have this for their central idea. What should be

the attitude of this party to the existing political parties? If the moderate party can be got to adopt such a platform, nothing can be better. And so far as the Bombay leaders, Sir Dinshah Wacha, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, Mr. Gokuldas Parekh and others are concerned, we are quite sure that they will gladly fall in with the idea of such a reconstitution of the party. Sir Dinshah has rendered distinguished service to the cause of social and civic progress by his unwearied work on the Bombay Municipal Corporation and as a publicist. Sir Narayan and Mr. Gokuldas Parekh are recognised leaders of the social reform and social service movements. But, we are afraid, the Moderate leaders in other parts of India are not to be easily brought round to this view. Mr. Surendranath Banerji's insistence (which we prefer not to characterise) on disqualifying women, on account of their sex, for the Franchise, Mr. Sastry's unaccountable silence on that and the question of special representation to the backward classes, and Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar's endorsement of the *non possumus* attitude of the Southborough Committee on these questions, are disquieting. On the other hand, the strong support which Mr. V. J. Patel gave to women suffrage in his evidence before the Joint Committee, is an indication that the national reconstruction party has supporters among all shades of Indian politics. And all this in spite of the resolutions of the All-India Moderate Conference.

**Disease and Marriage:** In the current number of the *Social Service Quarterly*, Bombay, Professor K. T. Shah of Mysore writes an informing article, based on the report of the Royal Commission on Venereal Diseases, on the treatment and prevention of venereal disease. He calls attention, in the course of his article, to the practice in this country of parents and friends seeking to get profligate young men married in the absurd belief that it will put an end to their profligacy. These people do not realise that profligacy need not necessarily involve extra-marital relations nor with many women; that there can be licentiousness in marriage, and there often is; and that in some respects the latter is more dreadful—from the point of view of the helpless victim—than the former. In order to save the reputation or, it may be, the health of a profligate friend, they do not mind sacrificing the happiness, and it may be, the health and life of an innocent girl. "In our country," as Professor Shah says, "there is the gravest reason to fear that not only does this knowledge of suffering (from venereal disease) not prevent the patient—a male one—from marrying, but is often a direct incentive to hasten the marriage. Parental anxiety to reclaim a misguided youth often leads to the celebration of marriages at the most undesirable moments. And there is reason to suspect that medical advisers in this country, even when they are consulted, seldom take up that firm stand which alone might succeed in dissuading. Cases are even known of medical



men actually recommending marriage in order to prevent further mischief." Why blame the medical men? Parents of girls, in their dread of social obloquy if they did not get their daughters married before they attain womanhood, have been known to give them away in marriage to elderly men bearing the insignia of disease! Such is the diabolical tyranny of custom overlaid with superstition. In these circumstances, we strongly endorse Professor Shah's plea for a law in India which would allow of divorce between married people on the ground of infection from venereal disease.

**Responsive Government or Responsible Government:** We print to-day a thought-provoking article entitled "Indianization of British Indian Governments," with the sub-heading, "A lesson from Indian States," by "Bhishma" who, we may say, is an Indian gentleman. He maintains that what India wants is responsive and not responsible Government. We do not know that there is any vital difference between the two. History shows that responsible government has been adopted in western countries as the sole means of ensuring responsive Government permanently in those countries. Other forms of government may be responsive by accident, it is only by an accident that a responsible government can be irresponsible. Starting with this fundamental fallacy, "Bhishma" proceeds to maintain that the reason why there is no demand for constitutional reform in Indian States is that the Governments of these States are "responsive" though they are not "responsible." We can only say that his picture of the people of Indian States being profoundly contented with the "responsiveness" of their Governments, does not tally with the complaints which one hears so often from subjects of the States. We admit that the absence of a ruling race makes an important difference between Indian States and British Indian politics. For instance, there will be no need to provide in a scheme of constitutional reform for Indian States that one-half of the members of the Council of Ministers shall be Indians. Generally speaking, those parts of the British Indian scheme—a not inconsiderable part—which have for object the insurance of Indian rights from aggression by the ruling race, will not be needed. But essentially, there is not much difference between the constitutional needs of British India and Indian States. If there is any it is certainly not in favour of the latter. The British Indian bureaucracy, for one thing, is free from the liability to Court influence (or intrigue) which is not unknown in Indian States. We are not disposed, as "Bhishma" is, to infer, from the absence of the demand in Indian States, the absence of the need for responsible and responsive Government in them. Further, the mere Indianization of the Services in British India will not reproduce the essential conditions of Indian States politics, assuming for the moment that it is desirable to do it. In many States, it is the personality of the Chief, and not the efficiency of the services, which determines the attitude of the people to the administration. And, lastly, if British India is to be a huge imitation Indian State, what becomes of the mission of the British connection in this country? The alternative scheme which six Provincial Governments drew up in preference to the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme, is based on principles somewhat similar to those of "Bhishma." Neither is likely to prove acceptable in British India at the present time.

**The Root of the Exchange Trouble:** India of the 11th July points out the mistake of the Government of India which has resulted in our present currency

troubles: "Had the recommendations of the Fowler Committee of 1898 ever been carried into effect", writes our contemporary, "the serious effects of the war upon world finance might have had far less reverberations in poverty-stricken India. In brief those recommendations were: the establishment of a gold standard; the fixing of the ratio between the rupee and the sovereign at one to fifteen; the opening of the Indian Mints to the unrestricted coinage of gold, the Government alone to be empowered to coin silver subject to certain conditions; and finally the accumulation of a special reserve in gold from the profits made upon the coinage of silver. But as a result of the departure by the Secretary of State from the practice of these principles, India is saddled with a gold exchange standard, although this was condemned in 1898 by Lord Rothschild. The present system of Indian currency is an artificial one "managed" by the Government, and since the Indian Reserve has been so largely held in London, a feeling has been fostered that it has been much more manipulated in the interests of British Banking Companies than of Indian prosperity. The broadest financial lesson of the war has been, perhaps, that gold flows towards raw commodities. Interference with this economic law can be only for interested motives, and when one sees a vast nation with favourable trade balances at the same time groaning in poverty, one naturally enquires what groups are benefited by such a state of things. Not the world as a whole certainly, for a prosperous India would be conducive to a prosperous Britain. The gold exchange standard is the merest makeshift, only suitable for periods of transition from silver to a perfect gold standard. Germany celebrated her 1871 victory by the adoption of the gold standard, and to this may be ascribed part of her vast industrial expansion between 1871 and 1914. Is it too much to ask that for India, an integral part of the triumphant British Commonwealth, that her victory celebrations should include not only as much political self-government as can possibly be obtained, but those measures of economic reform which will stabilise the country in a period of change?"

**India and Gold:** Sir James Wilson, Edinburgh, in a letter to *The Times*, points out that the world's stock of gold is now about £900,000,000 worth larger than ten years ago, and estimates that about £1,650,000,000 worth is presently held or used for currency purposes, out a total worth of £3,500,000,000, the rest being held by private individuals as ornaments, hoarded gold, or bullion. "It is now to the interest of the world generally," he says, "that everything possible should be done to encourage an effective demand for gold. All countries which are in a position to do so, especially the United Kingdom, should lose no time in putting gold into general circulation, in order that it may be utilised in this way. It would also be to the advantage of the world as a whole if the people of India, who have shown such a wonderful power of absorbing gold, were allowed to obtain it to the full extent of their heart's desire, and all restrictions on the free import of gold into India or any other country which may wish to procure it in preference to other commodities, should be removed at the earliest possible moment."

**Indian Deputations to England.** A Simla communique dated the 7th August, states:—The Joint Parliamentary Committee on the Indian Constitutional Reforms desire that deputations from Public Bodies and Associations in India should not proceed to England with a view to giving evidence before the Committee without first ascertaining through the Government of India that they will be in time for the Committee to hear them and are not likely to be disappointed.



# INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, AUGUST, 10, 1919.

## INDIA AND THE WAR.

The London Gazette published a despatch from His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief in India narrating the part played by this country, including the Indian States, in the prosecution of the war. This document has been reproduced in the official Gazettes in India, and is well worth careful reading. Sir Charles Monro writes in the cold official style and his narrative is, on the whole, a bare, almost bald, summary of facts and figures relating to India's share in the war. But here and there His Excellency is betrayed into some warmth of expression. The studied reserve of the despatch invests these rare digressions with special significance. The strength of the army in India at the outbreak of the war was approximately 77,000 British and 159,000 Indian ranks, exclusive of 38,000 Volunteers and 35,000 Indian reservists. This Army was maintained solely for two objects: firstly, the maintenance of order within and on the borders of British India and secondly, the provision of a field army capable, should the necessity arise, of undertaking a campaign beyond the border for purposes of defence against external aggression. At the same time, His Excellency observes, it was recognised that in the event of an emergency threatening the integrity of the Empire, the Government of India might have to take some risk with the object of furnishing military support to the central force. The Army was, therefore, organised and equipped, as far as was compatible with its primary duties, so as to be capable of affording ready co-operation in such directions as His Majesty's Government might indicate. Only a few days before the outbreak of the war, the Secretary of State had been informed that, in circumstances of special urgency, it might be possible, though at some risk, to send from India a force of two divisions and one cavalry brigade. On the outbreak of war this contingent was at once requisitioned from India for garrison duty in Egypt and the Soudan. The Government of India, however, urged on the Secretary of State that the relegation of these troops to garrison duty would be keenly felt by the men themselves, and that it was most desirable from every point of view that India should be represented on the European front. The destination of the Indian contingent was accordingly changed to Marseilles. The Commander-in-Chief, in writing of the release of the Indian Army Corps from France next year, owing, it is stated, to the rapid expansion of the British Army in England, casually mentions that the Corps had helped to tide over an anxious period and had fought at Festubert, Neuvechappelle, Loos, and the second battle of Ypres.

Before the end of 1914, the Indian Contingent in France had been augmented by two Cavalry divisions, making a total strength of 16,000 British and 28,500 Indian ranks; two Contingents, aggregating 1,500 British and 10,250 Indian ranks, had been despatched

to deal with German East Africa; the advanced guard of the Mesopotamian Expeditionary force, consisting of 4,500 British and 12,000 Indian ranks, had landed at Bahrien and begun operations; six infantry brigades and one Imperial Service Cavalry brigade, numbering 1,500 British and 27,250 Indian ranks, had disembarked in Egypt to guard that country; a small Indian Contingent co-operated with the Japanese in the attack on the German Naval base at Tsing-tao in North China; and, in addition to these, 32 British Infantry battalions and 20 batteries of artillery, in all 35,500 British ranks, had been sent independently to England to facilitate the expansion of the English Army. Of a total of about 240,000 men, India had sent away 140,000 by the end of 1914. Truly, did Lord Hardinge say that India had been bled white to serve the cause of the Empire in the several theatres of war. Sir Charles Monro gives the first place to the absence of trouble on the frontiers among the conditions which enabled this depletion of India's military strength. As a military man, it is natural that that should strike him most readily. He assigns the second place to the remarkable and spontaneous demonstration of enthusiasm throughout the country, accompanied by practical expressions of loyalty in the shape of offers of assistance of every kind, of which the outbreak of war was the signal in this country. The statesman, however, will transpose the order assigned to these two causes, and say, as Lord Hardinge did, that he trusted India and India was faithful to the trust. If there were ever any doubt that internal disquiet encourages trouble on the borders, it should have been removed by the extraordinary speech of the Afghan Peace Envoy the other day. The severe criticisms passed on the Government of India here and in England for the defects in the conduct of the Afghan campaign, due, in our opinion, to the pre-occupation of Government with such an unpopular measure as the Rowlatt Act, would be more useful if they brought out the vital connection between the unpopularity of the Indian Government at home and its unpreparedness on the frontier. The great asset which Lord Hardinge had bequeathed to his successor, has been squandered by delay, indecision, want of imagination, and sheer obstinacy. The spontaneous enthusiasm of loyalty at the commencement of the war, has given place at its close to sadness and gloom, but faintly relieved by the humanity of Sir Edward Maclagan in reducing the monstrous sentences of the Martial Law tribunals.

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief gives the total contribution of Indian personnel as 1,457,000, of whom 943,000 served overseas. Casualties amounted to 106,594. These figures include combatants and non-combatants. Indian soldiers fully maintained their high reputation for valour and humanity on the various battlefields. The services of the large number of Indian labour corps behind the fighting lines were not less valuable. They represented, in the words of



the despatch, wide variety of race, creed and language, including numbers from the remotest confines of Assam, Chins from the hills of Burma, and Santalis and aborigines from Chota Nagpur. Thus every class and tribe in India did its utmost to win the war. Nor was it in men only that India contributed to the war. The Commander-in-Chief devotes a whole paragraph to the assistance in material which this country rendered during the four eventful years. The average monthly output of the Army Clothing Factories rose to three times the normal yearly output before the war, and in one month reached its maximum figure of two million garments. Over a million and a half pairs of boots were supplied in the twelve months preceding the armistice. The ordinance factories worked their hardest. The inauguration of extensive schemes of irrigation and agricultural development in Mesopotamia made heavy additional demands on India; and the extension of the railway system in the same theatre continued to make serious inroad on our available rolling-stock and material. During the war, 1855 miles of railway track, 229 locomotives and 5,989 vehicles have been sent out of the country. The programme of river-craft construction allotted to India was completed before the armistice was signed, by which date 940 craft of various descriptions had been purchased, constructed, or re-erected in India for service overseas, mostly in Mesopotamia. These bare facts tell their own eloquent story. If it is remembered that these contributions were made by a people who, for part of the period, were ravaged by malaria, cholera, influenza and famine, it will be easier to estimate the sacrifice entailed by them. Besides these, India has made large monetary contributions. Her indirect contributions, during the same period, it is impossible to calculate. It may safely be said that with the exception of Great Britain no part of the Empire made larger contributions or were represented in a larger number of fronts than India. In France, the Indian contingent did signal service at a critical moment. The campaign in Mesopotamia was wholly Indian. Indian troops played a considerable part in maintaining peace in Egypt. In East Africa, they did good service amidst trying conditions. The Prime Minister was not in the least exaggerating when he said in moving a vote of thanks on Thursday to the Navy and the Army in Parliament, that India's remarkable contribution, notably in the East, had won her a new claim on their consideration, a claim so irresistible that it ought and must overpower all prejudice and timidity which might stand in the way of her progress.

**The Afghan War.** The following message was received at Simla on Friday from the Associated Press special correspondent at Rawalpindi:—"The Afghan delegates have signed the Peace Treaty."

## SEVEN BENGALI PIONEERS. \*

During thirty years of an arduous life, Raja Ram Mohan Roy had sown the seeds of religious, social and political progress. He established the Brahmo Samaj, carried to a successful issue his agitation against *Sati*, had formulated the demand for English education which was conceded two years after his death, had pleaded with the authorities for freedom of the press—his being one of the first journals published in India—and had submitted his views for the better Government of India to a Committee of the House of Commons. He died in September 1833. For the next few years, there was a lull. The good seed was germinating in silence and darkness. Ten years elapsed before Maharshi Devendra Nath Tagore took up the leadership of the Samaj. Then rose a galaxy of men who made the name of Bengal great among Indian provinces. The venerable Pandit Sivanath Sastry, in a volume of reminiscences, with the title of "Men I have known," has given vivid pen-portraits of seven of these pioneers. He has also given in them much material for a picture of himself,—“the last of the Romans.” Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, Dwarkanath Vidhyabhusan, Ananda Mohan Bose, Ramkrishna Paramahansa, Devendra Nath Tagore, Mahendralal Sircar, Rajnarain Bose—here is indeed, a group not easily matched in any age or clime. Every one of them—except, perhaps, A. M. Bose—was of the hardy and high-spirited breed of pioneers. Their very faces tell us of the great and resolute love of truth which animated them. They were men of strong emotions, quickly angered, but as quickly appeased. Plain living and high thinking is written on their brows. These men led dedicated lives. Their whole thought was given to the cause they had espoused. An amusing instance of this is thus recorded by Pandit Sastri of Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar.

A friend of his, who was one of the guests, came with his little daughter, a girl of nine or ten. This friend made his daughter bow at the feet of Pandit Vidyasagar whereupon the latter blessed her with the following benediction: "May you live long, my little daughter, may you be united to a suitable bridegroom, but then become a widow and may I have the opportunity of getting you married again!" This curious benediction naturally gave rise to general laughter; when the great Pandit also laughed heartily, and said, if the daughters of his friends did not become widows, how was he to carry out his pet idea? It was unpopular amongst his countrymen.

The Pandit one day saw a little girl, a barber's daughter in the author's house.

The fact that that little girl was a widow roused up all his old emotions; big tear drops began to trickle down his cheeks; he took her on his lap, clasped her in his arms; and said—she did not look like a barber's daughter; and when leaving he ordered me to get her admitted in the Bethune School, himself agreeing to pay her fees, and to send her and her mother in a *palankin* to his house so that he could present them to his own mother. The next day they were sent to his house.

\* "Men I have seen" by Pandit Sivanath Sastry, published by Mr. Ramanand Chatterjee, Modern Review Office Calcutta.



and when the mother and daughter returned, we were all struck to hear of the warm reception they had received at the hands of Vidyasagar and his mother. The great Pandit turned up next day and held conference with me about her education and final remarriage.

A young man living in Pandit Sastri's house was reported to have abused Vidyasagar. The old man went to the house and remonstrated with him, but could get no satisfaction.

Vidyasagar who was a fiery Brahmin all through, lost his temper, hurled his invectives against the young man, and left our lodging like an enraged lion. I entreated him to stay and go into the inner apartments and see my friend's wife (whose re-marriage had been brought about by Vidyasagar) hoping her very sight would calm him down. But paying no heed to my request, he ran home at the rate of ten minutes per mile. After he left us, we found fault with the young man for his ill-manners when speaking to such a great man. The next morning we sent him to beg pardon of the Pandit. He went, and finding Vidyasagar absent from home, quietly sat waiting for him. When Pandit Vidyasagar returned, he was surprised to see the former sitting in his study, and said—"I doubt not you come to beg pardon. What a fool you must be not to allow me the gratification of cherishing an angry feeling even for two days? I flew from you in anger only yesterday, and you come this morning to beg pardon. Let my anger have a little time to cool, I am coming to yours in a day or two."

Pandit Dwarkanath Vidyabhusan was Pandit Sastry's uncle. He with Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar founded the *Somaprakash*, the most influential journal in Bengal, next after the *Hindu Patriot*, in the sixties of the last century. He had at first some sympathy for the Brahmo Samaj, but the introduction of street processions in imitation of Vaishnavas and the tendency to worship Keshab, estranged him from the movement whose adherents Pandit Vidyabhusan used to call Kaishavas or the sect of Keshub. But he held strong opinions on social matters, especially on such as bore hardly on women. His paper was the great opponent of child marriage and polygamy involved in *Kulinism* which, Pandit Sastry says, is, in point of fact, prevalent amongst his class of Brahmins even now. He (Pandit Sivanath Sastry) himself was engaged when a child of one or two years old to a baby girl of two or three months. The redoubtable editor of the *Somaprakash* not only denounced the custom in his journal, but himself set a practical example in his own family in the case of his own children in the face of strong social condemnation. His services to oppressed womanhood sometimes took an aggressive form. The author relates :

One morning previous to his departure for Calcutta, he was getting ready for his journey, when a young woman, belonging to a lower caste, a widow herself, was seen passing by his door and wailing most piteously. My uncle at once stopped her and inquired into the cause of her sorrow ; when to his horror, the poor woman related her whole story to him ; how she had been misled by a rich man of the village, how she had been enticed away from the guardianship of her poor widowed mother, how shelter was given to her in a house in the neighbourhood of the rich man's mansions, and now that she was with child, and because she shrank from her

betrayal's proposal to prematurely destroy that child, how she had been ruthlessly turned out to live by begging or die in the streets. The story filled the mind of my uncle with indignation, the like of which I had seldom witnessed. He could not take his breakfast well. He ordered the woman to come to him next morning. The next morning a man was sent to that rich man to ask him whether he was ready and willing to make suitable provision for the poor woman. And because the fellow would not give any such assurance a law-suit was instituted against him in the name of the widow, at my uncle's expense. I have not a distinct recollection of all the turns of that law-suit ; only this much I remember that maintenance was ultimately secured from the rich man, who became a sworn enemy of my uncle from that time.

Ananda Mohan Bose, it is evident, was the friend nearest Pandit Sivanath Sastry's heart. The others in this book had his respect, admiration, reverence, but Bose had his love. Bose, indeed, seems out of place among the men portrayed in these reminiscences. His soft face, notwithstanding the luxuriant beard, seems almost weak by the side of the strong, resolute, and commanding features of Vidyasagar and Devendranath Tagore, Mahendralal Sarcar and Rajnarain Bose. Mr. Ananda Mohan Bose's career too differed in most respects from those of the others. The latter were mostly self-made men. Even Dr. Mahendralal Sarcar, though a graduate of the Calcutta Medical College, had by espousing homeopathy cut himself off from the official and established profession. Bose was a brilliant product of the Calcutta University. He had spent some years and been called to the Bar in England. The others had never left India, many of them had not travelled beyond their native province. Bose was a successful practitioner at the Calcutta High Court while the others, except Devendranath Tagore, had had a more or less hard struggle in life. Mr. Bose neglected his profession to discharge public duties. He was one of the founders, Pandit Sivanath Sastry himself being the other, of the City College ; he started the Indian Association in co-operation with Mr. Surendranath Banerji who was also one of his collaborators in the City College. Bose was a devout Brahmo and organised a Student's Weekly Service in connection with the Brahmo Samaj. "Of course," the author significantly adds, "we did not ask Mr. Banerji to join us in this." Mr. Bose was intensely interested in the work of temperance and social purity.

Ramakrishna Paramhansa and Maharshi Devendranath Tagore are the two great spiritual figures of modern Bengal. It is impossible, however, to think of two men who were so utterly different from each other in every respect. Ramakrishna, a poor *pujari* (temple priest), illiterate, uncouth : Devendranath, the inheritor of vast estates, a scholar in Persian, Sanskrit and English, equally at home with Hafiz, the Upanishads, and Western savants. The library he bequeathed to Santiniketan, now Poet Rabindranath's home, contained the works of



Kant, Fichte, Descartes, Victor Cousin, J. S. Mill, Herbert Spencer &c., many of the books bearing his pencil notes. The incidents which turned the minds of these two men to spiritual culture, are not less striking in their contrast. The sight of rats careering over the idols which he tended, is said to have set Ramkrishna's feet on the path of true religion. Maharshi Devendranath has told us in his autobiography that the event of events in his life was the floating into his presence of a stray leaf containing the first verse of the *Isopanishad* with its vast message embodied also in the Hebrew Psalm, "The earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof."

We have space only for a single quotation from Pandit Sastry's reminiscences of Dr. Mahendralal Sircar.

As the second or third M. D. of the Calcutta Medical College, and as a successful medical practitioner of the town, he belonged to a Medical Association, started by some professors of the college and by some other noted medical men. Dr. Sircar was working with the Association, as one of its distinguished members, and I think, as one of its office-bearers. Then there came a struggle. Under the influence of the late Babu Rajendra Dutt of the Wellington Square Dutt Family, a well-known Homeopath of the time, Dr. Sircar began to study Homeopathy and became a convert to it. He knew that the cause of Homeopathy was extremely unpopular amongst his medical friends of the town; yet his love of truth impelled him to place the argument in its favour before his brother-physicians, at a meeting of the Association. That was a memorable day. As the reading of his paper went on, and the claims of Hahneman were set forth, in the terms of a loving and admiring disciple, his brother-physicians, assembled at the meeting, were mightily shaken, till one of them sprang to his feet, and exclaimed—"Well, doctor, one word more and you shall be turned out of this hall." Then there came the spirit of Martin Luther upon Dr. Sircar, who squared his breast and calmly replied; "Even if I be turned out, yet I must tell the truth."

The last name in this volume of reminiscences is Rajnarain Bose, in some respects the most remarkable of these early Bengali pioneers. Pandit Sastri mentions it as a historical fact that Keshab Chunder Sen was won over to the cause of Brahmoism by reading Babu Rajnarain's sermons. Rajnarain was not a Brahmin. Indeed his induction by Maharshi Devendranath in the pulpit of Brahmo Samaj led to the sympathy of men like Vidyasagar being alienated from that movement. Yet orthodox Brahmins spoke of him as a *devata* or angel; and Pandit Shastri records that Babu Bhudeo Mukerji, a famous Brahmin Bengali writer and leader, took off from his own person his sacred brahminical thread and wanted to put it on Rajnarain's shoulders saying "Rajnarain, Rajanarain, though born a *shudra* you are a better Brahmin than myself. I wish I had that purity and spirituality in me." A remarkable fact about Rajnarain is that he was a sort of brand plucked from the burning. Pandit Sastri relates how it happened that in his early days Rajnarain had become a hard and habitual drinker.

His father Nande Kisore Bose, of Boral, was a beloved disciple of Rajah Ram Mohun Roy. It was the custom with the Rajah to take his breakfast in the morning, in native Indian fashion, seated on the floor on a wooden plank seat, and taking his food directly with his fingers out of dishes served by a Brahmin cook; but in the evening he used to dine in European fashion, seated at the table with his friends and disciples when wine would form an article of diet. Of course he took care to see that none exceeded the limits of temperance. He was so rigorously careful about this part of his duty that on one occasion, a friend, out of fun, craftily made the Rajah take one glass of wine more than his usual allowance. The latter took so much offence at this violation of his rule, that he did not see the face of that friend for months. "He is no friend of mine," said the Rajah, "who delights to see me intemperate."

From Ram Mohun Roy's table the habit of drinking came to the first generation of educated Bengalis, specially to the reformers; Nanda Kisore Bose, the father Rajnarain Bose, having been a reformer himself was given to drinking, of course, within temperate limits. Many of the advanced students of the Hindu College, with whom Rajnarain Bose read, amongst whom Michael Madhu Sudan Dutt was one, were also given to drinking. From class-mates and associates, Rajnarain Bose acquired a drinking habit in early boyhood. But drinking amongst these college students was at times carried to excess. Finding him running to excess at times his father became afraid and one day calling him to his presence, he opened a chest of drawers and taking out a wine-bottle and a glass, poured a glassful of wine and offered it to his son, with an injunction never to attend drinking parties amongst his fellow-students, but always drink with his father. He did not object to drinking, he said, but he hated intemperance. The warning of his father was of no avail; through the influence of class friends, the drinking habit went on developing itself; till Baboo Rajnarain became a habitual and hard drinker.

We have made this lengthy quotation, because it is full of suggestion. Rajnarain gave up the habit, and became a powerful leader of the temperance movement in his native district. That Raja Ram Mohun Roy should have been the means of propagating the drinking habit in Bengal, is one of life's ironies. It is also a proof of the magnanimous faith of the early Brahmos that they should have gladly recognised the great spiritual gifts of this reclaimed drinker. The man who gives his conscience to the keeping of custom and caste is "safe" in a sense, though it is but the safety of the prison-house. The man who rejects authority undertakes a great adventure fraught with risks on every side. To prove all things and hold fast that which is good, is a high ideal but an arduous one. Only the very strongest are equal to it. The way of the pioneer is hard: its temptations, terrible: its sole reward, the satisfaction of the conscience. These Bengali pioneers were great souls in every sense. We are indebted to Pandit Sivanath Sastry for this volume which is really a valuable contribution to the history of modern Bengal. It is an important companion volume to the author's "History of the Brahmo Samaj".



## INDIANIZATION OF BRITISH INDIAN GOVERNMENTS.

A LESSON FROM THE INDIAN STATES.

A recent question in the House of Commons has given point to the discussion as to how far the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms are likely to influence the Governments of Indian States. Speaking for Mysore, the most progressive among the larger States in India, it may be safely asserted that there is no real "passion for reform" for responsible or even representative Government, notwithstanding the solitary cry for it raised in the last meeting of the Representative Assembly. The absence of such a demand in the Indian States, the conditions of which are so similar to those of British India, both in the constitutional nature of the Governments and the education of the people is noteworthy. The Governments in both are bureaucratic in the extreme. The same western education has been imparted to the people in British India and the Indian States. The educated classes both in British India and the Indian States are products of British Indian Universities. As for elementary education, the Indian States may be said to have been more progressive than British India. Similar as are the conditions concerned, there is a strong demand for Responsible Government in British India and none in Indian States.

It may not be idle speculation to attempt to find an explanation of this phenomenon and its applicability to British India.

The explanation for the absence of the passion for Reform in Indian States may be summed up in a single word "sympathy", sympathy between the rulers and the ruled. The absence of such sympathy accounts for the fierce agitation in British India. The Governments in Indian States are Indian and National, notwithstanding their bureaucratic and even autocratic constitution, and they do anticipate the wishes of the people and place themselves at the head of National aspirations. In fact, it is sometimes complained that the pace of these Governments towards the promised land is too fast for the general mass of the people to follow, whereas the complaint in British India is said to be that, there the people themselves have to force the pace of reluctant and slow-moving Governments towards a similar goal.

Since in the Indian States the people get all they want and even more, consequently, even the educated classes there give no thought to the constitution of the Government and ask for no change. For, after all, it may be admitted that what most people desire is a peaceful and progressive Government *responsive* to the wishes of the people whatever be its constitutional nature, bureaucratic or democratic. A democratic constitution may be said to be but a means to an end, not the end itself, viz., a stable and responsive Government. If other constitutions can bring about the same consummation, few people, will mind them, at any rate here in India and for a long time to come.

The educated classes in the Indian States are content because their Governments though bureaucratic are responsive. Their brethren in British India are

discontented with their Governments which are also bureaucratic. The only conclusion to be drawn is that the British Indian Governments are not responsive to the people; hence the people are devising means to make the Government responsive to them. It is very probable that if the British Indian Governments had either anticipated the wishes of the people or at least accepted in good time the resolutions of the Congress, there would have been pretty little cry for democracy now.

From this it follows that the educated classes either in British India or the States are not enamoured of Democracy for its own sake; to feel the power of the vote and derive contentment therefrom. The present cry for democracy in British India is evidently not because the British Indian has come to believe that "good Government is no substitute for Self-Government" good or bad, but because, he has come to believe that good Government according to his point of view, cannot be had with the present constitution and that the only alternative is self-government, which, according to him, is but a means to make the Government responsive to the people. It may also be that, in the adoption of the cry for democracy, there is an element of tactics to secure the sympathy of the British Democracy, to whom it is likely to appeal with telling force.

If the argument is logical so far, it follows that the people in British India want their Governments to be responsive to them. In the States this is secured by the personnel of the Governments being Indian. In British India, it is sought to be secured by changes in the constitution of the governments whereby they become responsible and thereby responsive to the people.

It may now be considered if the constitutional changes contemplated in British India are the only and the best means to bring about the desired end or if there is an alternative—a lesson from the States.

For the successful working of the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms, two things seem to be essential:—an intelligent electorate and the cordial co-operation of the Indian and the Britisher in a spirit of fellowship and equality.

As for the first, the widened electorate which does not yet understand the value of the vote and has not yet begun to think of problems larger than the immediate affairs of a class or caste, cannot yet be confidently expected to send the best of its men to the legislature. More education, should perhaps precede the introduction of the vote.

Secondly, the reforms are not being ushered with the cordial consent and goodwill of all the important classes or parties concerned. They are being bitterly opposed by those who now enjoy power and influence. The reforms are at best a halting compromise proposed by a third party but which the chief parties concerned are not agreed on. The happy co-operation between the Indian and the Britisher, which the Reforms postulate, is but an idyllic dream, realised but on few occasions. The tradition, training and the standpoint of the Britisher in India is almost diametrically opposed to those of the Indian.



One might and does serve the other, but co-operation in a spirit of equality and fellowship, is almost next to impossible, though it is a matter for regret to admit it. The result that might naturally be expected is that the two parts of the Executive Government will be pulling in opposite directions, matters will be considered purely on racial consideration, leading to constant bickerings and perhaps a stand-still in the administration. With an untrained electorate and an inharmonious Government the proposed transition is likely to be stormy and unsafe. It may be said that in view of the absence of race-conflict in the Indian states, the introduction of the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms is likely to be smoother there, if not at once efficient.

If such disquieting anticipations are warranted, what is the other course to make the Governments in British India responsive to the people of the country. The Indian States supply the answer. It is not changes in the constitution that are essential but changes in the nationality of the personnel of the Governments. The Executive Councils should be manned by Indians, solely or at any rate by a majority. It is any time quite possible to pick up the few Indians required to man the Governments who are the best of the land. Such men are better discovered by the King than by a large uneducated electorate. This reform, though far-reaching in its influence, requires, thanks to the Queen's Proclamation, no new statute by Parliament, and can be effected at the latest in five years.

The position of Britishers in the civil and other services has now to be considered. There are certain advantages in the employment of Europeans in the services. They have, it has to be frankly admitted, a higher average of business capacity and efficiency and the sense of duty.

More than this, the European, by his political ascendancy for the last century and over has built for himself a huge edifice of prestige which very often drives the machinery of administration successfully when the individual fails to do it. Few will dispute the fact that the European inspires greater respect—or fear as perhaps our jealousy would put it—among the uncultured masses, why, even among the very educated classes themselves.

These assets for efficient administration, are not advisable to part with, if it can be helped. It is to the interest of the Indian to harness the prestige and efficiency of the European for carrying out his policy. The services should be made attractive to the European. Here again, the Indian States tell us that Europeans of no mean capacity are, as a matter of fact, available for service under Indian direction of policy. India certainly wants the European, but only as efficient servants and not as masters.

But if the European should refuse to serve under Indians—rather a remote contingency—the Indian should be prepared to get along without him. The Indian States tell us that their services manned almost entirely by Indians, do not lack efficiency. To further increase the efficiency of the Indian, the policy of sending them abroad for study and wider out-

look may be more vigorously followed, as in the case of Japan and Mysore. As for prestige, a time will speedily come when the sight of Europeans serving under Indians becomes quite familiar and the spell of European prestige will be broken, making room for personal capacity.

The foregoing argument does not mean that Indians should not aim at Democratic Government. Far from it. Only it is urged that its realization is not yet. The rapid transition and the method as suggested by the Montague-Chelmsford Scheme are not, it is feared, likely to lead to a smooth and efficient achievement of Democracy. As education widens its influence, as it certainly will under Indian management, more and more people will share the passion for Democracy and win it without having to bitterly agitate for it or run the risk of making it inefficient.

To sum up it is suggested that:—

a. Indians today want Responsive rather than Responsible Government.

b. This can be secured better by changing the personnel of the Governments from British to Indian rather than by changing the constitution.

c. That the place for Europeans is that of efficient servants and not masters of Indians.

d. That Democracy may be kept steadily in view, rather than forged now and immediately.

Briefly put, British India might well learn a lesson in the art of Governments from the Indian States where a combination of the suggestion given above are in actual and successful practice.

BHISHMA.

#### CURRENCY AND SOCIAL REFORM.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

SIR,

In your issue of the 3rd August you have an article on "Currency and Social Reform" in which certain statements are made by you about the Rupee and the Currency policy of the Government which are based on a total misunderstanding of the correct position.

You say the half-rupee and the quarter rupee are not token coins whose face value is larger than their metallic value. Your definition of token coins is correct. Any coin that circulates at more than its value as bullion is a "token." Under this definition of yours, our Rupee and the half and the quarters are really tokens ever since 1894. The Rupee contains only 11/12th of a tola of pure silver. Now, ever since 1891, 100 tolas of pure silver have been worth in the Bombay silver market only Rs. 60 to 70. Taking Re. 65 as an average, these 65 coins contain only 65 x 11/12 equal to about 60 tolas of pure silver. Thus, ever since 1894 60 tolas of coined silver has exchanged in the open market for 100 tolas of silver bullion which clearly shows that on your own definition, the Rupee here is and has been a mere token all these years.

You seem to think the ryot has been all these years converting his rupees directly into ornaments by melting them, but the ryot is not as foolish as all that. When he can get fifty per cent. more silver than the metal contained in his rupees he buys the metal itself from the bazar. In your issue of the 13th July, you make a most curious statement. You there say "to the ryot the rupee was for many years a



convenient means of obtaining a certain quantity of standard silver for making jewels..... Since closing the mints to silver, the Government have deprived the ryot of this convenience and he feels it."

The ryot must be difficult to please indeed! Before 1894 to get 100 tolas of silver for ornaments, he had to pay (or melt) 100 rupees. Since 1894, he has had to pay only Rs. 60 to 70 for the same silver, and yet he feels it and grumbles.

You talk of Mahomed Taglakh but you do not seem to be able to see the distinction that his method lowered the purchasing power of the coin of his time. The present Government's method has, on the contrary, raised the purchasing power as I show above. I do not know what to say when two such distinctly contrary things are treated as alike by your leader-writer.

Your further definition of a token coin is strange still. You say " (the rupee) will not be a token coin in the strict sense of the word, so long as Government guarantees that for exchange purposes it shall not fall below 1s. 4d."

So your definition of the token coin here is that a coin the exchange value of which does not depend on its bullion contents but on the Government guarantee is not a token!! You apparently put the Government on the back for raising the rate of Exchange, because it furnishes a proof that "the Government do not regard the rupee as a token." A little lower down you say "the closing of the mints was a grave wrong to the masses." So it was but you do not seem to understand where the wrong lay. Both your articles simply speak of the ryot being deprived of the right to melt the rupees into ornaments, but I show above that if this was the right the ryot claimed, the ryot must thank the Government for making silver 50 per cent. cheaper. If the wrong lay, as it really did, in raising the value of the rupee from 11d. to 16d. and thus cutting down the income of the ryot, it is strange that a paper like yours should put the Government on the back for doing still worse, *viz.* putting the rupee up from 16d. to 20d.

You then define your own position thus—

"Let us as quickly as possible put things on an automatic basis by having the full gold standard and currency."

Will you be good enough to show us how. Suppose Gold is allowed to be freely imported tomorrow. What will be your gold coin? What will be the subsidiaries? What will be the relation of your gold coin to the present rupee? How do you propose to safeguard such relation? I and other students of the subject will await your explanation with interest.

Yours faithfully,  
B. F. MADON.

[We shall have occasion to write at length on the points raised in an early issue. For the present, in support of the view that the rupee is not a true token coin, we shall cite the Fowler Committee's words:—"The result would be that, under identical conditions, the sovereign would be coined and would circulate both at home and India.....under an effective gold standard, rupees would be token coins subsidiary to the sovereigns." In other words, till there is a standard coin in the shape of the sovereign in circulation, the rupee is not a token, because a token coin is a coin which can be readily exchanged for the standard coin in certain fixed proportion.—The closing of the mints depreciated with a stroke of the pen the silver holdings of the people. As regards the last para, Mr. Madon would find the particulars in the report of the Fowler Committee.—Ed. I. S. R.]

## THE STUDENTS' LITERARY AND SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY, BOMBAY.

The annual general meeting of the society, as also a Special meeting called on requisition to consider certain additions and alterations in the Society's rules, were held, one after the other, at the Marathi Grantha-sangrahalaya Hall, on Sunday the 3rd August, 1919, Sir N. G. Chandava kar presiding. The Annual Report and statement of accounts having been read, the meeting resolved on the motion of Mr. D. G. Padhye to adopt the same with the Society's best thanks to the donors, to the ladies and gentlemen who had done honorary teaching work in the Society's schools, specially to Mr. Gajanan Bhaskar Vaidya, and its appreciation of the services of Mrs. Vaidya, the Head-mistress of the Society's Girls' High School. It was the next item of the agenda on which the interest of the day's proceedings was mainly concentrated, and this was the election of the office bearers of the Society for the ensuing two years, as per the scrutiny of the voting lists received from the Members. It was announced that Sir N. G. Bhandavarkar and Justice L. A. Shah were re-elected the President and the Vice President respectively, Dr. J. S. Nerurkar and Mr. V. V. Rane, the Secretaries, Mr. S. B. Vaidya the Treasurer and Messrs. G. B. Vaidya, V. G. Rao S. B. Raikar and V. K. Modak ordinary Members of the Managing Committee. The proceedings of the Annual Meeting closed with an earnest speech from the Chairman, who said he was glad of the new interest shown by members and welcomed even oppositions. He characterised the election of office bearers, which on technical grounds he had to uphold, as unjust and untenable. He concluded with an exhortation for harmonious work, so that this oldest literary society, identified with the cause of female education and the name of Dadabhai Navroji and Dr. Bhan Daji, may live and prosper. Mr. Padhye in beginning the proceedings of the second meeting responded to Sir Narayan's sentiments and said that he and his friends wished naught but such working of the Society's affairs as that no one should point a finger of blame or ridicule at it and therefore moved that the additions and alterations in the Rules and Regulations, which he had given notice of his intention to move, be referred to a Committee for an early report. Mr. Padhye left the naming of the Committee to the Chairman. This was agreed to and the Committee having been constituted as suggested, the Special Meeting was adjourned with a vote of thanks to the Chairman.

## NITROGEN, A COMPOUND.

The *Manchester Guardian* in its issue of June 6, writes:—Nitrogen, which by a curious coincidence was first isolated in 1772 by the chemist D. Rutherford, and has for a century and a half been regarded and treated as an element, with an atomic weight of 14, is now suspected to be, not an element at all, but a compound of Hydrogen and Helium; the Helium forming the central sun or nucleus of the system, the Hydrogen nuclei appearing as Satellites. The combining weight of 14 is explained as due to the central nucleus of three Helium nuclei, each of mass 4, the remaining two being accounted for by the Hydrogen satellites.

Village Panchayets and Panchamas. The *Panchama* (Hyderabad, Deccan) writes: "We do not think that there are many reformed men among the Panchamas in the villages and therefore we would advise all such panchayets to have some respectable person of any other caste to decide their quarrels and other differences. Lately there was a selection in a Panchama *basti* (a small locality) to appoint a headman from among their own community. At the first meeting all the members had unanimously voted for one person and when again the same question came up at the second meeting there were 2 opposers one who had already signed and the other who was absent at the first meeting. However a third person was called in to decide the case when the headman-elect was confirmed. We earnestly request the well-wishers of the Panchamas to interest these people in all their affairs.



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OCT 4 1919

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# THE INDIAN \* SOCIAL \* REFORMER.

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not  
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

## CONTENTS.

—:o:—

Indian Reform and Women Suffrage.	First Oriental Conference.
Tact or Truth.	A Hindu Widow Re-marriage.
The Currency Situation.	The Burma Bhratri Sabha, Mandalay.
Economy in Public Expenditure.	Disease and Marriage.
The Calcutta University Commissions Report I.	Karma and Social Reform.
The Epidemic of Increased Salaries.	The Dnyanodaya on Secondary Education.
Currency Fallacies.	The Inter-caste Marriage Bill in Parliament.

## NOTES.

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**Indian Reform and Women Suffrage.** The exclusion of Indian women from the suffrage is evidently not to be effected so summarily as the Southborough Committee and the Government of India would like. It is now clear that the Southborough Committee's recommendation was against the weight of evidence. Lord Southborough told the Joint Committee that he was astonished at the testimony in favour of women suffrage. His lordship was persuaded, evidently by Mr. Surendranath Banerji and Mr. Srinivasa Sastry, that this feeling in favour of women suffrage was the outcome of an academic sentiment in favour of the emancipation of women and that the practical aspect of the question was not very hopeful. Replying on the 8th August to a deputation of Indian women headed by Mrs. Naidu, urging the enfranchisement of the women of India, Mr. Montagu said: "He regarded the question as vitally important because if not at present, certainly after the first Statutory Commission of enquiry, it would be a question which Indian men would be in a position to decide for themselves. He had always advocated women's suffrage in Britain. The Joint Committee was making a most detailed enquiry into the question. It would be wrong to indicate his own view and he certainly would not indicate what would be the view of the Committee but all the arguments of the Deputation would be very fully considered." This is not at all satisfactory. We object to starting the reforms with an act of glaring social injustice. After all, we ask for no special suffrage for women. All that is asked is that women possessing the qualifications prescribed for men voters should not, merely because of their sex, be denied the franchise as proposed by the Southborough Committee and the Government of India. We are glad that the Aga Khan has entered the lists with an emphatic statement in the *Times*. According to a Reuter's telegram of the 11th instant, His Highness declares that the proceedings of the Joint Committee go to show that the attitude of casual negation on the question of women's suffrage, which was adopted in the Southborough Report and endorsed by the Government of India, is without substantial foundation. He points out that the official witnesses who hold

that very few women would go to the polling booth forget that *purdah* ladies enter the law and registration courts throughout the country and give evidence regarding the transfer of property, and they daily play a part in the affairs of the country-side, which makes the suggestion ludicrous that there would be anything revolutionary in recording their vote once in three years or less. He deplores Sir James Meston's statement that female enfranchisement presents practical and social difficulties, and protests on behalf of hundreds of *purdah* ladies of position against these obsolete views. Coming from a Mahomedan of His Highness' authority and position, these earnest words of protest cannot be ignored. The London correspondent of the *Times of India* says that, judging from his questions in the Joint Committee, Mr. Montagu seems to favour extending the suffrage to women.

**Tact or Truth:** The Hon. Sir Syed Ali Imam and Lady Imam were guests at a farewell dinner given in their honour by the Lieutenant Governor of Bihar and Lady Gait, on the eve of their departure to Hyderabad, Deccan, where Sir Ali Imam has accepted the post of President of the Council of Ministers of His Exalted Highness the Nizam. In replying to the toast of his and Lady Imam's health, Sir Ali Imam succumbed to the temptation to sit in judgment on the action of his successor in the Viceroy's Executive Council. Sir Edward Gait had said that, as a patriotic Indian, Sir Ali Imam had never failed to press strongly all the reasonable claims of his countrymen, "but he has done so in a tactful and conciliatory way, and has always been anxious to join with his colleagues in seeking a common line of agreement." Sir Ali Imam's tact, however, momentarily forsook him when, in acknowledging the compliment, he went on to say: "Minutes of dissent have their value and may at times leave no other alternative, but the good old adage that half a loaf is better than no loaf at all, retains as much wisdom in the affairs of State as in the practical concerns of life." The reference is plain: Sir Sankaran Nair should not have written his minutes of dissent. That those minutes were not intended to be models of tact, goes without saying. But are there no occasions in the government of a great Empire when truth is of more importance than tact? The present is, we think, one such. Is there or is there not more truth in these minutes of dissent than in the despatches to which they are appended? That is the question for British statesmen who have to decide on the issues raised. Sir Sankaran Nair would seem to have been more anxious that the truth, as he saw it, should be known to the authorities in England in order that justice might be done to the claims of his countrymen, than that he should earn the reputation of being a successful Member by seeking a common line of agreement with his colleagues on matters in which he fundamentally differed from them. And with all deference to Sir Ali Imam, though half a loaf is better than no bread, half or



even a whole stone is not. It is, we think, Sir Sankaran's contention that the Government of India proposals are an offer of stone to those who ask for bread. By the way, did not Sir Ali Imam, if we remember, speak in a different key at a farewell function when he left Simla? He spoke, we think, of the difficult position of the Indian member, his isolation, and its liability to become intolerable but for the support invariably extended to him by Lord Hardinge. Perhaps, if Lord Hardinge were Viceroy still, Sir Sankaran Nair might have had no occasion to write his minutes of dissent, and might (who can say?) have left his office at the close of his full term in the midst of a shower of roses. What would Sir Ali Imam have done, we wonder, had he been in Sir Sankaran Nair's shoes when martial law was proclaimed and administered as it was in the Punjab.

**The Currency Situation:** We print to-day a lengthy contribution from a specially well-qualified publicist in the form of a reply to criticisms of the *Servant of India* on certain views expressed in this paper. We should say, in passing, that our Poona contemporary has used the quotation from the Fowler Committee's Report to convey a meaning which is very different from what it bears in the context in which it occurs, and that our contributor's criticism, while applying to the *Servant of India*, does not, as he believes, extend to the views of the Fowler Committee on the relation between token coin and legal tender. The point, whether the rupee is a true token coin or not, is, however, rather of antiquarian interest today when it stands at 1 s. 10 d., which is about its metallic value. From 16 d. it was moved up to 18 d., from 18 d. to 20 d. and from 20 d. it has now been raised to 22 d. No doubt, this is done by a Government notification but the Government notification so closely follows the normal processes of exchange that it is extremely difficult to assert that the rupee is intended to be no more than a token. It is hardly worth while pursuing the point. Then, as regards the absorption of silver coins (rupees and half-rupees): it had been estimated that previous to the closing of the mints about three crores of rupees were melted annually for the purpose of making ornaments. Rupees ceased to be melted when the new policy began to operate and when the rupee was forced up above its metallic value. Nevertheless a certain proportion of the silver coins in circulation continued to disappear the only conclusion possible being that they were being stored up by the people against a rainy day which, in India, is never long in coming. During the last year or two, however, the country has been absorbing rupees at an extraordinary rate. Sir James Meston felt called upon to admonish the people of India to mend their currency habits and Indian publicists have not been wanting to suggest that they should be cured of their perversity by being supplied only with nickel coins in place of the present silver ones; though the Calcutta Chamber of Commerce, a body of British merchants has, curiously enough, recognised that, having regard to our population, the Indian absorption of the precious metals cannot be said to be excessive. The Bombay Mill Owners' Association in a statesman-like representation has sought to explain the recent heavy absorption of rupees in a plain, common-sense fashion. "There is a very confident belief among the masses," they say, "that the scarcity of silver would, later on, lead to a still greater enhancement of the metal. If they were hard hit for years after the closure of the mint when their silver possessions were reduced 50 per cent. by a stroke, they now think that the contrary may happen and silver may come back to its own and recoup them for the losses. The belief

is not unnatural. This my committee take to be the chief cause of the rupees so swiftly disappearing soon after their being put into circulation." This may be true to some extent, though it invests the masses with the mentality of the speculator in silver, which they do not generally possess. May it also be, now that the rupee has ceased to have more than its metallic value, that it is being melted for silver which has been scarce owing to war conditions? If the country wants silver, it will have it. The idea of forcibly weaning it from its craving can be entertained only by those who do not realise that the power of the State to enforce its mandates is in direct ratio to the support which those mandates derive from the habits and sentiments of the people. The Mill Owners' Association wisely observes:

"My Committee cannot refrain from expressing their strong opinion on the continuance of the sound and healthy policy pursued by the Government for years past, namely every expansion of notes in future, as in the past, being fully backed by metallic currency. It is the ready convertibility of notes into rupees which has been so wholly contributory to the financial credit and prestige of Government in a country where they have to provide metallic currency for the domestic economy of millions of the illiterate masses. There should never be any deviation from that tried policy. Inconvertibility of notes would be highly disastrous to that credit and prestige. Neither should there be any tampering with the existing coinage. Having regard to the fact that at a very rough estimate India possess 400 crores of rupees it would be exceedingly unwise and most uneconomic to make any change whatsoever in the fineness and standard weight of silver coins or to allow to go into circulation coins of any new design. India must be rigidly kept free from the operation of Gresham Law."

We welcome this counterblast to the rather wild-cat suggestions of the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau in their recent statement on currency and exchange questions.

**Economy in Public Expenditure:** The Chancellor of the Exchequer, speaking in the House of Commons on the 7th instant, uttered stern words of warning against the continued increase in public expenditure. The expenditure must be cut down and production increased, he said, or they would become nationally bankrupt. The House took Mr. Austen Chamberlain's words so much to heart that on the next day when Mr. Bonar Law brought in a bill to increase the salaries of certain ministers from £2000 to £5,000 per annum—as was done recently in the case of Lord Curzon—the Government majority showed a serious falling off and even the reduced majority was obtained on the distinct promise that the further progress of the Bill will be postponed till after the recess. One seldom hears the words 'retrenchment' and 'economy' in connection with public expenditure nowadays in India. But the need for the thing is all the same urgent. We publish to-day a contributed article calling attention to the way in which salaries are being increased in the superior ranks especially of the Services recruited in England. In our opinion the prospects of the success of the Reform scheme are gravely imperilled by these measures. We hope some one will be able to obtain from the Government in the Indian Legislative Council or in Parliament, the amount of total increase in salaries as the result of the various "re-organization" schemes. It looks almost as if we are being asked to purchase the first step to responsible Government by "compensating" the Services in hard cash.



# INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, AUGUST, 17, 1919.

## THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY COMMISSIONS REPORT I.

The Calcutta University Commission Report runs thirteen volumes each of between three and four hundred royal octavo pages. Five of these, containing the report proper, have been issued, the remaining eight volumes consisting of appendices, statistics and evidence. The first three volumes are devoted to a comprehensive analysis of present conditions. In the fourth and fifth volumes are developed the recommendations of the Commission. The analysis of present conditions in the opening chapters, besides forming a necessary background to the Commission's recommendations, have another serious interest for students of Indian affairs. They supply a grievous omission of the Rowlatt Committee which prescribed a treatment based on symptoms without trying to probe into the causes underlying them. The country would have been spared the troubles over the Rowlatt Act if Government had waited a few months for the Sadler Committee's report, and had spared a few days to assimilate its contents. Not much reading between the lines is required to see that, in the opinion of the Sadler Commission, the utter breakdown of the secondary schools system in Bengal was the main contributory cause of the anarchic developments that met the majority of the participants in which were secondary students. As we read the historical part of the analysis, the plain meaning of the Commission is that secondary education has been starved and stunted in reference to a high-sounding but unmeaning formula about encouraging private initiative in that all-important field. This was done with the approval of the Education Commission of 1882 which, overruling the strong and reasoned objections of the late Mr. Justice Kelang who was one of its members, placed the seal of its authority on the short-sighted policy of Government. Referring to Lord Curzon's Universities' Commission, the Sadler Committee call attention to the serious omission in the terms of reference of the former to secondary education. Here, again, Indian leaders, notably Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, had pointed out in vain the futility of the attempt to reform University education without first putting our High Schools in order. All the recognition that their representations obtained was a sentence in one of Lord Curzon's farewell speeches commending secondary education to the care of his successors.

The whole trend of the Calcutta University Commission report is to show that Indian opinion was throughout in the right and that the official policy which contravened it was wrong, and that many of the present conditions which all deplore, are due to the neglect to benefit by Indian knowledge and experience of the country and the views based upon them. In the forefront of their recommendations Sir Michael Sadler and his colleagues place the reform of secondary education. Their recommendations in this regard involve the

reversal in important respects of the policies advocated by the Education Commission of 1882 and the Universities' Commission of 1904, and they also involve the devolution on non-official Indians of the responsibility as well the authority of controlling and guiding secondary education. In contrast to the Commission of 1882, the Sadler Commission insist that secondary education cannot be made efficient if it is to depend only on school fees and private munificence, that the State should make up its mind to make large grants for its advancement. The Raleigh Commission banned with book and bell second-grade colleges, or institutions teaching up to the Intermediate Examination in Arts. The Sadler Commission, on the contrary, recommend the establishment of such colleges as the only means of relieving the Universities of much of the High School work which is at present imposed on them. We do not quite approve of this suggestion in the shape in which it is made, our chief objection being that it is unsettling to compel a student to go to an institution which is neither a High School nor a College for two years. If the two years preparatory to the Intermediate Arts are definitely recognised as properly falling within the scope of school work, the right thing to do is to add them to the High Schools, at the same time adopting measures to make their foundations strong enough to bear this additional superstructure. This the Commission permit doing in special cases. We think that this should be done in all, the High Schools being furnished with sufficient funds to enable them to improve their staff and equipment. Perhaps, it may not be necessary to take both the Intermediate years out of the College course. It may be enough to cut out only the present first College year, and tack it on to the schools, leaving three years for the B.A. degree. This recommendation of the Sadler Committee is of immediate and outstanding interest to other Indian Universities, though the whole report bristles with fruitful suggestion.

The Committee do not leave the question there. They do not think that will be enough. They are of opinion that the existing department of Public Instruction is not so organised as to be able to regulate and supervise the new system. They do not say so but any one can see that, in their view, it has not been equal to regulating and supervising the present system. The Universities cannot for obvious reasons undertake the task. The Commission, therefore, recommend that there should be established a Board of Secondary and Intermediate Education—we think Secondary Education covers the whole—to consist of fifteen to eighteen members, with power to appoint advisory and other Committees including outside members. A majority of the Board should consist of non-official members, and it should always include in Bengal, at least three representatives of Hindu and at least three of Muslim interests. In other words, it should be predominantly non-official. We do not like the idea of a salaried President of the Board—nor the salaried Vice-Chancellor of the University, another recommendation of the Commission's. Education is the one department of the administration



where an endeavour should and could be immediately made to get away from the rather sickening clamour on all sides about salaries. Experience shows that to provide a commanding post with a salary in this country is inevitably to bring it into the vortex of Service interests. Whatever may be the case at the start, at no distant date the Presidency of the Secondary Education Board and the Vice-Chancellorship of the University, if definitely turned into salaried places, will come to be filled on the same principles as memberships of Council. We need not indicate what these are. We have, of course, no objection to a provision that in special cases the Board or the University may invite eminent educationists—English or Indian—to preside over them for a term of years on a salary to be fixed specially for each case. This, however, is a detail though, in our view, a vital detail. The position of the Director of Public Instruction, under the Committee's scheme, will be materially changed. "He would be relieved of much detailed work, but he would become a chief of the staff and expert adviser to the member or Minister in charge of Education. To express this important change in the functions of the Director the Commissioners recommend that he should be given the position of a Secretary to Government." This, it may be pointed out in passing, is entirely at variance with the views held by Dr. Mackichan as to the urgent necessity of keeping secondary education in the hands of those who control it at present. We hope that Sir Michael Sadler will be invited by the Joint Committee of Parliament to give evidence before it, on the question especially of whether or not education should be transferred to Ministers.

### THE EPIDEMIC OF INCREASED SALARIES.

(Contributed.)

India is par excellence the land of epidemics. It is a land of contagion and infection. Or shall we say, that, according to the Law of the Tropics, everything grows and multiplies at a furious, irresponsible rate, whether vegetation or disease etc. But nobody would have dreamt that the matter of increase of salaries would spread with all the fury of a vigorous contagion or a regular epidemic. Not a day passes but some obliging member puts an interested or inspired interpellation in the House of Commons about the increase of salaries to already well-paid officials, and a too-obliging Secretary of State at once answers with becoming and reassuring emphasis that the salaries and emoluments are to be increased. In some cases, he has already increased, in a few others he is about to increase, and in other cases, he is simply awaiting the proposals of the Government of India. All this is done over the heads of the Indian people as if they have no concern in the affair and as if their opinion and feeling should not be consulted and respected. One day, the interpellation is about the Police; the announcement is made their salaries have been increased. Another day, about the Medical Service, and the British Medical Association immediately acclaims and votes for Mr. Montagu as a

very popular hero; the third day, some grumbler on behalf of the Educational Service which has produced great authors, literateurs, scholars, and savants of world-wide renown. And last, though not the least, the incomparable, matchless Indian Civil Service. But, for them, there need be no fear and they know how best to take care of themselves. For, did they not in the beginning of the war, under the most preposterous of reasons, get an increase of salaries? Other services also cannot be expected to lag behind and these will also find ready and enthusiastic interpellators. Why! for the matter of that one member has already earned the sobriquet of the Member for the Army in India. And others would follow in his wake to earn the name of Members for this service and that. And so on, and so forth. While this mania is spreading, Sir Thomas Holland who could bring himself to appoint only 1 Indian out of 300 officers of the Indian Munitions Board (*vide* All-India Congress Committee Resolution) is simply waiting at the elbow of the Secretary of State to get his sanction for the materialization of all his suggestions in the Industrial Commission Report. And the foremost suggestion with which every page of the Report is burdened, is the creation of numerous Scientific and Technical Services. And it has been said that India is poor and backward industrially because she has not these services to help her industrial growth. It is a matter of honest opinion, perhaps, and hence, its *bonafides* is not questioned. But our immediate concern is, he going to man these services by the fine and costly experts of the West for whom he has the greatest fascination? Will the proportion of Indians in the Services be 1 to 300? The late Dr. T. M. Nair has some very strong views on this question. Only let us hope that Sir Thomas Holland would definitely fix their salaries so that they may not begin their clamour for increase of salaries soon after their initiation in the fertile tropical zone! Now this seems to be, as in the language of the Exchanges, a sort of joy-riding for higher officials.

There remains the question of what is to become of those who draw less than Rs. 200 or 300, of those fellows dragging on Rs. 30 or 40 as well as of what is to be the effect on India's finances. Those drawing Rs. 30 and 40 will get Rs. 35 and 45 while those drawing Rs. 1200 will draw Rs. 1600. Thus both the temporal and spiritual gods are extremely partial beings according to the old adage of "To him who hath." One would rather like that a single step be taken and that, at one stroke, the salaries of all higher officials be increased, than this aggravating and annoying and provoking series of interpellations and promises. While, on the one hand, it induces the officials of the Department left out or their sponsors to shout out, these interpellations simply alarm Indian opinion as to where it will end. These dribblets are more alarm-creating than a wholesale execution.

The Army takes away more than one-third of the Revenue, Railways perhaps one-fifth, Services and Establishment more than one-third. Now there is a prospect of Indian Finance being charged with one million for increase of salaries. Whereas in



England, we have not come across any movement for increase of salaries for higher officials, and even the poor Lord Chancellor had to go "without his bath;" our Governors and Lieutenant Governors are said to ask for more costly things. On the other hand, the movement there is for an increase in the salaries and wages of those drawing less than £200 or £300 and towards the establishment of a minimum wage. Here is the glorious minimum wage of Rs. 25 for a full-fledged graduate. In England, at present, money is poured lavishly not to buttress up the Services, but towards feeding and helping the unemployed, the unemployable, the crippled and the destitute; mostly returned soldiers. Perhaps our Government do the same for the returned soldiers who are mostly in the Punjab, but why don't they advertise and why do they hide it?

The demand for increase of salaries may be even just for aught we know. But our great complaint is, everything is decided over our heads as if we don't count—only we have to pay and grin as if it is a matter exclusively between the Government here and the Government there. The whole set of these proposals has been excluded from our purview and they have not chosen to get our moral approval, if not legislative sanction. Since we have not been taken into confidence, we are groping in the dark and wondering where it will end and what is the limit. Now this leads us to consider as how this affair of salaries has been being manipulated.

There is first the party which does not care for Reforms and which even opposes vehemently and, sometimes, in intemperate language, but all the same would demand increase in salaries on the score of high prices quite forgetting that the high prices press most on those lowest in the scale. They are intellectually irreclaimable and there is no salvation for them. The second party more reasonable, more compromising and less truculent, and agreeing to the Reforms and to the greater admission of Indians in the Services, still demands an increase of salaries. We should be extremely chary of opposing the demands of these true and rare friends but for the fact that an extremely safe and moderate paper once wrote pointedly that they demand increase of salaries as though the underlying idea was that what they lose in numbers they would make up in amount. If this be true, it does not speak well of their heart. Then there is the third party—most responsible, most well-intentioned and friendly to our aspirations—which may or may not decide the question on its merits and on the capacity of the people to bear; but which, being more anxious about the Reforms, caring more for the greater good so as not to wreck the Reforms, and itself and its reputation or fame being thus nailed to the mast of the Reforms scheme, is ready to concede such demands so that the first may be mollified and conciliated and the second may be drawn closer. What wonderful diplomacy in this land of the highest paid service in the world! Could this be a symptom of slabbiness or the alertness of a rope-walker? Suppose by some superhuman power we possess the power to refuse

the increase, do the Reforms go under? But all these three parties we can understand. There is the fourth party whose attitude one is not able to comprehend. It does not care for increase of salaries, it does not care as to how money is allotted in our Budget, it does not care for Railway Nationalization, Financial and Economic problems, Rowlatt Act, Press Act, Punjab situation etc. It has pinned its faith to Reforms and Reforms alone, not caring to think that the Reforms are only a means to an end. Its reputation, fame, leadership, all are bound up with the Reforms. On other questions, it puts on the air of an eminently self-satisfied and vain patrician or the air of a non-complaining ignoramus. For such as have thus bound themselves to the Reforms, the increase of salaries is a subject fit for the agitation and mental worry only of plebeians. Hence the whole question has to be decided against us by confident assumption on the one hand and by default on the other. In this predicament, we can only make a despairing appeal to Sir Dinshah Wacha to stand to his guns. He has made a wonderful speech on this in the Legislative Council and the official members seemed to feel annoyed and they have given the go-bye to it. When he turned turtle on Railway matters, he was praised and his views were applauded. Consistency requires that they should also listen to the words of our veteran patriarch on this topic. Will Sir D. E. Wacha come out again with his thundering views on this and on similar topics? What a pity that very few of the modern leaders care for financial problems?

It is therefore most gratifying to find that the *Indian Social Reformer* gave pointed expression to this grievance of ours in its issue of July 27 when it wrote that "the Government of India are anxious to see as much of them (loaves and fishes of office) as possible distributed among Europeans before India is launched on the course to responsible Government." The *Reformer* is not alone in this feeling. The *Times of India* wrote in its issue of November 5, 1918, "unless there are radical changes, one effect of this scheme will be largely to increase the expense of the administration at the top, when any reasoned survey of the Indian administration must show that it is already too expensive at the top and not expensive enough at the bottom. It would not be unfair to describe the Indian administration as one where very large salaries, with very costly additions like migrations to the hills and other heavy expenses are provided for those at the top, whilst in very few cases are those at the bottom paid a living wage. None can study this question without being convinced that the greatest need of the day is economy at the top and greater expenditure at the bottom; unless there is a radical change in our ideas, these inequalities will be perpetuated and extended." Never was the poor Indian's case represented in more vigorous and truer language. Even a moderate paper wrote, "It takes one's breath away to hear the most liberally paid services in the world talk of their hardships and privations. The richest country in the world cannot afford to entertain the demands



of people who feel under no obligation to relate them either to the capacity of the country that employs them or to its other needs of a genuine and crying nature. In this country the lowest ranks of the services have been paid less than a living wage and they are the hardest hit by a rise in prices and other adversities. Till their condition is materially improved—and it will take long years—the guardians of the public purse ought to be deaf to such recommendations as are made in the Report."

Will all this be a cry in the wilderness? Is there none so humble as to agitate on this question, especially of the leaders at the top? And, forsooth, all these increased emoluments are to be made statutory! Despair takes hold when one sees that while attention is sidetracked to Reforms—of course, inevitable and necessary—we are losing ground on other vital points.

### CURRENCY FALLACIES.

(Contributed)

The storing of silver in the form of half-rupees and quarter-rupees by poor Indian women may not be a strong objection against there being replaced by nickel coins and to make much of it may be taking a little exaggerated view of the matter as your contemporary, the *Servant of India*, points out but the arguments and propositions he has advanced in his issue of August 7th to defend his strictures of July 13th and expose 'the quagmire of fallacious reasoning' into which you have fallen in your reply to them (August 3rd), evince a good deal of hopeless confusion of thought. It is intended in this article to examine the crucial points on which your contemporary has taken his stand. He says, "these coins (*i. e.* four-anna and eight-anna pieces) being fractional and token coins, their intrinsic value must always be much smaller than their nominal value." Again, "the valuable information furnished by our contemporary (meaning yourself) that the half-rupee is exactly half of the rupee and that the quarter rupee is half of the half-rupee in weight, is certainly no answer to our contention that, as a token and divisionary coin, the half-rupee cannot contain in bullion value anything more than half or two-thirds of its face value &c." In the first place, it was to the weight of silver in these coins that you referred, and not their total weight, for it is possible to have these token coins of the same total weight as at present but with different proportions of silver and alloy than are obtained in the rupee. Now, is the value of the rupee adjusted to the conditions of the bullion market or not? If it is, it means that the bullion value of the rupee and hence of the eight-anna and four-anna pieces is at least approximately equal to their face value and therefore, the propositions, "their intrinsic value must always be much smaller than their nominal value" and the one following cannot be true, and the 'valuable information' as to the contents of silver furnished by you is, we think, the right answer to your contemporary's contention unless he means something quite different from what

he says. If the rupee is not so adjusted, it is not a token coin according to your contemporary's own dictum, "it is precisely because the rupee is a token coin that Government have anything to do with the manipulation of its value &c," and therefore his insistence that the rupee is a token coin becomes inconsistent. There is no way to escape from the dilemma. There is nothing to prevent the intrinsic value of these coins even *exceeding* their face value, for a time, if the supply of silver in the market becomes scarce as compared with the demand. One wonders how this simple thing did not strike your contemporary.

Indeed, it seems that along with the Fowler Committee, whose report he quotes, he has forgotten completely that there is such a thing as a bullion market which also governs the value of coins, including of course tokens, and much more so than the artificial restriction of their quantity in circulation. For instance, with regard to these tokens the Committee say, "the essential factor in maintaining these tokens at their representative nominal value is not the statutory limit on the amount for which they are a legal tender in one payment, but the limitation of their total issue. Provided the latter restriction is adequate, there is no essential reason why there need be any limit on the amount for which tokens are a tender by law. It is principally to restriction of the total issue of silver coinage in the United Kingdom that we attribute the fact that 20 silver shillings (intrinsically worth at present about 8sh. 6d.) pass current and are freely received, for all purposes of internal currency &c." And here is your contemporary's commentary on it: "The Committee thus considered the limit in the case of the rupee as superfluous and trusted to the regulation of the supply to keep its value at a fixed high level." Firstly, while it is easy to understand the causal relation between the acceptance of a debased or overvalued token coin and the statutory limit for which it is a legal tender, one fails to see a similar connection between the latter and the maintenance of the token at its 'representative nominal value.' The value can *only* be dependent on two factors, (1) the limitation of their total issue, a factor which the Committee have taken into account and which, by influencing the demand for tokens, governs their value as a convenient medium of exchange—and this is true even of intrinsically valueless paper-money and (2) the supply and demand conditions of the bullion market which affect their intrinsic value as metals.

Now it requires no sound knowledge of currency to see that the latter factor is by far the most important of the two. Do the members of the Committee and your contemporary with them really believe that the British public would accept to any amount shillings at their face value whose intrinsic value is so low as they point out? Supposing, for the sake of argument, that silver supply becomes as plentiful as sand would your contemporary think it 'superfluous' to have a limit on the legal tender of the rupee provided its amount in circulation is restricted? Will he himself, under the circumstances, be willing to be



paid in rupee to any amount in return for his services? Or better still, will he receive stones or scraps of paper in payment of his salary if they are authorised and convenient means of exchange merely because their total issue in circulation is restricted? We venture to doubt if he will accept them in *any quantity however small*. The thing is that the Fowler Committee—and your contemporary has been misled by their apparently authoritative findings—have exaggerated the importance of the first factor rather too much, in fact, they have altogether overlooked the part played by the bullion market in ‘maintaining these tokens at their representative nominal value’. After a certain limit if the market conditions happen to affect their intrinsic value adversely, no artificial regulation of their supply or cutting down of their amount in circulation whatsoever would be able to keep their value at the ‘fixed high level’. Intrinsic value is the essential psychological basis for the acceptance of any currency, an axiom which has found abundant proofs in economic history. If the debased shilling is accepted in England at its face value it is not so much because its face value coincides or almost coincides with its intrinsic value due to a restriction of its supply in circulation but being legal tender to a limited extent it is offered only in very small amounts in any one payment. And when a coin is accepted only for a small amount it simply means that its face value far from equals its bullion value.

It is precisely because the rupee in India is full legal tender and *not* a token coin that our Government are anxious to manipulate its value in sympathy with the bullion market as you have pointed out. In this connection, your contemporary has been a victim of rather an interesting confusion of thought. In a sentence already quoted above he says that Government concern themselves with the manipulation of the value of the rupee because it is a token coin. Now from a strictly scientific standpoint, coins can be divided into two classes, (1) those which are full legal tender generally called standard and (2) those which are not so, known as tokens. To keep the first in circulation and away from the melting pot and render them acceptable to any amount, their face or nominal value must be made to coincide as far as possible with their bullion or intrinsic value by working it up and down respectively in sympathy with the bullion market. To make the second acceptable, when they are overvalued their quantity in circulation must be restricted and a limit put to their legal tender: where they are undervalued only the first remedy is necessary to keep them in circulation. Their under or over-valuation is purely a matter of accident conditioned by the rise and fall respectively in the value of silver though more often than not they are overvalued and hence a limit has to be put to their legal tender. From this it would be clear that your contemporary has confused the process of manipulation of the value of standard coins by adjusting it with their bullion value, a process you had referred to in your discussion of the matter above mentioned, with that adopted in the case of

token coins *viz.*, restriction of the amount in circulation, and has attempted to take refuge in a somewhat broad phrase *e. g.* manipulation of value. Your contemporary certainly betrays an ignorance of the most elementary principles of currency if he means, and he does so by implication, that the standard or the full legal tender coin does not require any manipulation of its value. The manipulation is far more essential in the case of standard coins than tokens because of their full legal tender.

The exchange value of the full legal tender rupee has been raised in consonance with its bullion value in the world's market and there has been no cutting down of its supply in circulation at home to keep it from being melted because of its undervaluation, as if it were a token. On the other hand, the recent enormous coinage of rupees while silver was rapidly rising in value distinctly shows, even according to your contemporary's own argument, that the rupee is not meant to be a token coin. Indeed, it seems that your contemporary has failed entirely to grasp the point you were driving at *viz.* that the rupee being full legal tender (*i. e.* not a token coin) Government had to adjust its face value to the conditions of the silver market which is not necessary in the case of tokens; otherwise, he would not have given vent to the following: “as a matter of fact, whether it is a standard or a token coin, it is difficult to imagine how a Government can allow it to fall far or even a little behind its metallic value, unless it were in a charitable mood and wanted to give people coins at a cheaper price than it had paid to mint them.” In the first place the question pertaining to your argument was not one of not allowing the face value of a coin to fall behind its metallic value; it was one of general adjustment whether it was of not allowing it to fall behind or go ahead of its metallic value, though in this case it happened to be the former. Again, the above remark of your contemporary applies only to coins newly minted in which case, of course, no Government would give people coins for less than what it cost to mint them, but there is not the slightest reason why the price of silver should not rise beyond what the Government had to pay for it. In such a case, the Government may safely allow the value of a token coin to fall behind its metallic value if they have no intention of minting any further amount for circulation.

Lastly, your contemporary argues that if there is a tendency among people to part with the nickel two-anna piece rather than with the silver one, it means that the former goes readily into general circulation and the fact, in your contemporary's opinion, speaks volumes in its favour. Yes, he may be right so far as ease of circulation and economy in the use of silver is concerned but you had discussed the question solely from the point of view—and in our opinion the most significant point of view at present—of tampering with currency or debasing its metallic contents. The ready willingness to part with the nickel rather than with the silver coin shows that the former is much less valued by the public and the result is a deterioration in the purchasing power of such coins with the consequent rise in prices which have gone up very high already.



## FIRST ORIENTAL CONFERENCE.

The Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute after consulting prominent Oriental Scholars all over India, decided to hold at Poona in November next a Conference of the Orientalists in India, Burma and Ceylon. A representative Committee was appointed for the purpose consisting of the following members :—

1. V. K. Rajwade, M. A., (Poona)
2. S. K. Belvalkar, M. A., Ph. D., (Poona)
3. V. S. Ghate, M. A. D. Litt., (Bombay)
4. K. G. Joshi, B. A., (Poona)
5. R. D. Ranade, M. A., (Poona)
6. N. G. Sardesai, L. M. S., (Poona)
7. R. Zimmermann, Ph. D., (Bombay)
8. V. S. Sukthankar, Ph. D. (Poona)
9. A. B. Dhruva, M. A. L.J. B., (Ahmadabad)
10. A representative of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, (Bombay)
11. D. R. Bhandarkar, M. A., (Calcutta)
12. M. Hirianna, M. A., (Mysore)
13. Haraprasad Sastri, M. A. Ph. D., (Calcutta)
14. Ganganath Jha, M. A. D. Litt., (Benares)
15. D. V. Potdar, B. A., (Poona)
16. V. P. Vaidya, B. A., J. P., Bar-at-Law, (Bombay)
17. D. D. Kapadia, M. A., B. Sc., (Poona)
18. N. D. Minceher-Homji, B. A., (Poona)
19. P. D. Gune, M. A., Ph. D., (Poona)
20. R. D. Karmarkar, M. A., (Poona)
21. N. B. Utgikar, M. A., (Poona)

} *Secretaries.*

The Committee has issued letters stating the aims and objects of the Conference, and inviting scholars and managers of Institutions to personally attend the Conference or send papers and appoint delegates. The list of subjects to be dealt with, is as under :—

- (1) Sanskrit Language and Literature
- (2) Avesta in its relation to Sanskrit
- (3) Pali
- (4) Jain and other Prakrits
- (5) Philology of Indian Languages, ancient and Modern
- (6) Modern Languages and Literature in their oldest phase
- (7) Archaeology, Epigraphy, Numismatics, and Ancient Art
- (8) History (Ancient), Geography, and Chronology
- (9) Technical Sciences (e. g. Ancient Medicine, Music, &c.)
- (10) Ethnology and Folk-lore
- (11) Persian and Arabic
- (12) General :—(a) Present position of the academical study of Sanskrit and allied language, (e. g. in Universities, Sanskrit Colleges, pathashalas. &c.)
- (b) Old Shastric Learning
- (c) A Uniform Transliteration System.

In order to enlist sympathy from the different provinces, the following organisers for the different provinces have been nominated.

Bombay :—The whole working committee of the Conference.

Bengal :—(1) Sir Asutosh Mukerji, (2) Dr. A. A. Suhrawardy, (3) Dr. Satishchandra Vidyabhusan, and (4) Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar.

United Provinces :—(1) Dr. Ganganath Jha. (2) Dr T. K. Laddu, (3) Pandit Gopinath Kaviraj, and (4) a Persian and Arabic Scholar to be coopted by the three.

Madras :—(1) Prof. Kuppaswami Shastri, (2) A. Mahadevshastri, Esq., (3) H. Krishnashastri, Esq., and (4) a Persian and Arabic Scholar to be coopted.

Mysore :—(1) Prof. Hirianna, (2) C. R. Reddy, Esq., and (3) a Persian and Arabic Scholar to be coopted.

Bihar :—(1) K. P. Jayaswal, Esq., (2) Haranandan Pandya, Esq., and (3) K. N. Dixit, Esq.,

Punjab :—(1) Principal Woolner, (2) M. Mahomed Shafi, Esq.

Indore :—(1) Prof. Ghate, (2) Dr. V. A. Sukthankar.

Hyderabad (Dn.) :—(1) G. Yazdani, Esq., (2) A. Hydari, Esq.

Aligarh :—Dr. Zia-ud-din.

Ajmere :—Gaurishankar H. Ojha, Esq., (2) Harabilas Sarda Esq.

Benares University :—The Professor of Sanskrit at the University.

Ceylon :—The Hon. Secretary of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Burma :—Taw Sein Ko, Esq., Superintendent, Archaeological Department.

Individual invitations have been sent to about 600 scholars and institutions, and good response has been received thus far. It is likely that owing to some reason or other, some scholars and Managers of Oriental Institutions might not have received a formal invitation for papers, attendance and delegation. They are requested to look upon this as a formal invitation and to write to the Secretaries.

The dates of the Conference as now finally settled are the 5th, 6th and 7th of November 1919. His Excellency Sir George Lloyd has kindly consented to become the Patron of the Conference and to open its session on the 5th of November. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar has been elected President. The nomination of Vice-Patrons and Vice-President will soon take place.

It has been decided to arrange, free of charge, for the boarding and lodging accommodation of those who would attend the Conference. These arrangements will be made as near the Bhandarkar Institute as possible. The delegates' fee is Rs. 5 only.

The Minimum total expenditure on all accounts including the cost of publication of the proceedings and the papers read, is expected to come up to Rs. 8,000. The Imperial and Provincial Governments of India and the States have been approached for rendering pecuniary help. It is hoped that they would respond to the appeal made to them. All lovers of learning are also requested to help the cause by contributing towards the expenses of the Conference. The different Government and States have also been requested to give to the scholars in their employ facilities like leave to attend the Conference, travelling expenses etc.

It is proposed to hold, along with the Conference, an exhibition of rare coins, copper-plates, illuminated manuscripts etc. Governments, States and Institutions have been requested to lend exhibits. The help of the Archaeological department is specially solicited in this matter and it is hoped that it will readily give it.

P. D. GUNE

R. D. KARMARKAR

N. B. UTGIKAR

*Hon. Secretaries.*

First Oriental Conference, Poona.

## A HINDU WIDOW RE-MARRIAGE.

The re-marriage of Bai Babu, of Nagar Brahmin community, the widowed daughter of the late Mr. Chotalal Jaikisun, with Mr. Ramji Murarji was celebrated on Thursday the 7th August 1919 at 3 P. M. at the premises occupied by Mr. Narayandas Mathuradas at Tardev. Among these present to witness the marriage were Mr. A. S. Wagh, the Superintendent of the Widows' Home, Mr. Hiralal, Mr. Anand Rao, Mr. Narayandas Mathuradas, Dr. G. T. Shah, Bai Kasturibai and Bai Moti.



## THE BURMA BHRATRI SABHA, MANDALAY.

The Editor, The *Indian Social Reformer*,

Sir,

All well wishers of the Hindu Community will be glad to learn that a social organisation, by the name of the Burma Bhratri Sabha, (Brother's Federation), has been established for the benefit of the Hindus in Burma. The object of this Society is to elevate the physical, social and spiritual condition of the Hindus throughout Burma. The primary step to be undertaken by the Sabha will be in respect of that particular section of the Hindu community, having matrimonial relations with the Non-Hindu residents of Burma, and also of children begotten from such relations. It will be the special function of this Sabha to take up the charge of the education of such children. Educational institutions will be opened for this purpose, with special provisions for the children of the poor and needy. The establishment of an orphanage to shelter the orphan and the deserted Hindu children is also under contemplation and will very shortly be taken in hand.

Provisions will be made for securing facilities and opportunities of general advancement, and for obviating all social disadvantages standing in the way of children referred to above. Arrangements will also be made for having all the ceremonies (Sanskaras) of such children conducted according to the Vedic rites.

The Sabha will engage regular preachers in order to preach its propaganda, and thus bind together the Hindus of Burma with ties of mutual love and fraternal feeling.

That this programme is very ambitious and that the work is a pressing need of the hour can hardly be questioned by any one who cares to bestow the least thought on the present degeneration of the Hindus in Burma. All Hindu brethren are therefore requested to kindly associate themselves with the Sabha and encourage it by all possible means.

This society will be registered under the Joint Stock Company's Act of the Indian Government.

The following office bearers have been elected for the current year :—

1. Mr. Sohan Singh. Station Master, Meiktila.

President

2. Mr. Ramswaroop, Contractor, Rangoon,

Vice-President.

3. Mr. Wasti Ram, Contractor & Paddy Trader,

Moksogyon, Vice-President.

4. Lakshman Dass, Second Master D.A.V. School, Mandalay, Secretary.

5. Mr. Seva Ram, Store-keeper, Burma Railway, Thazi, Assistant Secretary.

6. Mr. Ram Lall, Commission Agent, Mandalay,

Treasurer.

7. Mr. Radha Krishen, contractor, Yeu, Auditor.

Nearly three thousand rupees were subscribed on the spot for initial expenditure on the very day of the inception of the Sabha. Fortunately we have received the patronage of Shri Pundit Poorna Nandjee, Head Missionary of the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, Punjab who has very kindly undertaken to carry the message of the Sabha far and wide. He will tour all over Burma and preach the gospel of love and fraternity, which we hope, will be welcomed with warm appreciation.

All contributions, however small, will be thankfully received and receipts issued by the learned Punditjee and the Secretary of the Sabha.

Beware ! Brethren ! lest we allow lakhs of Hindus to leave the sacred fold of Hinduism through our indifference or sloth.

All remittances and correspondence to be addressed to the Secretary at the following address.

LAKSHMAN DASS,

Secretary.

The Burma Bhratri Sabha, Mandalay.

## DISEASE AND MARRIAGE.

The Editor, The *Indian Social Reformer*,

Dear Sir,

I am much satisfied to read your note on "Disease and Marriage" wherein you have holdly expressed your views, in favour of divorce, in certain venereal cases. When these cases have called forth your genuine sympathy, to root out the evil, allow me to draw your attention to other cases where the need is equally pertinent. I have seen with my own eyes, many cases, in the midst of our higher society, where the young innocent girls have been forced either to commit suicide or to live prostitutes, on account of their being married to unfit, defective men (cunads). Let me frankly tell you, that I have seen many cases at Poona, Baroda and at other towns. It grieves me the more that nobody has yet taken any steps to stop this evil.

These are facts, which the society tolerates without any blnsh. Such marriages create an unhealthy atmosphere in the Society. It is through such victims that wicked men work mischief. I pity these girls for their being denied their very birth-right of being virtuous. I am quite sure that these will win your genuine sympathy and attention for rooting out this evil. The sight of these girls, makes me look upon the institution of divorce, not an ugly one but a means to purify the society and force the people to stop such ugly unnatural marriages. Besides this, the institution will serve as a terror and a check to old unfit men against entrapping and betraying young innocent girls. In short the very existence of this law will do more good than its actual working.

Grant Road,  
11-8-1919.

KARKARE K. G.

## KARMA AND SOCIAL REFORM.

The Editor, The *Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

In response to the query of Mr. Williams in your issue of August 3, I have great pleasure in referring him to the Yoga-Vasishtha-Maha-Ramayana of Valmiki, especially Cantos IV to IX of the Mumuksha-vyavahara-prakaranam.

The particular *slokas* quoted by me are : iv (18); v (10, 11); vi (1, 2, 4); ix (23).

I take the responsibility for the translation.

Aske (Ganjam),  
7-8-1919.

KOPARGAM RAMAMURTI.

The *Dnyanodaya* on Secondary Education :— Our contemporary of the *Dnyanodaya* commenting on our article the week before last says that, while it has utmost sympathy with the movement towards responsible Government, in its opinion there may be more reasons for retaining secondary education in the hands of the Secretariat—for that is what it comes to—than we imagine. We put a simple issue to our contemporary. Secondary education is notoriously the weakest spot in our educational system. It hampers university education, it retards primary education. We submit that those who have mismanaged it so badly ought not to be allowed to do so any longer. The Minister may equally fail, but let us at least give him a chance. We shall not be worse, we may be better off in respect of this branch of education.



The Inter-Caste Marriage Bill in Parliament : A Reuter's telegram of the 7th instant says that in the House of Commons, Mr. Montagu emphasised that the Government of India was not responsible for Mr. Patel's Marriage Bill and was in no way committed to support it, but, as it had received a certain amount of support from unofficial members, the Government of India had taken steps to obtain the full opinion of the Hindu community before the Bill was proceeded with. The Government of India must make up its opinion about the Bill. If ever it came up for sanction or veto the Bill would be treated as a private member's unofficial bill. It would be interesting to know what occasion there was for the Secretary of State to disclaim Government responsibility for the Bill.

## ADVERTISEMENTS.

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20-5-17.

VAIKUNTH L. MEHTA, Manager.



OCT 22 1919

# THE INDIAN \* SOCIAL \* REFORMER.

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

## CONTENTS.

The Madras Social Service League.	The Two Kanaras. Prize For An Essay.
The Late Rao Bahadur Viresalingam Pantulu.	Sir George Lloyd's Convocation Address.
The Late Dr. T. M. Nair.	Janmashtami Reflections.
The Amrita Bazar Patrika's High Falutin.	The Exchange Problem in India. I.
Domestic Service.	Currency Fallacies.
Mr. Baptista on Lord Willingdon.	Water-Power.

## NOTES.

**The Madras Social Service League.** The report of the Madras Social Service League for last year is instructive. The League, under the chairmanship, of the Hon. Mr. Justice T. V. Seshagiri Iyer, has mapped out for itself a systematic programme with which it is making good progress. The most important part of its work is that for improving the *parcheries* or the locations inhabited by the depressed classes. The report prints as an appendix an important address delivered by its President in which he has dealt with the problem of the poor in Madras in a practical and statesmanlike spirit. He points out the legal and social difficulties in the way of solving the several questions affecting the poor of Madras, and suggests remedies. We hope to refer at more length to the work of the Madras Social Service League. We note with pleasure that the workers include all castes and creeds. This, as we have repeatedly said, is the kind of service which can really help us in the task of nation-building.

**The Late Rao Bahadur Viresalingam Pantulu:** The last days of the late Rao Bahadur Viresalingam Pantulu were made miserable by persecution of an extremely painful kind. Attacks were made on his private life. The old man, broken down in health, died a martyr. We are glad that the greatness of his character and the purity of his life are now coming to be recognised even by some who had hastily judged him in the past. An influential meeting, presided over by the Hon. Mr. P. Theagaraja Chetti, the veteran leader of the non-Brahmin movement, was held last week in Madras to do honour to Mr. Viresalingam's memory. Among the speakers were the Hon. Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar, Advocate-General, Dewan Bahadur R. Venkatratnam Naidu, a distinguished educationist and life-long admirer of the departed veteran, and others. The Dewan Bahadur bore especial testimony to Mr. Viresalingam's purity of life. He said: "When there was a howl of obloquy against him he said: 'There is a God to witness my actions.' He was the pink of purity and soul of honesty and sincerity." The Hon. Mr. Aiyangar also referred to the purifying influences of

Mr. Viresalingam's personal conversation. We are pleased to see Mr. Kandaswami Chetti's name in the Committee appointed to commemorate Mr. Viresalingam's life and work.

**The Late Dr. T. M. Nair.** It was in the fitness of things that the Madras Municipal Corporation should record its tribute of appreciation of the work of late Dr. T. M. Nair who was one of its ablest members. The resolution was moved by Mr. T. Rangachari, a Brahmin and a political opponent, who had been Dr. Nair's colleague on the Corporation for many years. We take the following sentences from Mr. Rangachari's feeling speech. "His knowledge of Municipal problems was immense and it might be truly said that he gave a new tone, a critical tone, a healthy tone to the discussions which went on in the Corporation. In the various problems which came up for consideration, especially the creation of the new city water works department and its administration, he was of invaluable help. His great knowledge as a medical man and his great knowledge as a sanitarian were also of great use to the Corporation in the various questions which came up for consideration before it. He took an active part in the reorganisation of the Sanitary department to look after the health of the city and he was never sparing in devoting several hours every day to the Municipal affairs of the city. Not only inside the Corporation was he of use, he also took great interest in educating the citizens to a knowledge of their civic duties. From place to place he went about lecturing on Municipal problems, and it was always a great delight to hear him discuss those questions for the welfare of the city. Such a man had been cut away in the prime of life. He was an invaluable personal friend. Latterly they crossed benches, their politics were not the same. But all the same Dr. Nair's friendship remained ever staunch. It was a loss, a great loss to the city, and to the presidency that he was snatched away so early and it was very difficult to have a man like that again." Is it too much to hope that, over the open grave of the late eminent leader, Brahmins and non-Brahmins in Madras would join hands and pledge themselves to work unitedly and whole-heartedly for the good of the people?

**The Amrita Bazar Patrika's High Falutin.** The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* belabours Lord Sinha for condemning at a London meeting the purdah system and declaring that Indians must change their ideas with regard to women. The *Patrika* which is notorious for its reactionary views on social matters—it opposed the Age of Consent Bill in Lord Lausdowne's time and has since consistently taken every opportunity to oppose and discredit social reform—accuses Lord Sinha of utter ignorance of Indian life. But it does not stop there. It institutes a comparison between Indian and European



ideas of women, much, of course, to the disadvantage of the latter. In the opinion of the *Patrika*, "the fundamental idea in regard to women in English and European culture generally with the exception of Italy—where woman, the Mother, was worshipped as the Madonna—is that she is either already somebody's wife or will become so. The outlook is essentially sensual." In India, as in Italy, the woman, according to the *Patrika*, is worshipped as mother and, impliedly, not thought of as wife. Assuming that the *Patrika* is right in its distinction, we do not see why motherhood should be spiritual while the only way to it is not. Every mother is a wife. If it is such a gross thing to be a wife, it cannot be such a transcendental thing to be a mother. And as regards the worship of the Madonna being any proof that Italy, unlike the rest of Europe, does not think of woman from the sexual point of view, the following extract from the report from the front of Colonel Snow, of the United States Army Medical Service, speaks for itself. We are indebted for it to the *Social Hygiene Bulletin*, published in New York. "Italy", says Col. Snow, "is the only one of the larger allies that allowed troops in the front areas to have access to prostitution. The other belligerents kept prostitutes rigorously excluded from the zone of combat, while the Italian military authorities brought prostitutes as far front as possible and kept them under medical inspection and military regulation". In India, we know that the idea of sex is far from being absent from our ideas of women. And we fail to see anything wrong in it. The profession of spiritual ideas of sex have often been accompanied by extreme licentiousness. It was so in the days of chivalry. The degraded forms of Shakti worship are its outcome. The women of India are too firmly established in their innate goodness and purity to need to be exalted at the expense of women of other lands. As for the men, we certainly are not in a position to throw stones at the men of England or any other country.

**Domestic Service:** The Hon. Principal Paranjpye contributes a suggestive and informing article on "Domestic Service" to the current number of the *Social Service Quarterly*. While sympathising with the aspirations of the domestic servant, Mr. Paranjpye holds that the less one has of them the better it is for one's peace of mind. We agree with him that to rely too much for personal service on others is degrading. To him, as to us, there is something essentially degrading to one's humanity to have a servant to take off one's boots, to drag one in a rickshaw where other conveyances are possible, or even to get shaved by a barber, and in fact to acquire such habits that another is necessary for one's immediate personal convenience. Mr. Paranjpye writes feelingly about the ways of modern cooks. He mentions, with apologies to his fair readers, that cooks are generally unwilling to take service in a family when there is a mistress of the house. He seems to think that the fault lies on both sides, though he conveys his view of the shortcomings of the mistress in circumspet language. Few accustomed to his sledge-hammer speeches in the Legislative Council, will credit him with the capacity for such tactful pleading—criticism painted to look like compliment. "This" he writes referring to the reluctance of cooks to take service in a house which is ruled by a mistress, "is not simply due to the fact that in such a house the chance of small defalcations is a good deal lessened on account of the keen eye of the mistress, but also to the fact that women are too much given to looking to very small details and to blaming or nagging servants continually for any small remissness. They expect a servant to pay all the minute attention to

their affairs which they would give themselves. Hence arises a good deal of unpleasantness and final inconvenience when the servant leaves service altogether. A dose of strong commonsense would not be amiss in the management of servants. It would increase the sum of human happiness in middle class circles. No truer word was ever uttered than that a good master—or mistress—makes a good servant." We have heard women say that cooks prefer homes which are run by men, because men are more lazy and more easily cheated; and that with them "commonsense" merely means winking at daylight robbery by their servants.

**Mr. Baptista on Lord Willingdon:** Mr. Joseph Baptista, one of the leaders of the Home Rule League, writes a letter in Friday's *Bombay Chronicle* in which he says that the opposition to the Willingdon memorial movement in December last, was a mistake, and that it should be set right. He quotes Mr. Horniman in proof of his opinion that Lord Willingdon was one of the best Governors Bombay ever had. Better late than never. We are glad that our late Governor's merits are now appreciated by Mr. Baptista, but considering that Mr. Horniman was the leader of the opposition to the memorial movement, Mr. Baptista's letter cannot be regarded as a tribute to the judgment of the departed editor. Not only did he organise the opposition to the Town Hall meeting, but day after day he treated the men who had supported the movement to epithets of insult and contempt in the columns of his journal. Not that any of them cared much, but when Mr. Baptista talks of righting wrongs, we hope he will not forget those who bore the brunt of the opposition to a movement which, he now tells us, was one which they ought to have supported. By the way, why has it taken so many months for Mr. Baptista, since his return, to make this declaration? Is this really meant as a vindication of Lord Willingdon or only as an encouragement to Sir George Lloyd?

**The Two Kanaras:** The *Kanara Leader* institutes a comparison between the progress made by South Kanara under the Madras regime and that of North Kanara under Bombay. Years ago, both the districts were included in Madras. Our contemporary writes: "The two districts are very much alike in many respects and may be called twin Districts. But comparatively one finds that the progress made by South Kanara is considerable. In that district the District Local Board and Taluka Local Boards have non-official native gentlemen as presidents. At one time it appeared that Mangalore was going to be a hotbed of caste animosity. That plague-spot was fingered by a popular District Judge they had, the late Mr. H. O. D. Hardinge. But now it is as clear as anything that caste animosity also is waning. The healing powers and chastening effects of a liberal education are not lost upon them. They are starting cosmopolitan clubs and members of kindred communities believed to have been too much estranged from each other are joining together in *sanyukta* clubs. The stirrings of a healthy public life also are becoming manifest. We are proud of the progress made by these southerners who are our kith and kin and hope they will never fail to evince real sympathy and love for us and will be our guides in our attempts to come in a line with them."

**Prize for An Essay.** A friend has kindly offered to give Rs. one hundred in two prizes for an essay on a social subject. Further particulars will be published in the next issue.



## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, AUGUST, 24, 1919.

## SIR GEORGE LLOYD'S CONVOCATION ADDRESS.

*I speak as one standing high on the watch tower, and know that the need of the land is not material. It is spiritual. Get the spiritual, and the material will follow. The wounds of the world are bleeding, and material things will not heal them. That is why I hail any movement which spreads the great spirit of brotherhood. The one need of England and France to day is the healing and brotherhood of the Cross.*

—Mr. Lloyd George.

*Distrust theories, distrust phrases. The bigger sounding, the finer sounding a phrase, the less likely is it to have any concrete meaning. Find out about people, what they eat, what they drink, how they are housed, what masters feel about men and men feel about masters. Don't worry about general principles. Leave them to the schools. Keep away from metaphysics and study psychology.....Believe me—though the bookmen whose living is bounded by the covers of their books, may call me a Philistine—that James Watt did more to make Britain what she is than Burke, Carlyle or Mill.—Sir George Lloyd.*

We are indebted for the first quotation at the head of this article to *New India* of Madras. It is taken from a speech which the Prime Minister made recently at a meeting of the National Brotherhood movement. The second quotation is from the address which Sir George Lloyd delivered in his capacity of Chancellor of the Bombay University at the annual Convocation on Wednesday. The admonition of the illustrious Nazarene to his disciples to take no thought of what they should eat or what they should drink, or wherewith they should be clothed, was never applicable to nations and is utterly inapplicable to modern nations. Unless they give a great deal of thought to these matters, they may find themselves in these days of ruthless exploitation of weaker and dependant races, without food, drink and clothing. Sir George Lloyd, therefore, did well in calling attention to the necessity of increased production of all kinds in this country. The first and chief aim of our producers should be to supply the home market and not to hanker after foreign markets. There is scope enough and to spare in India itself for all the capital, skill and enterprise of our industrial, technical and commercial magnates. Without a mercantile marine of any considerable magnitude and a naval force to protect it, Indian commerce in the past brought so much wealth to the country as to make it the coveted prize of Europe and Asia. The conditions which made this possible still remain. We have not, like England, to depend for our food on foreign agriculture, and to produce articles for export in order to pay for our food. With a fiscal policy framed in the national interests of the country, and not in those of other countries including, before the war, Germany, India can be raised to a position of diffused prosperity, contentment and security. Sir George Lloyd, it is known, is whole-heartedly in favour of the policy of making the home market secure for Indian producers. If

it were not so, it would be idle to tell young men to undertake productive industries. Foreign trade on a large scale is only possible now-a-days to nations which are prepared to fight for it. India in all her long history was never an aggressor. She cannot be one now. The genius of her people is pacific. Moreover, as pointed out above, there is no need for us to exploit foreign markets if our own home market is assured to us.

The disquisition about sea-power which occupied the larger part of His Excellency's address was not, perhaps, particularly relevant to the occasion. It had not the merit even of being new, for Lord Sydenham had travelled over nearly the same ground in one of his Convocation addresses when he was Chancellor. In order to appreciate the invaluable services of the British Navy during the present war, it is not necessary to accept the theory that its *raison d'être* was the foundation and is the safety of the Indian Empire. A doctrine such as that demands careful scrutiny. British rule in India was the outcome of many causes the chief of which was the political weakness of this country. Sea-power could have been of no use if there was statesmanship in India, as it was of no use, in the absence of statesmanship in England, in preventing the loss at about the same time of her American Colonies. Someone said that the war between Japan and Russia, was a contest between a whale and an elephant. Russia lost, it is true, but that was because the elephant ventured into the habitat of the whale and, moreover, was suffering from severe intestinal disorders. If she had kept to her natural frontiers, and not hankered after the sea where she was powerless, she would have been invulnerable. A great land empire has nothing to fear from a sea-power so long as it does not seek to transgress its limits. Further, it is yet difficult to estimate the possible effect of the development of aerial locomotion on sea-power as well as land-power. The eagle has a natural advantage over the elephant and the whale. It is not sea-power or land-power or air-power that makes a nation great, but the character and capacity of its people. Without character and capacity, nations decline, in spite of armies and navies. It is the supreme task of the statesman to evoke character and capacity in a people. We are all proud of the achievements past and present of the British navy but seamanship is no substitute for statesmanship. It is an exaggeration to claim for it the results of statesmanship. His Excellency's observations lend themselves to such a misconstruction especially now when India asks England to approach Indian problems in the traditional spirit of British statesmanship of which Burke, whom His Excellency unfortunately went out of his way to belittle, is the most authentic and illustrious exponent.

Character, capacity, and the statesmanship which calls them forth in a people, are spiritual not material. That is or should be the central truth taught in Universities, and inculcated in Chancellor's addresses on young graduates. That is the great truth enshrined in Mr. Lloyd George's words which we have placed at the head of this article. With great respect



to Sir George Lloyd, we demur to the exhortation to distrust theories. That itself is, after all, a theory. To see the facts, except such as lie beyond the apprehension of our physical senses (how few and trivial are these!) you must have a theory. As for fine phrases, if a fact has to be expressed, we confess we would rather it was expressed in a fine phrase than in a crude one. Crudity is not truth. Milton and Burke must always command reverence in Universities not only because they are great thinkers but also because they are majestic writers. Sir George himself is not insensible to fine phrase as is evident from the notable lines with which he has interspersed his address. We suspect that His Excellency's 'philistinism' is no more than a momentary revulsion from the vagueness and vacuity of much in his Indian environment. However that may be, we cannot allow his sweeping condemnation of general principles and metaphysics without a protest. General principles, as a distinguished English writer points out, are the most practical forces of life. "They warp our judgment of *all* facts, if they are false; they inform our judgment if they are true; they rule our lives consciously or unconsciously in either case." For us in India metaphysics is as the breath of our nostrils. In our opinion, this love of metaphysics is what has kept India alive amidst the vicissitudes of her history. The wonderful resilience of the Indian temperament, its power of rapid recuperation after disaster, is due to its love of metaphysics. This is no mere theory. His Excellency told us that wars will occur so long as "we carry in our blood the traces of the primal brute force from which we sprang." But India never believed in this theory of the origin of man from primal brute force. In fact, she never believed in a primal brute force. Her great sages taught that the primal force is divine and that it is the soul of man.

There is an inmost centre in us all,  
Where truth abides in fulness; and around  
Wall upon wall, the gross flesh hems it in,  
This perfect, clear perception—which is truth.  
A baffling and perverting carnal mask  
Binds it, and makes all error: and to KNOW  
Rather consists in opening out a way  
Whence the imprisoned splendour may escape,  
Than in effecting entry for a light  
Supposed to be without.

That is from an English poet, Browning, but the great English poets, Wordsworth, Shelley as well as Browning hold by the Indian creed in this matter. The belief that God, not brute, is at the bottom of our being, makes a vast difference to our outlook on life. It puts hope in the place of despair. We say that the Indian people would not have survived their national calamities but for this well-spring of hope in their metaphysics. And the need of it is not past, and will never pass, by however much we may increase our production of food and clothing. His Excellency recommends psychology. But psychology is beginning to see that the conscious is not the most effective part of the mind, and that it is the sub-conscious which plays the most important part in our lives. We are here next door to metaphysics.

## JANMASHTAMI REFLECTIONS.

The Hindu sacred calendar commemorates two births—the Ramnavami and the Janmashtami. Rama and Krishna are the two great Hindu epic heroes. Of the two, Rama is, perhaps, the most venerated, but Krishna is the best beloved, of the *Avatars*. The reason is simple. Rama is a great exemplar of Hindu ideals of conduct—as king, son, brother, husband—flawless, perfect. His allegiance to tradition and scripture is marked by the utmost fidelity. The pole-stars of his life are devotion to duty and self-sacrifice. He gives up a kingdom to maintain his father's word. He gives up a peerless wife to please his people. The word "rights" has no place in his vocabulary. Life to him is one endless round of duties—to his family, to his subjects, to his country's gods. This conception of life has permeated to the masses of India, and there are millions of men and women to-day who know no other. When some of our Anglo-Indian friends seek to make our flesh creep with prophecies of Bolshevism in India, we smile. They do not know the secret strength of social foundations in this land. India has a far better and more reliable protection against the evil aspects of Bolshevism than machine-guns and aeroplanes. After all, these engines of destruction can be used for Bolshevism as well as against it. But there is that in Indian culture which can never be used against righteous causes and can never be overcome by unrighteous ones. That is how through the ages, Hinduism while powerless for aggressive, has ever been powerful, for defensive purposes. If Bolshevism does come to India, we shall know how to assimilate the truth and to cast out the lies in it. Bolshevism in Russia is reaction against plutocracy backed up by an autocracy and bureaucracy, the most oppressive in the world's history. All these three are opposed to deep-rooted Indian sentiment. The King, as exemplified, in Rama, is the servant of the people. He does not make laws, but only enforces the crystallised consciousness of his people as embodied in the scripture and current customs. Possession of money does not lead to social pre-eminence. The money-maker comes, as he should, after the teacher and the soldier who make social existence possible. The religio-socio system which has hardened into the present insensate caste, was merely an assertion of this fundamental principle of all civilisation. Rama was the embodiment of the Hindu social polity in its pristine strength and parity, also, alas, in some of its weaknesses such as the surrender of judgment to popular clamour and the unquestioned acceptance of the current system as divinely ordained.

The growing tendency in recent years of the *Gita* to be regarded as the Bible is by Christians and the Koran by Mussulmans, has endowed the figure of Krishna with a national character. Even otherwise, Krishna, according to orthodox notions, is the avatar of the complete Godhead, while Rama and the others are only incarnate phases of it. The outstanding feature of the Krishna avatar is its overflowing spontaneity.



As child, as youth, as man, as soldier, statesman, sage and thinker, Krishna is always fresh and always original. Smritis and Smritis do not shackle the free play of his mind and emotions. He brushes them aside with a mock-reverent gesture, and dares to be himself. He is the apotheosis of unconventionalism. His name itself—the Black Man *par excellence*—is a challenge to colour prejudice, ancient and modern. If any one feels inclined to doubt the influence on his little world attributed to the wondrous childhood of Krishna, let him read Sir Oliver Lodge's "Christopher," which is not a romance or novel, but a matter of fact statement of the principal events and influences in the life of young Christopher Tennant who was killed in the war on the 3rd September 1917. One of the greatest influences of young Tennant's life (and that of his mother) was an infant sister who lived only eighteen months. Of this child, the mother writes: "In her dear short life she knew many things: knew and loved flowers and their scent, would nose among them with long inspirations of delight, knew also the elemental joy of sound and rhythm, would beat to the measure of a tune at a year old.....If I were to single out one characteristic above all the rest, I should say it was that she was so very loving." In passing, we would commend this book to our readers, as it throws light on some sides of English life and institutions, not thoroughly understood among us. It also shows how the mother-heart is the same under every skin, white, brown or black. Christian Missionaries have denounced Krishna, on the strength of the poetic effusions of the *puranas*, as a licentious young man. Krishna is not the only adorable young Teacher who received the enthusiastic devotion of women, and if people would use their commonsense—even apart from all question of charity—it must be obvious that the "eroticism" of Krishna's youth is merely the exuberance of the poetic chroniclers. The French, previous to the war, were depicted by this class of people and those who take their prejudices from them, as a licentious race. "The love of loving" is characteristic of all artistic natures, and Krishna's possession of it in full measure no more makes him a licentious individual than this trait of the French character makes the French a depraved people. Anyone who knows what Hindu women are—and they have been the same for centuries—would know what value to attach to such interested calumny of a great national character. A childhood and youth which bloomed into such manhood as Krishna's could never have been smirched with vice.

It is of that manhood we would now say a few words. Rama was a model Hindu, king and man, Krishna was the great leader and teacher who at a time of dire peril and confusion gave India the watchword which has preserved her to this day. He is the Moses and the Christ of India in one. His great mission was to destroy the rampant Militarism of his age and to lay down the lines of national reconstruction on sane lines. The principles on which this tremendous double mission was

achieved are embodied in the *Gita*. Mr. Gandhi has told us that the *Gita* is an allegory in favour of his doctrine of non-resistance. This is sheer casuistry. The whole trend of Krishna's teaching is that man should do his duty in the sphere in which he is placed, and do it without hope of reward or fear of consequence. A soldier in the battle-front who allows sentiment to paralyse his arm, is not doing his duty. Moral force (or soul force) and physical force have both their uses in this world of intermingled spirit and matter. To forswear forever the use of physical force is to tempt tyranny and oppression and the triumph of the powers of darkness over those of light. It is for the statesman to decide whether moral force or physical force is appropriate to each occasion as it arises. This is the same doctrine of the *Gita*, which he who runs may read. We are to resist evil not only inwardly but also outwardly—to kill the ape and tiger not only within us, but without us also. The *Gita* is, if anything, a protest against a lop-sided view of the Universe. And it is a plea for toleration and unity. Not condemning, but ignoring rather contemptuously, the ancient creed of ritual and ceremonial, Krishna preached a faith which was free to all—Sudras and women, to the saint and the sinner. To those who worship Krishna as God and to those also who denounce him as a man of loose morals, this estimate of him as a great nation-builder will not be acceptable. But to us, it seems, that he was truly one of the elect of the earth of whom Mathew Arnold wrote in his noble elegy, "Rugby Chapel:"

Then, in such hour of need  
Of your fainting, dispirited race,  
Ye, like angels, appear,  
Radiant with ardour divine.  
Beacons of hope, ye appear!  
Languor is not in your heart,  
Weakness is not in your word,  
Weariness not on your brow.  
Ye alight in our van! at your voice,  
Panic, despair, flee away.  
Ye move through the ranks, recall  
The stragglers, refresh the outworn.  
Praise, re-inspire the brave.  
Order, courage, return;  
Eyes rekindling, and prayers,  
Follow your steps as ye go.  
Ye fill up the gaps in our files,  
Strengthen the wavering line,  
Stablish, continue our march.  
On, to the bounds of the waste,  
On, to the City of God.

#### THE EXCHANGE PROBLEM IN INDIA I.

By PROFESSOR K. T. SHAIL.

When the Chamberlain Commission of 1914 recommended "That India neither demands nor requires gold coins to any considerable extent for purposes of circulation (as opposed to saving or hoarding)," and considered "that the most generally suitable media for internal circulation in India are at



present rupees and notes, and that the Government should, as opportunity may offer, encourage notes while providing—and *this is the cardinal feature of the whole system*—absolute security for the convertibility into sterling of so much of the internal currency as may at any moment be required for the settlement of India's external obligations," no member of the Commission was considering a situation such as has developed in the last five years. Under normal conditions, with a huge balance of indebtedness payable annually in gold under the style of the Home Charges, combined with a steadily declining price of silver, it may have seemed safe to recommend that India should be discouraged from using the costly gold for internal currency purposes, guaranteeing at the same time for purpose of exchange the convertibility of the local currency into the international currency—Gold—a fixed rate, varying, if at all, between two well-defined points for the export or import of specie. But during the War, India's Home Charges were more than set off by the recoverable expenditure incurred by the Government of India on account of the Home Government. On account of the urgent war needs of the allies, India's exports grew in value far beyond any previous figures. And owing to high Income Taxes in England, and the possibility of profitable investment in India, the profits and savings of the English merchants in India, were kept in the country itself, instead of being remitted to England as used to be the previous practice.

By a comparison of figures it will be seen that :—

(a) While in the quinquennium before the War the net excess of exports of merchandise on private account amounted to Rs. 362.70 crores, during the War period of five years this excess was Rs. 328.62 crores. If we include the transactions of the Government the net excess was 391 and 381 crores respectively.

(b) The net imports of gold during the previous quinquennium was Rs. 144 crores, and of silver Rs. 36 crores or a total of Rs. 180 crores. Against this the imports of treasure during the War period totalled Rs. 55 crores, of which gold amounted to Rs. 39 crores. But not the whole of this sum, small as it was, was used for trade purposes : Rs. 18 crores was for Government account, leaving only 21 crores for private purposes. Against the pre-war average of 29 crores this gave us a little over 4 crores a year for trade purposes.

(c) Failing gold, the demand for silver was naturally very high, and the chief source of that demand was the Government of India. The price of silver went up beyond any previous record in the last half-century ; and, so, to save themselves from an obvious loss the Government had, in spite of the understanding to the contrary, to raise the rate of exchange.

But this last remedy was not tried at once ; nor, if we are to believe the protestations of the responsible Financial authorities, willingly. For three years after the situation began to become acute, Government tried to meet it by a fresh coinage of silver, even though every new consignment must have been purchased at an increasing cost. In the last Financial

statement Sir J. Meston observed that nearly 120 crores of rupees were added to the circulation. Government had given a moral, if not a legally binding, undertaking to supply rupees for gold and vice versa ; but with the rise in the price of silver beyond 35d an oz. the coinage operations began to be more costly than profitable. And the danger was the greater inasmuch as the Government could not be certain that all the demand for rupees was genuine. For rupees were issued without limit no matter what was the price of silver, it was quite conceivable that a spurious demand for rupees might arise, and professional bullion dealers might make a profit on export. To prevent rupees being melted or exported they enacted restrictive legislation ; but the demand continued unabated, and new measures had therefore to be adopted to relieve the situation. Increasing the paper money in circulation was an obvious alternative, which could not however, be of much use so long as the law relating to the necessary reserve against the paper money was unaltered. From the earliest days of the war crisis Government began to take powers, by ordinances in the first instance to be later made permanent by proper statutes, to increase the invested portion of the Reserve, which helped almost equally with the increased coinage to fight the situation. The fiduciary reserve has been raised from 14 crores to over 98 crores, forming over 80 p. c. of the total circulation, as against less than 20% before the War. The total circulation has been raised by nearly 100 crores, all the increase being practically represented by investments, the larger part whereof came to be held in England. The consequent danger of inflation were much accelerated by this disproportionate, easy increase of paper money, even more than by the addition of the rupees. Whatever has been in the past India's propensity for the absorption of the precious metals, and whatever may be the consequences of this absorption, it must be observed that a country wanting to absorb precious metals has to pay an equivalent price, as judged in the world market in the shape of merchandise. Inflation under these circumstances would be much less pronounced than in the case of addition to the fiduciary money. Moreover if the theory be true that the precious metals sent to India are hoarded, their effect as hoards will be very insignificant on the price level while paper money, as it can serve no other purpose beyond acting as currency or medium of exchange, is bound to affect prices, should its quantity be increased beyond the requirements of the country. That the responsible officers of the Government of India are aware of the danger is shown by a number of grave warnings officially uttered against too great a too rapid an extension of paper money. "The extent to which we can issue notes is limited in two ways in the first place by the extent to which the supply of goods and services is prepared to receive notes in payment ; while, secondly, we must maintain an adequate metallic backing to enable us to honor these notes promptly when presented. Any attempt to compel the acceptance of currency notes would



act on public confidence and government credit and would result in the depreciation of our notes and the inflation of prices". While providing all facilities for their immediate encashment in order to popularise them, Sir W. Meyer still recognised that there is a definite limit to the extent to which a paper currency can in this country be substituted for coin." (Para 46 of the Financial Statement of 1918-19).

Foiled in these their first attempts to keep to their engagements and maintain a fixed exchange, the Government ultimately resorted to the last expedient of raising the Exchange. There can be no doubt that this was in flagrant opposition to what were understood by the business community as solemn guarantees; and those may be pardoned who reproach the Government for issuing rupees without limit so long as the transaction resulted in a net profit of 35% to 50%, and discontinuing their guarantees as soon as the bargain went against them. It is possible that if the loss had been small or temporary the Gold Standard Reserve, created specially to maintain exchange, would have been resorted to keep up the exchange at the guaranteed level. But like the Paper Currency Reserve, the Gold Standard Reserve was also used to a dangerous proportion in easing the money market by investing every available sovereign in the English war loans. The total dimensions of this Reserve Fund were increased by more than 65%; the amount available for purposes of exchange was inadequate to meet a quarter of the balance in favour of India every year, insufficient even to meet the loss on silver coinage in a single year like 1917-18.

That the rise in Exchange would prejudice the Indian exporter, and ultimately the Indian producer, was a simple proposition of economic science which no one has had the hardihood to deny. But those responsible for the rise in exchange tried to show that there were alleviating circumstances at work which considerably modified the situation. The rise of 2d in the Exchange over the normal fixed value of 16d of the rupee meant to the exporter a loss of 12½%. Against this they urged that the prices had been so raised by the urgent war demand of some of the raw materials from India that the loss from Exchange will be more than made up for by this rise in prices. Beside, there was, during the War, no effective competition against India; and she could therefore charge such prices, as she liked. But these were considerations valid, if at all, during the war. With the resumption of peaceful occupations by the belligerents their industry would once more revert to the pre-War organisation, or such of it as is possible to restore. India will, moreover, have to contend against such countries as Germany, have a low exchange, which gives them a distinct advantage in international trade, even apart from their accumulated stocks of exportable produce to dump on the world-markets. We cannot now rely on the War measures of exclusion. Both Great Britain and the United States have already removed their restrictions on trade with Germany; and it may be safely assumed that if Germany is to pay her indemnity, trade will have

to be rather brisk between her and her erstwhile enemies. English writers already notice the advantage Germany gets by her low exchange in the world-market, and it is not too much to say that the foreign trade of India will not be insignificantly hurt by the present policy of continual rise in Exchange. Without any charge in the prices in the world-market, for every £ 100 worth of produce Germany will now get 2,500 in stead of 2,000 marks; while for every £100 worth of goods sold India gets Rs. 1,100 instead of 1,500 as before the War. This is a considerable deterrent; and, even if we admit that the War has resulted in a general permanent rise of prices, the Indian exporter will suffer as soon as competition with him becomes effective.

## CURRENCY FALLACIES.

### I.

The Editor, The Indian Social Reformer,  
Sir,

In your issue of the 17th instant, I find a contribution on "Currency Fallacies" by a specially well-qualified publicist, as you describe him to be. I wonder what his qualifications can be as he defines standard coins as those coins which are full legal tender while those which are not so (i. e. not full legal tender) are known as tokens. This shows the acquaintance he has with the subject, because these definitions are quite wrong. All standard coins are full legal tender it is true but all full legal tender coins are not standard coins. As a matter of fact, a token coin is full legal tender in France, Italy, Belgium, Switzerland etc. This is the silver 5-franc piece which contains only about half as much silver as could be usually bought for 5 francs in pre-war days. Then there is the Dutch Guilder which is full legal tender in Holland and its colonies. This also is a token coin, depending for its position in the circulation not on the value of the bullion it contains but on the authority of the Government, who guarantees its convertibility into the standard (gold) coin of the country.

Your contributor only shows his ignorance of the very rudiments of the subject of Currency when he asks:

"Do the members of the Committee and your contemporary with them really believe that the British public would accept to any amount shillings at their face value whose intrinsic value is so low as they point out?" No doubt your contributor thinks he has put to us a poser, and that we have no reply. He is wrong. The British public will accept shillings to any amount if the Government guarantees their conversion into gold at a fixed rate for foreign payments. This is not merely my ipse dixit. This is what today actually happens in the countries I name. This is what happened in India in 1913-14 when, (with silver at 24d) our rupee was worth only 9l, and yet was taken by bankers, traders and everybody in unlimited amounts as the equivalent of 16d.

The British public, has, if anything, done even worse. The shilling has at least some intrinsic value. The paper currency note has practically none. And yet, the British public has taken these notes in unlimited amounts for the past five years, although every body knows they are not even convertible. When a man like your contributor sets out to expound currency problems as an expert, we at least expect him to have a knowledge of all the above facts. He evidently does not know these facts, or does not appreciate their



bearings. The whole article is full of fallacies based on such ignorance, and I do not like to further encroach on your space in pointing them out.

Yours faithfully  
B. F. MADON.

## II.

Sir,

Apropos of the quotation regarding token coins extracted by your Poona contemporary, *Servant of India*, from the Fowler Committee's Report I had carefully gone through the context before I wrote my article on Currency Fallacies to see if any other meaning could be put upon it than that given to it by your contemporary, but to give due credit to him I am constrained to say that he is quite right so far as his interpretation of it is concerned. The statement, "provided the latter restriction (i.e., restriction of the quantity of tokens in circulation) is adequate, there is no essential reason why there need be any limit on the amount for which tokens are a tender by law" cannot be made to mean anything but that they would be willingly accepted by the public to any amount and hence there is no essential reason to put a limit to their legal tender provided only that their amount in circulation is adequately restricted. The English shilling with its then debased value would have been accepted willingly, perhaps, to any amount, but as an extreme theoretical proposition it has no justification whatsoever since it does not take into account the intrinsic value of tokens which plays the most important part in their acceptability as I have pointed out in my article. My argument was directed against the Committee's contention that an adequate restriction of the quantity of tokens in circulation is the main, almost the only cause of their acceptability to any amount and not against their views 'on the relation between token coin and legal tender' as you seem to have supposed in your editorial.

Poona, 18-8-1919.

Contributor.

[The first sentence in the section on "Convertibility" in the Fowler Committee's Report from which the quotation is taken, is: "under an effective gold standard, rupees would be token coins, subsidiary to the sovereign." The Committee proceed to consider whether when that contingency arises, there should or should not be a limit on the amount to which the rupee should be legal tender. The *Servant of India's* contention was that the rupee is now a token coin. This is not the case, and, therefore, the quotation from the report is misleading. *Ed. I. S. R.*]

## WATER-POWER.

(FROM THE *Economist*.)

The geologists cheerfully predicted some time ago that our coal supplies would soon give out: that they will only last another paltry two or three hundred years. The Geological Congress at Toronto in 1913 very kindly gave some fairly exact figures, and said that the world's annual consumption now amounted to 1,500 million tons, and that the total deposits remaining only reached the miserable figure of 7,398 thousand million tons. But we have the comforting reflection that when we can no longer extract fuel or power from the depths below we can call it down from the heights above, in the form of water-power, or "white coal". Running water was among the earliest sources of power, long before coal was discovered, and is likely to become once again the world's main source of energy. In addition to the power from waterfalls, there are other forms of water-power, such as that from the tides.

The two main factors which have directly induced universal interest in water-power are the high price of coal on the one hand, and the marvellous developments and possibilities of electro-chemical and electro-metallurgical industries—industries which are chiefly dependent on the cheap electrical energy provided for water-power. Of these industries one of the chief in all probability ultimately be the manufacture of fertiliser, e.g., nitrate, by fixation of atmospheric nitrogen. In the discussion recently of a paper on British Engineering and Water-Power Development, read by Professor A. H. Gibson, of Dundee (St. Andrew's) University, before the Royal Society of Arts, Mr. Alfred Dickinson, the well known hydro-electric engineer, even went so far as to assert that practically all the water-power that could be utilised would have to be devoted to the manufacture of fertiliser, in order to maintain an adequate food supply. There are, however, innumerable other industries, besides fertiliser manufacture, made possible by cheap electrical power. This is well illustrated by the Shawinigan Falls in Canada, to give only one example. These falls are 150 feet high, and a city has grown up around them since 1900. The Shawinigan Water and Power Co., has at present developed 330,000 h.p., of which 265,000 is electric power, whilst the balance is hydraulic power sold to local industries. The industries fed by the company include carbide manufacture, including acetylene, acetic acid, acetone etc., electrodes for electric furnaces; metallic magnesium, aloxite, carborundum, ferro-silicon, zinc, pig iron, and other metallurgical industries, pulp and paper. The manufacture of aluminium is another important industry, as illustrated by the British Aluminium Company, of Kinlochleven, in Scotland, which utilises about 30,000 h.p. of water-power from the Scottish highlands.

The total world horse-power which could possibly be derived from water has been estimated at 700,000,000, but this figure is, of course, a very vague guess, and until the numerous surveys, which are now being made in various parts of the world are completed, no definite data exist on which to form an estimate. The water power of the British Empire, according to the recently issued interim report of the Water Power Resources Committee, is put at 50 to 70 millions; but it must be remembered that this represents "continuous" power, and is probably equivalent to 200,000,000 "intermittent" h.p. as usually understood. That is to say, steam-power is generally reckoned for a 3,000-hour year, whilst water-power is reckoned for an 8,000-hour year.

The development of water-power throughout the world—and every country where it exists is interesting itself in the matter—will have two results of considerable interest to British merchants and manufacturers. One is the effect on the coal export trade. Our coal export trade is the largest in the world after that of America, and it is an interesting speculation to consider how it will be affected when the water-powers of the world are properly developed. Many of our most important coal customers—France, Italy, South America—have enormous potential water-power resources, and in the case of France and Italy, at least, the high price of coal, and, in fact, the difficulty of getting coal at all, has compelled them to take a very keen interest in water-power with a view to becoming as far as possible independent of imported coal for industrial purposes, if not also for domestic fuel. The position is, however, complicated and difficult to forecast. It seems safe to say that coal will not get cheaper for some time to come. Although Canada is generally supposed to be pre-eminently a water-power country, and has undoubtedly enormous resources, yet there are some parts of Canada which are entirely without coal, and most of the available water-power has been utilised



as far as possible, and yet there is an acute shortage of both power and fuel. Large quantities of coal have to be imported from the United States. This suggests that even when our coal customers have developed their water-powers the demand for fuel and power may still be such, or may have increased to such an extent, that imported coal will still be necessary. There does not seem any immediate need to worry about the coal export trade from this point of view, for the present at least.

But whatever may be lost by the coal trade should be more than balanced by the enormous demand for all kinds of plant and machinery which would result from the universal development of water-power. A large amount of capital is required for establishing water-power schemes, varying from £ 10 to £ 40 or £ 50 per horse-power. Assuming an average of £ 25, this means that the 50,000,000 h.p. of the British Empire alone, to say nothing of other countries, would require a capital outlay of £1,250,000,000. There is, of course, no need to enumerate here all the various items of a water-power plant; it offers a great field for engineering research and enterprise. Although there are doubtless many firms in the United Kingdom who could undertake to supply the necessary plant, etc, one or two weak points—or supposed weak points—in British water-power engineering were referred to in the discussion of Professor Gibson's paper before the Royal Society of Arts. Mr. Campbell Swinton, the chairman, said that the only part of a water-power scheme, as to which this country was undoubtedly rather deficient, was the actual designing of water turbines. They had not been made in this country so far as to any great size, and he thought he was right in saying that practically all the largest had been imported, chiefly from Switzerland. But he also thought that there ought to be no difficulty in finding manufacturing firms who were capable of turning out large work in a very short time if there were sufficient demand for it. Hitherto the amount of such machinery which had been required had not made it worth any one's while to make it; it was simpler to buy the turbines ready-made in Canada or Switzerland. Mr. Dickinson, the engineer responsible for Messrs. Tata's great hydro-electric schemes in India, referred to the insulators required for such high voltages up to 100,000, and said that one of the most important details in connection with high tension transmission was one of pottery ware, a small but vital detail on which very few engineers had specialised. Although, therefore, a great deal of experience may be acquired in such countries as Canada or Scandinavia, or Switzerland, where water-power has been used for many years, there still remains much hope for research.

But something more than research will be needed. Very closely connected with research is the training of a large number of engineers in hydro-electric engineering, and of chemical engineers and chemists for the electro-chemical and metallurgical side of the work. Unless British engineers have a large share in the design of plant, British manufacturers will not have a large share in the supply of plant. This important question of training was carefully considered, and, indeed, formed the chief topic in Professor Gibson's paper and the subsequent discussion, in which several eminent authorities took part, including the chairman (Mr. Campbell Swinton), Sir Dugald Clerk, Mr. Alfred Dickinson, Professor McLennan, of Toronto, Professor Capper, and others. There are, of course, a few very capable hydro-electric engineers in this country, but in view of the vast scope of this branch of engineering, and the new developments and improvements which are bound to result from experience and scientific research, the number of such men in this country is quite inadequate.

Besides Canada many other countries in the British Empire have developed water-power schemes, notably Tasmania, New Zealand, and to a certain extent, Victoria and New South Wales. In the latter case, of course, liability to drought is a drawback. Large schemes have been undertaken in India, and will be still further enlarged, especially those of Messrs. Tata. A complete survey of Indian water-powers is being made. A sum of £ 1,000 has been voted for the same purpose in South Africa. Enormous water-powers are said to exist in the Congo regions, and in regard to Egypt the suggestion has been made that power supply could be combined with water supply and irrigation.

Outside the British Empire numerous developments are taking place in France, Spain, Italy, Germany, Austria, and, of course, Switzerland and Scandinavia took the matter up years ago. Japan and South America (Brazil and Argentine) have very valuable water-power resources which they intend to utilise as much as possible. Water-power seems destined to become a permanent and fundamental factor in world economics.

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

## CONTENTS.

The Etiology of the Punjab Disorders.	Calcutta University Commission Report, II.
Responsive and Responsible Government.	Bolshevism and Caste.
The Ismail College at Andheri.	The Exchange Problem in India. II.
Colonel Roosevelt's Patriotism.	Indianization of British Indian Governments.
Dr. Lankester's Report on Tuberculosis.	Currency Fallacies.
The Prize Essay.	The Supply of Railway Waggon.
	A Caste Sensation in Baroda.

## NOTES.

**The Etiology of the Punjab Disorders.** We are glad to have a copy of the able and convincing article, under the above heading, in the July number of the *Hindustan Review* of Allahabad, by Mr. Alfred Nundy, issued in pamphlet form. The Punjab Government did their best to keep out independent observers during the period that the province was under martial law, so that practically the only information available of the happenings at the time is what can be gleaned from the one-sided presentation in the *Civil and Military Gazette* of Lahore and the *Pioneer* of Allahabad. The articles in the former journal have also been issued in pamphlet form, and are a compendious account of the story from the point of view of those who hold that Sir Michael O'Dwyer rose to the height of statesmanship in dealing with the situation in April last in the Punjab. Mr. Alfred Nundy, in the almost total absence of information gathered by independent observation, has had to rely mainly on official and pro-official sources. And it speaks volumes in favour of his position, that this initial disadvantage has actually proved a great advantage. For, without in the least travelling beyond these sources, Mr. Nundy has made out what every unbiassed reader must, in our opinion, accept as a damning indictment of the O'Dwyer policy. The thing is done with a skill and precision which must extort admiration even from prejudiced readers. In view of the strong *prima facie* case against the O'Dwyer dispensation, we can but wonder at and regret the delay in sending out the Commission of Enquiry promised by the Secretary of State. This is made all the more invidious by the fact that a Commission has been already constituted and announced to enquire into the defects of army organization in the initial stages of the Afghan war, which came some weeks after and, to some extent, in consequence of the situation created by the passing of the Rowlatt Act in the teeth of a solid non-official opposition. What is still worse, the first name in this Commission, next after the Chairman, Lord Esher, is no other than Sir Michael O'Dwyer! Mr. Montagu is, no doubt, actuated by excellent intentions, and, perhaps, this way of propitiating an extreme sec-

tion of the Anglo-Indian press, may be of some help, negatively if not positively, with reference to the reform scheme, but the feeling in the country, and especially in the Punjab, may be better imagined than described. We would yet urge on Mr. Montagu the extreme desirability of finding some other avenue of usefulness for Sir Michael O'Dwyer, if he feels that the late Lieutenant-Governor can not be left to enjoy the repose to which his long service in India has fully entitled him. It is not in Indian nature to nurse a grudge against persons who failed to live up to an ideal but it is not human nature to welcome those who have so far fallen from the ideal of a good administrator. India merely wants to be allowed to forget Sir Michael O'Dwyer. Cannot Mr. Montagu do her this small favour?

**Responsive and Responsible Government.** We print today a letter from our contributor "Bhishma" in which he explains his position in view of our comments on his article published in the issue of the 10th instant. We may, for the sake of clearness, define responsive as being unconsciously responsible Government, and responsible as being consciously responsive Government. "Bhishma's" suggestion is that the Governments of British India should, as a first step, be converted into unconsciously responsible Governments by Indianising the Services, and, later, be developed into consciously responsive (that is responsible) Government. His whole argument turns on the assumption that the substitution of Indians for Englishmen in the Services will make the administration in British India responsive. We are unable to agree. If this assumption be correct there should have been no revolutions in countries where the public services were entirely manned by natives. Bhishma, however, urges that it is true in India, and points to the Indian States. There is no demand for responsible Government in the States, he tells us, because the Governments there are responsive to popular opinion. Does this follow? We cannot say definitely. But is there no alternative explanation possible? We merely throw it out as a suggestion for Bhishma's consideration that the absence of the demand may be due to the absence of the means of making the demand: that while, on the one hand, the States do not encourage methods of constitutional agitation, British rule at the back of them makes traditional or indigenous methods of enforcing responsive (or practically responsible) Government out of the question? The position of the Indian States is so peculiar in these respects that it is difficult and dangerous to generalise from a few exceptional instances as to the absence of a demand for political reform being *ipso facto* evidence of the absence of a need for it. And it is not right to say that British Indian administration is irresponsible. Taking Bhishma's own test, it can be easily shown that the demands of the Congress have been conceded (and even exceeded so far as the



earlier Congresses went) to an incomparably larger extent in British India than in Indian States. The demand for responsible government in British India is itself proof that British Indian administration is responsive to popular aspirations. People will not ask a thing of one who has not it to give.

**The Ismail College at Andheri :** The Government of Bombay have, after a lapse of five years, decided to utilise the donation of Rupees eight lakhs offered by Sir Mahomed Yusuf Ismail to establish a first grade Government Arts College at Andheri in Salsette. The College which will be known as Ismail College, will be primarily for Mahomedans but students of other communities will also be admitted. We congratulate Government on this decision which we understand to mean that, while Mahomedan students will have preference, the college will be open to students of all communities. Even if all Mahomedan students at present in Bombay, Ahmedabad and Poona were to seek admission into the new College, there will still be room for a certain not inconsiderable number of students of other communities. But all Mahomedan students are not likely to go to the Ismail College. There is a distinct tendency among educated Mahomedans to send their children to the ordinary Schools and Colleges in preference to denominational ones. We can well understand the reason. It lies in the fact that denominational institutions invariably tend to a lower standard than non-denominational ones. The situation of the College at Andheri has several obvious advantages, but also some disadvantages. Chief among the latter is that the students of the Ismail College will not have the same facilities of participating in the inter-collegiate and University courses which are becoming a feature of Bombay academic life. Moreover, at no distant date Poona and Ahmedabad will become University centres; and also Dharwar and Karachi. The parent University will then have the opportunity of developing into a purely residential and teaching University. In the case of the College contemplated by the Deccan Education Society in Salsette, financial considerations prohibit the idea of having it in the City, but these do not exist in the case of a Government College. We would, therefore, still urge that a site for the Ismail College should be found in or about the Fort Ward in Bombay City. The old General Post Office may be considered for the purpose. It is inconvenient to have the Central Telegraph Office at a distance from the General Post Office, and if the former could be found a site near the latter, the building now occupied by it will be a very suitable home for the Ismail College. We do not forget that the Elphinstone College is poorly accommodated, but the natural remedy for it is for the Secretariat to remove to some locality where there will be enough space for the large new Council Halls and other architectural accessories of responsible Government.

**Colonel Roosevelt's Patriotism :** Everything in the United States is done on a large scale. It is, therefore, no matter for surprise that a whole mountain was dedicated to the memory of the late Colonel Theodore Roosevelt who died in January last. The object of this dedication was till July last known as Sheep Mountain. It has been christened Mount Theodore Roosevelt. The ex-President of the United States was the best known exponent of the strenuous life. Major-General Leonard Wood who delivered the dedicatory address, observed in the course of his address (a full report of which as well as an account of the ceremony is published in the *Outlook* of New York of July 16th): "Frail in early youth, he made himself robust and strong. Handicapped by defective vision, he became an expert hunter, fearless explorer, a man who loved rough and dangerous

places. He loved the simple yet strenuous life. He worked hard and played hard. He was never inactive. Married life was for him the ideal life. He was singularly devoted to home and family. His respect for women was profound. He appreciated their position and influence in the world as few men do. He was clean of speech, and his life was clean and moral. He abhorred, above all, suggestive speech, loose living and immorality." Colonel Roosevelt's patriotism was as intensive as his ideal of personal life. General Wood quoted the following as among Colonel Roosevelt's last words: "We must feel in the very marrow of our being that our loyalty is due only to America, and that it is not diluted by loyalty for any other nation or all other nations on the face of the earth. Only thus shall we fit ourselves really to serve other nations, to refuse ourselves to wrong them, and to refuse to let them do wrong or suffer wrong." That also is a lesson we may all take to heart.

**Dr. Lankester's Report on Tuberculosis.** The habit of secrecy grows on the Government of India. The report on the prevalence of tuberculosis by Dr. Lankester, who has been carrying on investigations into the subject for several years past, is not to be published. What great danger to the State will ensue by the publication of the report, we are unable to imagine. He has been asked to bring out a popular hand-book containing the results of his investigation "as modified by the view of the local Governments and Administrations." What authority have these Governments and Administrations to modify the results of a scientific investigation? Why should not the Indian public have the benefit of a first-hand knowledge of Dr. Lankester's conclusions, without their undergoing a process of previous peptonising by the Secretariats in different parts of the country? We are of opinion that the decision of the Government of India not to publish Dr. Lankester's report cannot be supported, and that it implies an unmerited slur on a scientist who has devoted himself with rare sympathy and insight to the study of this important problem affecting the health of the people of India.

**The Prize Essay.** It has been decided to give one instead of two prizes, as mentioned in the last issue, from the sum kindly offered by a friend. The value of it will be Rs. one hundred. The subject is: "Social Service in India". It is expected that the essays will contain a review of social service in the past in India, a description of old and new forms of it now in operation, and their effects, actual or probable, and a programme of work for the immediate future. The length of the essays should not exceed thirty pages of typed foolscap or a maximum of between 8 and 10 thousand words. The decision of the Editor of this journal will be final, and he will be entitled to publish the essay which gets the prize in any manner he thinks fit. It will become the property of this journal. Other essays will be returned if a sufficient number of postage stamps are enclosed. The last day for the receipt of the essays in this office is the 30th November next, and the result will be declared before the 1st January 1920. All subscribers of the *Reformer* are entitled to compete without distinction of sex, caste or creed. Essays must be sent by registered post, addressed to the Editor, the *Indian Social Reformer*, Empire building, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay, with on the envelope the superscription, "Social Service Prize Essay". The competition will be confined to subscribers only. Competitors who do not wish their names to be published should give some pseudonym, but their names and addresses should be communicated for the information of the Editor.



# INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, AUGUST 31, 1919.

## CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY COMMISSION REPORT, II.

Within the last quarter of a century there has been growing up in this country a movement hostile to English education. It originated, so far as we can trace its origin, at about the same time at two opposite points of the political compass. The progress of the social and religious reform movement in India and the excesses incidental to the early stages of such movements, led to a reaction which naturally fastened upon English education as the immediate operative cause of those excesses. At the other end of the scale, Anglo-Indian administrators, alarmed at the increasing demand for political power of the English-educated classes, began to raise questions as to the wisdom of the educational policy adopted in this country at the instigation of Raja Ram Mohan Roy and on the powerful advocacy of Macaulay. In course of time, this reaction took the shape of a movement for the encouragement of the Vernaculars within the precincts of the existing system and without prejudice to English education. When, in the opening years of this century, the political movement passed from a movement of administrative amelioration to one of national self-assertion, the plea for the encouragement of the Vernaculars began to take on a more strident tone. Within the last few years, there have been voices raised on behalf of Vernacularising the entire system including the University courses. The practical advantages of English education, however, are so patent, and the popularity of it so unmistakable that even the extreme Vernacularists are obliged for the present to accompany their proposals for undermining English education with professions of a profound belief in it. They are obliged, indeed, to seek to justify their argument for disestablishing English in our schools and colleges by an earnest desire for and as the best means of promoting the study of and proficiency in that language. Their propaganda so far has not been attended with success. In this Presidency, where some of its most ardent advocates are to be found, it has had a set-back. The recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission, however, are likely to give it a fresh stimulus, and it is, therefore, that these recommendations and the reasons by which they are supported demand examination. The division of opinion among witnesses examined by the Commission was: rather more than half the number were in favour of maintaining the present system; practically all were in favour of English as the medium of instruction in the University. The Commission had no help but to accede to this consensus of opinion. In the case of secondary education, however, they have decided to go against the majority view, and to range themselves on the side of the extreme Vernacularists.

The recommendations of general importance in this regard are three in number: (1) The vernacular should be used in general throughout the high schools, except for the teaching of English and of mathematics, which, during the last four years of the course, should be conducted in English. (2) At the 'high school examination' (corresponding to the matriculation) candidates should be permitted to answer either in the Vernacular or in English except in the subjects of English and mathematics in which English should be compulsory. (3) The medium of instruction and examination in the intermediate Colleges and in the University should be English (except in dealing with the Vernacular and the classical languages). The two first recommendations apply to Bengal where only one Vernacular is spoken. The Report excludes Assam from their scope on the express ground that "owing to the multiplicity of Vernaculars in Assam, the only possible medium of education in the higher forms of high schools in that province is English." This, they add, would probably hold good in Darjeeling and, Chittagong. The Commission did not feel in a position to express an opinion in regard to Burma. We emphasise these qualifications and limitations with which the Commission have carefully surrounded their recommendations, because we see that, within a few days of the publication of the Report and, indeed, even before it, enthusiastic educational reformers, acting on rumour, have been girding their loins to get its proposals (or supposed proposals) adopted in all provinces. We are sure that if the Sadler Commission had been entrusted with the task of examining the conditions of all our Universities, and had had to consider University education in India, as it should be considered, as one whole, their recommendations in this and some other matters would have been markedly different. They would have found that as, owing to the multiplicity of its Vernaculars, in Assam—and in Madras and Bombay—the only possible medium of education in the higher forms of high schools is English, owing to the much greater multiplicity of Vernaculars in the whole country, the same principle should apply to India as a whole. Education as a means of knitting together the different parts of the country occupies a more important place than railways and telegraphs, the currency and a common system of jurisprudence. An educational break of gage between province and province is ultimately far more detrimental to national development than such a break in our railways. A common educational currency is even more necessary than a common monetary currency. When the Sadler Commission was appointed, we repeatedly urged that its scope should be extended so as to include the whole country. The Commission was able to extend their terms of reference by a severe process of straining to matters relating to secondary education, but they could not by any ingenuity bring within them the other provinces. When we remember that the Indian provinces, as admitted



in the Montagu-Chelmsford report, are not rooted in historical or geographical conditions, and that their re-distribution will have to be undertaken under an extended system of responsible Government, the desirability of allowing education to be dominated by provincial peculiarities is far from evident.

The Commission's method of arriving at their conclusions reminds us of what Macaulay says of Pitt's reasons for voting for the motion in the House of Commons to impeach Warren Hastings. The great Minister rebutted all the charges brought against the Indian pro-consul, but voted in favour of the motion because he thought that the fine imposed by Hastings on the Nawab of Oudh was somewhat excessive ! The Sadler Commission rebut all the most serious allegations urged against the use of English as the medium of instruction, and base their revolutionary recommendations on an unproved, unprovable dictum of Sir Harcourt Butler's. They deny that the use of English is a necessary handicap to the intellectual development of Indian students. They point out that the bi-lingual Welsh student is not in any way handicapped when he goes to an English-speaking University, and that bilingualism is not felt to be a handicap to intellectual development in such countries as Belgium and Switzerland. They do not care to waste time in refuting the allegations loosely made imputing the consequences of poverty, bad personal habits and evil social customs, to English education. But they are much impressed by Sir Harcourt Butler's discovery "that the boys who are taught through the medium of the vernacular until the highest stages of the High School are reached, show markedly greater intelligence than those whose earlier education has been more largely conducted through the medium of the English." We are not told by what data Sir Harcourt was led to this discovery. We should like to know whether His Honour's observation relates to Bengal with which the Commission was specially concerned, or to the whole country. Generally speaking, the vernaculars are more largely and up to a higher stage of education used as media of instruction in the Punjab and the United Provinces than in Bombay, Madras or Bengal. Is it His Honour's experience that the educated men of the three Presidencies are of markedly inferior intelligence to Punjabees and men of the United Provinces ? The Commission as well as Sir Harcourt Butler doubtless know that a conclusion such as that arrived at by His Honour should rest on a broader basis of facts than a few individual cases. We affirm that there is no such basis of fact behind Sir Harcourt's dictum. It can, therefore, be attributed only to the prejudice which high Anglo-Indian officials as a rule have in favour of Indians whose English creaks at the hinges and against men who know the language sufficiently to feel the force impinge on their consciousness of Sir Sankaran Nair's aphorism that "you cannot argue in the English language in favour of slavery." Add to this the fact that the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy, of which His Honour is a most successful member, have an interest in making out that English-educated Indians as a class are persons who use political catch-

words without understanding them. We affirm that the statement of His Honour on which the Commission rest their conclusions is entirely unfounded. We daresay some men educated in the vernaculars have greater intelligence than some men educated in English. But some men educated neither in the English nor the vernacular have also exhibited greater intelligence than some educated in one or both. If we are to follow Sir Harcourt's dictum we may close our schools and leave Nature to do her best or worst with our children.

### BOLSHEVISM AND CASTE.\*

( BY MR. C. RAJAGOPALACHARI.)

Social Reform has received an enormous impetus from politics. No phenomenon is more striking to the candid observer, than the rapidity of the march of national ideals within the last decade. Men make political demands at the enormity of which their former selves would be surprised. The march of the world around has forced on us aims far in advance of what they would be if we had been left to ourselves. The world-movement towards democracy having caught us in its advancing tide, our political ideals have so rapidly and yet so definitely taken shape, that they have forced our attitude towards social questions to take equally definite and quick shape. Social Reform has had to keep pace, however awkwardly, with the political awakening, which may be likened to a big boy dragging along with him the small boy. The Home-Rule movement, the Non-Brahman movement, the Panchama awakening, every one of these political movements have helped the scales to fall from our eyes in respect of things not seen before or but dimly perceived. Many who, if the days of mild and protected politics had continued, would have held orthodox views as to caste and its beneficent divisions of social responsibility, now accept the inevitable necessity for levelling down. It is no longer now a question of whether caste is good or bad, right or wrong ; if our politics are right, the system of caste, whatever good it did or is doing, cannot stay any longer. Witness the interesting history of the attitude of the Theosophical Society on this question. Whatever incidental disadvantages, temporary or permanent there may be in the process, how best shall we get rid of caste distinctions and at what pace, are the only questions.

The distinctions of wealth and position have reacted and yielded in the western world what is known and still viewed with horror as Bolshevism, which has a very important lesson for us. The facts about Bolshevism are yet obscure. But this much appears to be well-founded, that it is a social order which attempts to level down the advantages of inherited wealth and position. Western civilisation having reached its summit of possibility by the production of the greatest inequalities of wealth and power, Bolshevism is the last and logically inevitable answer to it. Wherever you unthinkingly work to

\* From the Presidential address of Mr. C. Rajagopalachari at the 12th Madras Provincial Social Conference held at Trichinopoly on the 28th inst.



repeat this feature of western civilisation, you must ultimately have Bolshevism. Not only so, but wherever you have gross inequalities of any sort, with political awakening Bolshevism must come.

It is foolish to suppose Bolshevism is imported into any country by vicious agents. It is like the fever that betrays the indigestion or other deep-seated malady, or like the weeds that betray the neglected garden. It appears spontaneously on account of the unhealthy condition of the patient, and is not imported by outside infection. Introduce and develop inequalities of wealth, of position, or of anything else in any country. Allow them to grow to the snowclad proportions that they have attained in Europe and surely we will have Bolshevism here also.

But the Bolshevism that is the inevitable answer of oppressed poverty to inequalities of wealth is not so terrible as the equally inevitable Bolshevism that will come as an answer to the distinctions and inequalities of castes. Some are satisfied with objecting to the phrase, "depressed classes": asking who depressed them. But this is no answer to the awakened people, any more than the capitalists' question, who prevented you from becoming rich, who kept you poor, is an answer to European Bolshevism. The Indian Bolshevism against unearned and inherited caste will, when the inevitable awakening comes, be a much more terrible upheaval than the Bolshevism of the West against capitalism and landownership.

I would tell those who raise their brows in horror against Bolshevism, and thank God that we in the changeless East are safe, that Bolshevism is already in our land if we only care to see. What is the non-Brahmana movement? Is it not a revolt against the persistence of birth inequalities believed to be working to the advantage of a few and the disadvantage of the many? Hatred and passion are the inevitable signs by which we can know Bolshevism, which though rooted in the sweet and fertile soil of justice, is nurtured on anger and vengeance, and yields bitter fruit. The non-Brahmana movement is the revolt of the cultured upper classes of non-Brahmanas. But what should we expect when all the submerged classes are ready for yielding up red vengeance? God forbid that we should sit idle and happy, contented with the present, and leave an inheritance of hatred, bloodshed, and indescribable misery to our children, the very children for whose sake we desist from risk and sacrifice, and make compromises with conscience and right emotion. The Bolshevism of the submerged classes will not be restrained by the Governmental loyalty or the respect for British law and order which characterises the present non-Brahmana movement, and the other shadows now cast before for our benefit in order that we may realise the coming events. Nor can we always depend on outward protection. We may even be so unfortunate as to have to survive the British connection or at any rate its active protection, and there is no guarantee that Britain will always remain non-Bolshevik and Imperialistic. My prognosis is grave. But there is the remedy. It is simple though very hard. If you belong to any of

the upper castes and believe that there is something beautiful, or superior or pure in your caste, hesitate not to sacrifice it. We must go down and fuse with the other brothers of our motherland, yield your purity, your beauty or your superiority for the common benefit; for you should realise and remember that your caste has no separate life, it has no separate government or country, and it is bound to perish in the red struggle that is inevitable. The only assured entity is the common nationality of our country, and what is pure or superior in our own caste, is of no consequence and must be yielded up to the common account by intermixture and intermarriage.

Acting thus in advance of disaster, and avoiding the policy of burying our heads in the sand, we may safely rely on the great and good religion that our fathers have given us, to prevent the scenes which have been and are yet in greater measure to be enacted in the western upheavals for equality. Europe professes Christianity, but the religion of Christ has not truly permeated the lower strata of European life, and their revolt is consequently merciless and godless. But our nation even in the lowest strata is truly religious, and restrained by a clear sense of the moral law, and we may be saved from the disaster of Europe. While, therefore, one remedy lies in ourselves hastening to break down the caste inequalities while yet it may not be too late—it is a race with the political awakening—the other equally necessary step is the conservation of our true and ancient religion from a simultaneous breakdown. Here also certain signs in connection with the non-Brahmana movement are not without warning; a noticeable feature of which is that the dislike of the Brahmana appears to carry with it a contempt for the Aryan religion also of which the Brahmana was the accredited agent. If this tendency develops and results in a breakdown of religious ideas, it would be a terrible catastrophe for all classes. We may be able to tide over any upheaval, provided we are supported by the restraint of true religion, but otherwise we should prepare for mutual relentless destruction.

It is no doubt a problem whether Hinduism can survive the caste system. Opinions differ on this question. There are those who think that caste is inextricably a part of Hinduism and that the Social Reform programme in respect of caste is doomed either to failure or to end in the disruption of Hinduism. It would be a disaster indeed if this were the true view; for if the march of world-movements is seen aright by us, caste is bound to dissolve, either in peace as we want it, or in revolution as it may be, and the price paid would be fatal if it meant the disruption of our religion, which is all that we possess of any worth. But we believe that this view is wrong. We believe that the essentials of Hinduism are independent of caste, and that we can preserve them intact, to restrain us in thought, word and deed, though we discard the system of caste.

Our work lies in the schools and in the colleges more than on the platform or anywhere else. A truly national system of education consists in one



essential part of it, in consciously laying the foundation for the removal of impediments of habit in the way of national progress. It is in childhood and youth that the distinctions of caste are branded into the mind so as to form into almost physical instincts ; it is in the early and unconscious years of our growth that we learn to look with fixed prepossessions of superiority, inferiority, like, dislike, respect and contempt, on a complexion, a caste-mark, a moustache, a manner of tying the cloth, the marks of manual labour, or other feature distinguishing one caste from another. Much of the later difficulties of the problem of intermixture is in the unreasoning prejudices formed during this period. It is in youth that the authorities of a self-governing but as yet caste-ridden state should take particular care to so train the mind of the younger generation as to help the rapid fusion of the castes. When our national representatives get the control over education, let us hope that the spirit of reaction will not have freer scope and play than even now, but that in wise forethought, the Department of Education would be so administered as to bring about a conscious elimination of the caste idea from the future generation, and give them a vision that will see and work for unity in the nation. There is great and responsible work for the teachers and those who select and appoint the teachers. Patriotism is too much monopolised at present by politics. In the work of the teacher and the Indian administrators, there is at least as much room for sustained patriotism and national work as in politics. In the early years of protected self-government and increased power to the representatives of land and wealth, there is bound to be an unfortunate set-back towards social reaction. But with the gradual removal of the outside protection, and a realisation of the awakening power of multitude and the responsibility for order and progress of the nation as a whole, the reaction is bound to disappear.

I have been so far addressing mainly the so-called upper classes. A word to the depressed. There is only one way to your elevation. Self-help and determined resistance by voluntary suffering. As I said at the Trichinopoly District Social Conference in July 1918, the principles of civil resistance have been practised by social reformers long before the introduction of the idea in politics. Where any law of the State or of the national social organisation lays down a rule of conduct opposed to the dictates of your conscience, constitutional resolutions and representations failing, the struggle should not be given up as lost, but the further appeal should be not to hatred and violence inflicted on others, but to suffering on one's own part. Disobey the rule and let the law-makers see that you are prepared rather to suffer than to obey. If the Panchamas call to aid the sovereign remedy of Satyagraha and carry on their struggle actively in the true spirit of Mr. Gandhi's doctrine of love and truth, I have no doubt in this as in other struggles civil resistance is bound to triumph.

Remember that in your hard struggle, your motive is not entirely justice to yourselves, but something even higher. The sacrifice is not all of the upper

classes, the gain is not all yours. You have much to give to those now placed above you in the caste-organisation, in the sovereign virtues of manliness, untainted simplicity of life, and and virility. Your sufferings in the struggle for equality are therefore ennobled as much by patriotism as by justice.

## THE EXCHANGE PROBLEM IN INDIA. II

(BY PROFESSOR K. T. SHAH.)

It is true, indeed, that exchange against India is a blessing in so far as the Government of India save on their Home remittances made in gold. Instead of £20 million costing Rs. 39 crores they would now be paid by Rs. 22 crores. This argument is entitled to the respect of financiers and those anxiously awaiting the repeal of many of the War taxes. But, it must be observed, that the saving to be really a saving to the country, must be returned to the country in one shape or another :—by the repeal of taxation, or, what perhaps would be still better, by the undertaking of works of moral and material improvement by the Government. If we are to judge from the last Financial Statement the day is yet distant when India could expect to be relieved of the incubus of wasteful military expenditure, and be free to consider the inception of projects of material benefit. Perhaps it would be unfair to judge of the future financial policy from the last budget, which, though presented after peace had been practically assured, is nevertheless a War budget ; but we are naturally so apprehensive of the vast increases in the ordinary expenditure brought about by the War, and that expenditure is likely to last so long, that we may be pardoned if we seem sceptic about the intentions of the Government of India squaring with their ability or achievement. And, after giving this argument its due consideration, the prospect of saving in the Home Charges, admitting the saving to be considerable, is not, to us, very convincing as an answer to the indictment of the Government in respect of its recent Exchange policy. If the proposed constitutional Reforms are carried out in the spirit in which they were promised ; if the progressively increasing admission of the Indian people to the Civil and Military service of their country becomes an accomplished fact ; if a larger proportion of the debt obligations of the Government of India are held by Indians in India ; the principal items in the Home Charges will be steadily diminishing. And so long as they figure in our financial requirements, they will not be so important as the interests of the export trade. Assuming our export trade to be of an annual value of £200 millions, the exporter will get Rs. 200 crores at the rate of Rs. 15 = 1 pound sterling, 240 crores at the rate of Rs. 12 = £1 ; and 200 crores at the rate of Rs. 10 = £1. The loss to the country will be 60 to 100 crores as against an insignificant gain of 5 or 7 crores to the Government.

The character of a debtor country which India has acquired under the British regime imperatively demands that the interests of the exporter shall not be



made to suffer in any way. It is no answer to the charge to say that the high world-prices enables the Indian producer to discount the loss, for the loss cannot but re-act on the producer when he has to compete for the common custom of the world-market. Nor is it an answer to say that to the extent that the Indian producer is at a disadvantage in the foreign market, he would be advantaged in the Home market. It would be irrelevant to our subject to speak of the fiscal policy of India; though it may be remarked in passing that it has never yet been the avowed object of public policy in India to encourage, by such means as lay in the powers of the State, the trade and industry of the country. The high prices in the world-market, may possibly endure for some time; but considering the fact that the War has left most of the nations of the world debtors, and that every nerve will, therefore, be strained to increase the exports of each country, the prices might quite conceivably meet with an unexpected fall. We hear disquieting rumours of the accumulated products of German industry which are ready to be dumped on the world-market as soon as the embargo on German trade is removed; and it is reasonable to allow that the low exchange of Germany will give her at least as great an advantage in the world-market, as the power for organisation and the machinery for state action which she has developed to such wonderful extent under her late rulers. The only chance, under these circumstances, of prices keeping at a high level is: Control of Industry by organised labour or by the Government as representing the community. In the former case labour would probably benefit more in the long run by reducing the price-level, at least to the extent that the profiteer's tax is removed. In any case we in India cannot speculate on the chances of price-level in the world-market remaining high, and shut our eyes to the patent evils of the present system. The war has not removed our character as a debtor country, to which the excess of exports must be of peculiar solicitude. Hence, even admitting that the chances of the Indian producer in the Home market have been increased by the recent spurt in industrial activity, the fullest consummation of India's industrial ambitions will only result in a shifting of the exports from raw produce to manufactures, a process which has already commenced.

But perhaps the available figures are unreliable owing to the presence of the War-factors. In any case to ignore the interests of the export trade will not be in the true interests of India.

The one lesson we are compelled to draw on a general review of the whole situation points unmistakably to the impossibility of managing a currency system through a department of Government. We are all agreed about the advantages of a fairly stable exchange. Those of us who lay special stress on the interests of the producer are inclined to favour a relatively low exchange. But there can be no difference of opinion about the undesirability of constant government interference in Exchange—an interference dictated more by treasury considerations than trade demands. The fundamental mistake was the establishment of the Gold Exchange Standard which, however perfect in theory, has proved itself an unmitigated failure in practice, at least in India.

## INDIANIZATION OF BRITISH INDIAN GOVERNMENTS.

### AN EXPLANATION.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*,  
Sir,

In the editorial note on the article mentioned above published in the *Indian Social Reformer* of the 10th August, it was observed that, "We do not know that there is any vital difference between the two (responsive and responsible governments). History shows that responsible government has been adopted in Western countries as the sole means of ensuring responsive government *permanently* in those countries". (Italics not in the original). The introduction of the word "*permanently*" makes a great deal of difference, for the subject discussed in the article was confined to the *temporary expedient* to be adopted in *British India*. There was no generalization applicable for all time and to all countries and conditions, where the distinction was drawn between responsive and responsible governments. It was the very narrow question as to what should be the *very next step towards democracy* in British India at the present day, as temporary as the Montford scheme itself.

The distinction would not have been drawn but for the evidence produced, which made it possible and pertinent. It was pointed out that there was no demand for responsible government in Indian States, where the personnel of the governments was mainly Indian, and that there was one in British India, where the personnel was mainly foreign, other conditions regarding the constitution of the governments and the education of the people, remaining the same. These facts have not been denied. From these, the conclusion was drawn that the foreign personnel, with the consequent lack of sympathy between the people and the government, accounted for the agitation in British India. If the conclusion is warranted and right, there is no fallacy in drawing a distinction between responsive and responsible governments though the difference be not vital nor permanent. The distinction was not a preconceived notion to start a discussion with. It was a conclusion one was driven to by the circumstances detailed above. If this conclusion be wrong, then the rest of the argument falls to the ground, but other explanations nearer the truth must be forthcoming to account for the noteworthy phenomenon, the absence of a strong demand for responsible government in the Indian States. Few people will doubt the need for democracy and responsible governments all over the world, but the question here is, why don't the people ask for it in the Indian States, while people do ask for it in British India; What is the explanation for this anomaly, if not the one suggested viz. that the people have not yet felt the need for responsible government—a matter, no doubt, for regret,—if they have a responsive one.

It was also remarked that, "We can only say that this picture of the people of the Indian States being profoundly contented with the 'responsiveness' of these governments does not tally with the complaints that one hears so often from the subjects of the States". In the absence of greater definiteness it may be taken that the complaints relate to the efficiency of administration and not to the sympathy and responsiveness of the governments. It was admitted that the governments of Indian States excel in responsiveness, but suffer in efficiency, whereas the governments in British India excel in efficiency but suffer in responsiveness. Responsiveness of governments in India may be easily estimated by comparing how many of the recommendations of the Indian



National Congress, which represents the views of educated India have been accepted by governments in States and in British India.

The plan suggested in the article was to combine sympathy with efficiency, sympathy was to be secured by Indianizing the personnel of the British Indian Governments and efficiency in carrying out the responsive policies of the Indianized government, by the retention of Europeans in the services and by increasing the efficiency of Indians themselves by sending them abroad in larger numbers.

It is feared that the purpose of the article has not been properly understood. It is emphatically admitted that only responsible government can *permanently* ensure responsive governments; that governments in Indian States are not the types of perfection without any need to move towards democracy, that British India should not rest content with copying the government of the Indian States as they are at present, and that responsible governments are *one day absolutely essential* both in *British India* and the *Indian States*. It is also agreed that full-fledged democracy need not be considered with reference to the Indian States, because there is yet no demand for it, and that it cannot be granted in British India, where there is a demand because the abrupt change may be disastrous. The very basis of the Montford reforms is to provide a temporary expedient to tide over the transition period in British India.

Some dangers were, however, apprehended of the Montford scheme which have not been denied. Two obstacles to the speedy achievement of democracy in British India have been mentioned viz. the illiteracy of the mass of the people and the race-conflict. The removal of illiteracy will take time. Race conflict is not avoided by the Montford scheme, though it could be immediately removed by a powerful Secretary of State for India as indicated in the article, according to which the evolution of responsible government in British India would be as follows. The present government are both irresponsible and irresponsible, in view of the personnel and the constitution of the governments. *The first step towards democracy would be to make them responsive though still irresponsible by Indianizing them thus coming in line with what obtains at present in the Indian States and later on as the demand grows in volume with the spread of education—a mere matter of time—the further step may be taken—to make them responsible and responsive.*

As regards the Indian States, the achievement of democracy is a matter of time. As illiteracy, the only obstacle in the States, is removed, the demand is bound to grow, and in the absence of racial conflict, the change from responsive to responsible governments will be smoother and more efficient.

The recent history of Mysore may illustrate the argument. Before the Rendition, the State was guided by a foreign bureaucracy, which brought the administration to a high level of efficiency. It was succeeded by an Indian bureaucracy equally irresponsible, but more responsive, which while maintaining the efficiency inherited from the foreign bureaucracy introduced the element of sympathy in the administration. British efficiency and Indian sympathy have made Mysore, almost the model state in India. The next step, as soon as the demand arises,—it may be tomorrow or a century later—would be full responsible government. Should the demand never arise, which God forbid, there will be no talk of responsible government at all, the progress ending with Responsive government.

It was suggested that British India might pass through the responsive shape, instead of the Montford stage, before realizing full responsible government for, this change is likely to be smoother and more efficient than the Montford scheme.

BHISHMA.

## CURRENCY FALLACIES.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*:

SIR,

To my question—which was an extreme logical deduction from some of Fowler Committee's guardedly qualified statements—whether the author of *Currency Fallacies* in *The Servant of India*, Aug. 7, would *willingly* accept any intrinsically valueless currency to *any amount* provided its quantity in circulation is restricted,—he has answered 'most certainly' in his issue of Aug. 21. This frank confession at once stops all argument as regards the particular point of discussion but, I hope, your Poona contemporary will allow me to refer him to any book on the history of money in which he will find that the intrinsic value of money has been the basis of all exchange transactions from the earliest times, whether the money was in the form of colored stones, beads or what not. This intrinsic value is the measure of the desire to possess it on the part of a people which again is dependent on several factors the chief of which is scarcity. Of course, it is one thing to be obliged to receive an intrinsically valueless coin because of Government fiat but quite another thing to *willingly* accept it to *any amount*. It would be interesting to see, however, what effect the issue of a makeshift intrinsically valueless currency may have on prices and thus on the prosperity and economic stability of a country. History has already furnished us with such examples leading to complete economic breakdown and chaos. Then your contemporary, to prove his original contention that a full legal tender coin does not require any manipulation of its value, goes on to ask "what measures have been taken under the British currency system to manipulate the value of the sovereign?" It is true that the British Government have not yet had an occasion for manipulating the value of the sovereign and this is mainly due to three reasons, (1) that gold sovereigns are very rarely found in actual circulation and therefore, there is no immediate fear of their being melted when their nominal value is less than their bullion value, (2) the demand for precious metals being very little as compared with that in India the market for them is quite uncertain and therefore, there are few merchants who would essay to make profit out of this difference in value and (3) the world's yearly supply of gold being strictly limited as contrasted with that of silver the face value of the sovereign has not deflected to any appreciable extent from its bullion value as yet.

Now to turn to B. F. M.'s finding fault with my definition of coins, let me make it clear at the outset that I do not intend to quarrel with him as regards names. He or anybody else is at perfect liberty to call standards, token, or tokens, standard, or invent new names if he likes to suit his tastes. The point pertinent to my argument was that the classification of coins to be strictly logical or scientific must not be overlapping and hence, can be made on the following lines:—(1) full legal tender which have to be kept at par with their bullion value so as not to destroy public faith in currency and thus in the solvency of the Government themselves and (2) these which are not full legal tender and which on that account can afford to fluctuate from their bullion value but which it is attempted to keep at par with the latter by an artificial regulation of their supply in circulation. Can B. F. M. suggest any better classification so that 'tokens' and 'standards' will always remain as separate entities and not overlap?

If he cannot, he or any authority on economics for that matter, has no logical right to call them by different names



If regulation of supply in circulation in made the distinguishing characteristic of the token, as both B. F. M. and your Poona contemporary probably want it to be, the rupee cannot be regarded as a token according to their own basis of division because it has been issued in large quantities only just recently. B. F. M. then goes on to say that the French *Napoleon* (the 5-franc piece) is full legal tender but now "contains only half as much silver as could usually be bought for 5 francs in pre-war days." This statement is an amusing unconscious confirmation of my contention and supports my basis of division since it means that the piece was kept at par with its bullion value because of its full legal tender. If the face value is much less than its nominal value now—which I doubt since the value of silver has risen, instead of falling, a good deal in the world's market as is testified by the rate of exchange—how does he know that it is accepted willingly by the French people to any amount, in other words, that there has been no rise in prices on that account? He then speaks of the Dutch Guilder which is full legal tender and which he says depends "for its circulation not on the value of the bullion it contains but on the authority of the Government, who guarantees its convertibility into the standard (gold) coin of the country." Exactly so: it is this very convertibility into the gold coin which is at par with its bullion value that is responsible for the willing acceptance of the Guilder by the Dutch public. The adjustment with the bullion market can be either direct or indirect through the medium of another coin but it is indispensable in the case of full legal tender coins as I have pointed out above and in my original article. All these coins which B. F. M. has referred to, come in the first category of my division and hence, for all practical purposes they are standards just as a currency note convertible into metallic money may be regarded as so much gold or silver coinage in circulation. Lastly, he mentions the fact that the British public has accepted the intrinsically valueless paper currency notes in 'unlimited amount' for the past five years during which they have been rendered inconvertible. In the first place, my argument regarding the Fowler Committee's statements applied to normal times and not to times of emergency like the present war. But even then the laws of psychological economics are inexorable and there is no knowing that the present enormous rise in prices of commodities in England and the consequent labour strikes are not to some extent at least due to the depreciation of this inconvertible paper money. True, one is under a legal obligation, whether one likes it not, to accept the currency of one's country however valueless but the reluctance of the people to receive it is seen in the rise of prices which is its measure.

As for B. F. M.'s general reference to my article as being "full of fallacies based on ignorance" and your Poona contemporary's discovery in it of "erudities and peaurilities," I suspect they are simply betraying by these vague charges their inability to meet the writer in open discussion for which he extends them a ready welcome.

Poona, 26-8-1919.

CONTRIBUTOR.

## THE SUPPLY OF RAILWAY WAGGONS.

We are officially informed that the supply of Railway waggons in Bombay Presidency for all kinds of traffic is now ample. The public should go to the Railway Companies direct for booking goods, and do not need to obtain Priority certificates from this office for moving any goods except foodgrains, fodder, cotton cloth, salt, return of empty gunnies. Grass for Bombay City is brought in fixed quantity by

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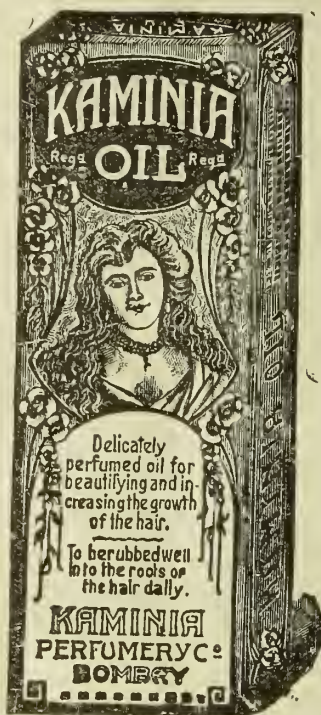
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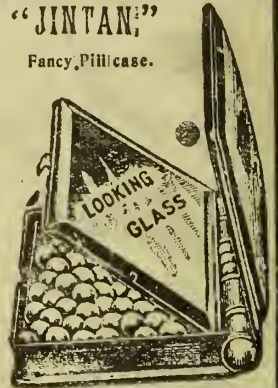
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